
The American Historical Review



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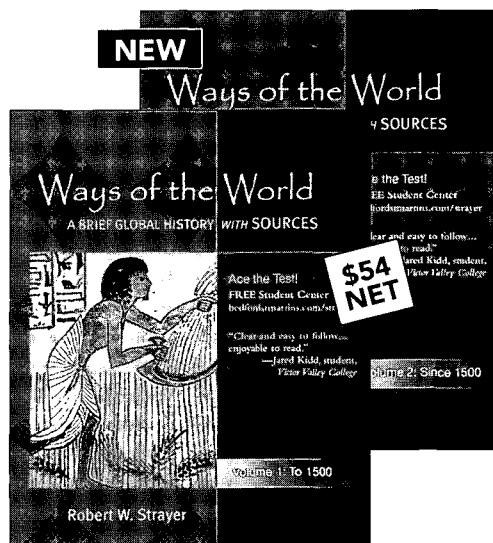
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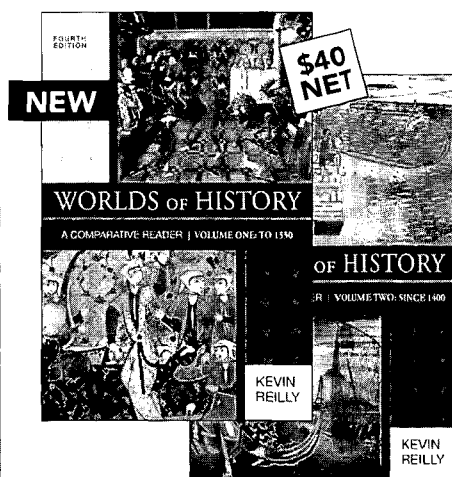


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Cover Illustration: During the Allied campaign in Europe during the Second World War, prostitution became a point of contention between the United States and France. The U.S. Army officially claimed to have control over GI sexual activity, barring American troops from the legal commercial sex available in French cities and even blaming French women for the soaring rates of venereal infection. At the same time, however, officers looked the other way when the GIs engaged in unrestrained promiscuity in the most public of places in full view of the locals. The residents of those cities condemned such open displays as scandalous and disrespectful. In "The Price of Discretion: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and the American Military in France 1944–1946," Mary Louise Roberts argues that wars cannot be separated from the values and preoccupations of the peoples who fight them, and that sexuality, far from being a minor issue, operated as a site of identity formation for both the Americans and the French at this crucial geopolitical moment. In her view, the U.S. Army's dealings in France reflect more than American moral assumptions about sexuality; at a deeper level, they show how Americans began to conceive and shape their dominance of Western Europe. "Welcome." Postcard illustration by unknown artist, used by permission of the Lebrecht Photo Library, <http://www.lebrecht.co.uk>.

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In This Issue

The October issue includes an article on the links between the seventeenth-century English Revolution and the origins of abolitionism, a piece on the granting of independence to Iraq in 1932, and an *AHR* Forum on “Intimate Life and Sexuality in Mid-Twentieth-Century France.” There are also five featured reviews, followed by our normal extensive book review section. “In Back Issues” calls attention to articles and features in the *AHR* from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago.

Articles

In “‘Out of the Land of Bondage’: The English Revolution and the Atlantic Origins of Abolition,” **John Donoghue** intervenes in debates about the origins of slavery as well as of abolitionism in the anglophone Atlantic world. He broadens our historical notion of unfree labor beyond the African and Native American slaves who have long garnered the lion’s share of scholarly attention. Focusing on the protean labor situation of the seventeenth century, Donoghue recasts indentured servants as “bond slaves” who suffered temporary bondage alongside the Africans and Native Americans subjected to both temporary and permanent forms of bondage. English merchants participated in the African and Native American slave trades, but they also participated in the licit and illicit trafficking of the poor into bonded labor as an important new source of profit and wealth. The essay culminates with a transatlantic network of radicals who condemned economic slavery and slave-trading as part of their critiques of arbitrary government in New and Old England. As Old England plunged into revolution and New England into rebellion, attempts to define the Englishman’s freeborn status against different forms of economic and political “slavery” gained new potency, in both England and the colonies. Donoghue thereby pulls the origins of English abolitionism back to the latter seventeenth century.

“Getting Out of Iraq—in 1932: The League of Nations and the Road to Normative Statehood,” by **Susan Pedersen**, examines the one single mandated territory—out of fourteen—to achieve independent statehood while under the jurisdiction of the League of Nations. That was Iraq, in 1932, although it was not granted a genuine form of independence. Instead, the British government sought to cloak its neo-imperial arrangements in the Middle East under the noble rhetoric of self-determination and a specious transfer of formal sovereignty. Pedersen focuses on the in-

ternational debates and negotiations over Britain's proposal to "emancipate" Iraq and to support its entry into the League of Nations in 1932. Not only other imperial powers but also the League's own Permanent Mandates Commission greeted the proposal with skepticism; only through intense negotiation and pressure was Britain able to win international consent to its plan. The end of formal empire and the passage to statehood in this early case of Iraq would have many resonances in decolonization around the world after 1945.

AHR Forum

The AHR Forum provides an intensive case study following upon the *AHR* Forum on "Transnational Sexualities" in the December 2009 issue. Whereas that earlier forum highlighted transnationalism as an important source of scholarly innovation with respect to the study of sexuality, this forum on "Intimate Life and Sexuality in Mid-Twentieth-Century France" places the transnational directly in tension with the national.

The U.S. Army's regulation of prostitution in occupied France at the end of World War II stands at the center of "The Price of Discretion: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and the American Military in France, 1944–1946" by **Mary Louise Roberts**. The management of sexuality was a crucial element not only of postwar transnational conflicts between the U.S. military and the French government, but also of the French government's struggles to reestablish its control over France in the wake of Germany's invasion and in the face of American occupation.

In "Comrades in the Labor Room: The Lamaze Method of Childbirth Preparation and France's Cold War Home Front, 1951–1957," **Paula A. Michaels** examines how Dr. Fernand Lamaze brought a revolutionary new technique of childbirth preparation back to France after a medical tour of the Soviet Union. The transit of the so-called "Lamaze method" to France—in advance of its extraordinary popularity once it crossed the Atlantic to the United States—reveals more than the transnational flow of medical ideas across Cold War barriers, as the relative merits of the "Lamaze method" also figured in postwar domestic debates between the French Communist Party and its political adversaries.

"Sex, Love, and Letters: Writing Simone de Beauvoir, 1949–1963," by **Judith G. Coffin**, concerns an outpouring of confessional correspondence to Simone de Beauvoir in response to her publication of *The Second Sex* in 1949. This was an early phase in Beauvoir's international celebrity, and especially in the articulation of feminist sensibilities and arguments by the ordinary people who took it upon themselves to write to her. Beauvoir's global readership stood apart from the controversies she aroused in the French media.

In her comment on the three articles, "Sex, Sovereignty, and Transnational Intimacies," **Judith Surkis** concentrates on the analytical relationship between the trans-

national and the national in the study of sexualities, as well as on the historical relationship between intimate sexualities and formal politics. In attending to how sexed bodies are implicated in a simultaneously national and transnational field of power relations, Surkis seeks to reframe the linkages between sexual knowledge and power, on the one hand, and corporeality and political sovereignty, on the other.

December's issue will include articles on international humanitarianism in response to the Armenian Genocide and on repercussions of Chinese decolonization for Kazaks, as well as an *AHR* Forum on "New Perspectives on the Enlightenment."

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Robert A. Schneider, the editor of the *AHR*, is on sabbatical leave this academic year. Konstantin Dierks and Sarah Knott, on the faculty of the History Department of Indiana University and former associate editors of the journal, are serving as acting editors.

In Back Issues

In the hope of encouraging readers to dip into the long history of scholarship contained in the pages of the *American Historical Review* (now in the 115th year of its publishing history), and to take advantage of the digital availability of this archive to most readers, the *AHR* editors offer a look back at issues from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago. What follows is not a comprehensive survey of the contents of those issues, but rather a glance at some of the articles and other features that might be of interest, or even of use, today.

Volume 16, Number 1 (October 1910)

The most interesting item in the October 1910 issue comes in what was once a regular feature of the *AHR*: "Documents." This issue includes two letters written by Toussaint Louverture and seventeen written by Edward Stevens in a fraught moment as far from the end as from the beginning of the prolonged Haitian Revolution. An American diplomat dispatched to Haiti in 1799, Stevens wrote a series of detailed firsthand reports on the revolution to his superiors in the U.S. State Department, first Timothy Pickering and then John Marshall. He arrived just as the revolution against French imperial control was devolving into what amounted to civil war between forces loyal to Toussaint and those loyal to his French-backed rival, André Rigaud. After Toussaint defeated Rigaud in 1800, Stevens was relieved to report from the ensuing political calm, unaware, of course, that the situation in Haiti would soon grow chaotic again. In addition to the diplomatic reports from Stevens, there are letters from Toussaint to President John Adams, one from 1798 and the other from 1799, both in French. The revolutionary Haitian leader addressed the president of the United States in an interval when the U.S. government was willing to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Haitian revolutionaries. That would no longer be the case after Adams lost the election of 1800 to Thomas Jefferson, who, as the new president, would shut down those negotiations. Together, Toussaint's and Stevens's letters are quite dramatic in spotlighting a brutal interval of civil war as well as this brief window of diplomacy amid the prolonged vicissitudes of the Haitian Revolution.

Other articles in the October 1910 issue have a similarly transnational thrust that makes them seem quite current, even one hundred years later. C. Raymond Beazley,

the author of several monographs and document collections on early modern European exploration of the wider world, examined Prince Henry of Portugal's religious motivations in so avidly pursuing exploration of Africa in the fifteenth century. Justin H. Smith, a Pulitzer Prize-winning author of several books on the United States-Mexico borderland in the mid-nineteenth century, scrutinized the public debates surrounding the Mexican government's belated and begrudging formal recognition of the United States' annexation of Texas. These articles suggest that the first decade of the twentieth century involved a surge in transnational history akin to what has been transpiring in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Volume 41, Number 1 (October 1935)

The centerpiece of the October 1935 issue is Charles A. Beard's "That Noble Dream," the essay which would inspire Peter Nozick's classic 1998 book *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*. Of course, Beard's essay is itself a classic intervention in what has continued to be an enduring debate about differing modes of history writing. It was a rather fierce rejoinder to a long jeremiad published earlier that year in the *AHR* by Theodore Clarke Smith to mark the AHA's fiftieth anniversary. Smith sought to defend "objectivity" in the writing of history, and he did so in the face of a new generation of scholars who either were openly presentist in their mission or were experimenting with economic history. Smith had deemed both of these tendencies to be dangerous to the integrity of the discipline of history, but Beard exposed the epistemological flaws in Smith's naive belief in a notion of historical "objectivity" that could actually recuperate, rather than interpret, the past. Beard pointed to the fundamental difference between "the past" as lived and "history" as written—and also as archived, and as researched. In lawyerly fashion, he went on to reveal that some of Smith's own role models among historians—beginning with Leopold von Ranke—did not practice any notion of pure objectivity. The aim was to undermine Smith's holding up of a golden age of history writing untainted by presentism or Marxism.

It is no surprise that Beard, the author of *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913), would defend economic history against aspersions of Marxism, but he did not withdraw into a parochial defense of his own approach to the writing of history. Instead, he insisted that historians should pay much greater heed to "the wider and deeper philosophic questions involved in the interpretation of history." For Beard this meant reaching beyond the hegemony of political history to innovative research into neglected topics: "economic, racial, sex, and cultural." Above all, it meant an openness in grappling with unquestioned assumptions behind the archiving, researching, and writing of history. Even if the historian's underlying "philosophy and purpose" are not openly declared, they are always present, according to Beard, and ideally should be acknowledged and confronted. The proper and responsible solution for Beard was not an impossible objectivity, but a combination of deeper thoughtfulness and greater openness.

Volume 66, Number 1 (October 1960)

The October 1960 issue contains two compelling think pieces, one by H. Stuart Hughes, a Europeanist intellectual historian at Harvard, and the other by C. Vann Woodward, an Americanist southern historian at Johns Hopkins. Hughes's long essay, "The Historian and the Social Scientist," became embedded in his 1964 book *History as Art and Science: Twin Vistas on the Past*. What Hughes wanted from historians was a greater willingness to link particularities and generalizations together, rather than to tilt toward either one or the other. In a call for history not to embrace interdisciplinarity so much as to borrow techniques from other disciplines, he saw the social sciences and psychoanalysis as two potential sources of inspiration for historians to sharpen the writing of history to attain a middle ground between particularities and generalizations.

In his essay "The Age of Reinterpretation," C. Vann Woodward insisted that the writing of history must change with the times, even as he argued that the times—since the end of World War II in 1945—were changing significantly. For Woodward, from the vantage of the United States, the changes on a global scale in the 1950s were as epochal as had been the changes on a continental scale in the 1890s. The so-called end of the American frontier had inspired Frederick Jackson Turner to articulate his famous "frontier thesis" in 1893 as a fundamental dividing line in American history. Woodward believed himself to be witnessing another such dividing line: in the perpetual militarization of the Cold War, in the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union, and in the collapse of European imperialism around the world. If other historians rued the decline of European hegemony, Woodward mainly worried about the decline of American security. Just as the land had once disappeared from the American scene in the 1890s, now security was disappearing from it in the 1950s, which prompted Woodward to call for a new approach to history more attentive to the United States' involvement with the world beyond declining Europe.

At bottom, this transformative new moment in American history prompted Woodward to insist that history must always be revised in response to contemporary pressures, which he believed were accelerating in speed and broadening in scope. If anything, that amplification and acceleration of historical change was producing "a greater thirst for historical meaning" in the intelligent public, which created a special opportunity for historians, but also a special responsibility. Woodward believed that addressing new questions about the past and its relation to the present could invest the writing of history with greater drama, and that such dramatic writing was necessary for history to satisfy an audience so apparently keen for guidance. If historians did not apply themselves to such "reinterpretation" of the past, he feared, their audience would migrate their allegiance to other disciplines more responsive to contemporary pressures.



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 MILLENARIUM ET LIBERTINORUM, SEDUCTOR
 ET CAPITANEUS SEDITIONIS. ANABAPTISTARUM
 ET OVACKERORUM IN CIVITATE LONDINENSIS.
Brillat in quatuor partes dissectus D. 19. Jan. Anno 1661.

FIGURE 1: In 1637, the antinomian wine cooper Thomas Venner migrated to New England, where he served in the Bay Colony militia. Inspired by the prospect of thoroughgoing reformation in revolutionary England, he returned to London in 1651 and entered the radical republican underground. By 1654, he had joined the millenarian Fifth Monarchist movement, which opposed the Protectorate regime of Oliver Cromwell as another form of kingly government. In January 1661, Venner led his London Fifth Monarchist cell in a four-day rebellion to overthrow the newly restored king, Charles II. In the course of the fighting, Venner's forces attacked the Comptor Prison in Wood Street and attempted to free the prisoners to rescue them from potential transportation to the colonies to work as "bond slaves." In tracts written before the rising, the rebels condemned the trade "in the slaves and souls of men" and prophesied the doom of those who engaged in this traffic. Shortly after their capture on the fourth day of battle, Venner and ten of his followers were hanged, drawn, and quartered. Prints such as this quickly followed, depicting Venner as a traitorous fanatic. He would not be the last abolitionist to be vilified in such terms. Engraving by unknown artist, 1861. From Charles Knowles Bolton, *The Founders: Portraits of Persons Born Abroad Who Came to the Colonies in North America before the Year 1701*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1919), 3: 827.

“Out of the Land of Bondage”: The English Revolution and the Atlantic Origins of Abolition

JOHN DONOGHUE

IN 1646 THE TEENAGER Charles Bayly wandered through the Thames-side town of Gravesend on his way to London, joining thousands of other people streaming into the capital after being uprooted by the chaos of the English Revolution.¹ As he wrote years later, in Gravesend he

met with one Bradstreet, who was commonly called a spirit, for he was one of those who did entice children and people away for Virginia; he fell into discourse with me, and I being in tender years, he did cunningly get me on board a ship, which was then there riding ready for to go to those parts, and I being once on board, could never get on shore, until I came to America, where I was sold as a bond-slave for 7 years.

Reflecting on his subsequent life in the Chesapeake, Bayly described his plight:

[I endured] hunger, cold, nakedness, beatings, whippings, and the like . . . for many times was I stripped naked, and tied up by the hand, and whipped, and made to go barefoot and bare-legged in cold and frosty weather, and hardly clothes to cover my nakedness, besides the sore and grievous labor which I was continually kept at during which time my poor soul would be

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¹ Early modern historians disagree on what to call the political and social upheavals that swept across Britain and Ireland during the mid-seventeenth century. Some doubt that a “revolution” in England even took place. For the purposes of this article, the phrase “English Revolution” describes the political and social events from 1640 to 1660 that led to the abolition of the monarchy and episcopacy and the establishment of an English “commonwealth” or “republic” that embraced a relatively wide degree of religious toleration and attempted to transform England's Atlantic colonies into a well-ordered empire. For a recent overview of the concept of an English Revolution, see Nicholas Tyacke, “Introduction: Locating the ‘English Revolution,’” in Tyacke, ed., *The English Revolution, c.1590–1720: Politics, Religion and Communities* (Manchester, 2007).

often bemoaning itself concerning my sore captivity and misery . . . I had hard labor, and my daily exercise was beyond the common manner of slaves, for mine was often night and day.²

Although his master tried to break his spirit through such brutal treatment, Bayly remained strong, resisted, and briefly managed to escape. Upon his subsequent capture, a colonial court punished him by doubling his seven-year term of service, notwithstanding the fact that this sentence contradicted both English statute and common law regarding servants.³ While in Gravesend, Bayly had fallen victim to an illegal form of enslavement called “spiriting”; but once transported to the Chesapeake, he legally became the temporary, chattel property of his owner, although this too violated English labor law. Within one context, the imperial, Bayly’s chattel status remained ambiguous, but within another context, his own lived experience, he conveyed his position on the plantation with precision: he called himself a “bond slave.” Referring to those who labored beside him in what he described as “Maryland in Virginia,” he wrote movingly, “the poor creatures had better have been hanged, than to suffer the death and misery they did.”⁴

Bayly underwent this traumatic experience during the 1640s and early 1650s, when laborers from Britain and Ireland dominated the Chesapeake’s plantation workforce. On Barbados, during the same time that Bayly languished in Maryland, the seaman Henry Whistler described the plight of the permanently enslaved who were just then beginning to equal and perhaps outnumber “Christian” servants on the island.⁵ “The gentry here . . . have most of them 100 or 2 or 3 slaves a piece whom they command as they please . . . with ingones [indians] and miserable negors . . . borne to perpetual slavery they and their seed . . . they sell them one to the other as we sell sheep.”⁶ Writing on the treatment that “Christian” workers endured on Barbados during the same period, Richard Ligon noted, “I have seen such cruelty there done to servants, as I did not think one Christian could have done to another”; “servants” with the worst masters, he observed, “were not able to endure such slavery.”⁷ As these accounts from Bayly, Whistler, and Ligon illustrate, contemporaries clearly distinguished between the “perpetual” enslavement of Africans and Native Americans and the temporary slavery of European workers. Importantly, however, they all construed “Christians,” “negors,” and “ingones” as laboring under various forms of colonial slavery. Despite this and other well-documented contemporary

² Charles Bayly, *A True and Faithful Warning unto the People and Inhabitants of Bristol* (London, 1663), 8–9.

³ Alice M. Johnson, “Bayly, Charles,” in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=49. Bayly’s name was also variously spelled as Bailly and Bailey.

⁴ Bayly, *A True and Faithful Warning*, 9.

⁵ Contemporaries used “Christian,” “negro” (in various forms), and “savage” to demarcate European, African, and Native American workers, respectively, more regularly than “white” or “black.” I will use these terms instead of “white” and “black” to be consistent with seventeenth-century usage as well as to avoid imposing more concrete and therefore antagonistic racial identities upon these workers than they themselves would have assumed.

⁶ British Library, Sloane Mss 3926, fol. 8. This manuscript contains Henry Whistler’s journal entries detailing the Cromwellian invasion of the Caribbean from the winter of 1654 through the summer of 1655.

⁷ Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (London, 1657), 31; quoted in Susan Dwyer Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640–1700* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007), 60. Ligon’s observations stem from his sojourn on Barbados, which lasted from 1647 to 1650.

perceptions that they worked as slaves, and in the face of the objective chattel status imposed upon Bayly and tens of thousands of others from Britain and Ireland, almost all scholars of the English Atlantic limit their conceptualization of colonial slavery to the perpetual bondage endured by Native Americans and Africans.

The standard method used to evaluate slavery in the English Atlantic during the seventeenth century has proceeded from a definition of what the practice became in the eighteenth century: an institution of racialized, perpetual bondage. Yet this is a mistaken approach that removes people such as Charles Bayly and tens of thousands of others like him from the literal history of colonial slavery. By taking the views of contemporaries seriously, and through a brief foray into the global history and sociology of slavery, we can recast mid-seventeenth-century "indentured servitude" in the English Atlantic as a form of slavery that existed alongside the perpetual enslavement of Native Americans and people of African heritage. Instead of trying to study "slavery" in the seventeenth-century English Atlantic, we ought to begin grappling with how the drive to maximize profits in the early plantation complex gave rise to different "slaveries."⁸

To do so, however, we must move beyond contested definitions to explore how contemporaries understood and even opposed the rise of multiple forms of slavery in England's seventeenth-century colonies. Indeed, as England's revolutionary regimes worked to build their burgeoning empire on the foundation of colonial slave societies, the conceptual power of defining the Englishman's "freeborn" status against different forms of political and economic "slavery" gained new potency, in both England and the colonies. We can trace the activities of a transatlantic network of radicals, undocumented by other scholars, who infused condemnations of economic slavery into their struggles against the "slavery" of arbitrary government in New and Old England during the English Revolution. Although scholars usually consider abolitionist thought and action to have originated in the late eighteenth century, the origins of abolition in the English Atlantic can actually be located in the mid-seventeenth century. This point bears on a much larger one, namely how, within the long, sordid sweep of slavery's global history, people came to challenge the ancient idea that the freedom of some could be built upon the enslavement of others.

Scholars have long questioned the value of determining historical "origins." One of the Annales school's most celebrated practitioners, Marc Bloch, famously doubted whether the concept of origins was even historically valid.⁹ Bloch argued that historical "firsts" cannot represent "origins," because firsts depend in some way upon

⁸ Peter Kolchin has urged scholars to become more attuned to the varieties of perpetual bondage that Africans and their descendants endured in the colonies, writing that it "is increasingly clear that we must come to grips not so much with slavery as with slaveries." See Kolchin's article "Variations of Slavery in the Atlantic World," *William and Mary Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (2002): 551–554, quote on 551. I agree with Kolchin, but would widen the spectrum of slaveries to include the bond slavery endured mostly by Europeans, and more rarely, Africans and Native Americans.

⁹ See Marc Bloch, "The Idol of Origins," in Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (Manchester, 1992), 24–29. The first English edition of this work appeared in 1954. David Armitage offers a useful reflection on the concept of origins in *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000), 5–7: "The origins of a concept, as of any other object of historical inquiry, are not necessarily connected to any later outcome, causally or otherwise . . . Conversely, present usage or practice offers no sure guide to the origins of a concept or activity." This nicely encapsulates my own conceptualization of the origins of abolition in the English Atlantic, as abolition in the seventeenth century did not necessarily "cause" the movement to flourish in the late eighteenth century. What connects both across time is the substance

earlier developments for their existence. Holding that “a historical phenomenon can never be understood apart from its moment in time,” he went on to construe the search for origins as an irrational “obsession.” In his view, the long-term chronological comparisons upon which the search for origins rests depend in turn upon a fallacy that historical phenomena can be replicated substantially over time.¹⁰ Yet empirical research shows that the origins of historical phenomena can be traced, and while it remains critical to understand these subjects within their own historical context, viewing them in a chronologically comparative context only heightens their significance or their lack thereof. Without this comparative perspective, the historian’s craft, which necessarily evaluates continuity and change over time, becomes nearly impossible. Bloch’s commandment would reduce history to a series of discrete events impossible to connect to one another without falling into an abyss of anachronism.

In trying to locate the origins of abolition, we need not follow the history of abolition movements from the mid-seventeenth century to the late eighteenth. It is sufficient to trace their beginnings to the mid-seventeenth century and to demonstrate their conceptual and contextual similarities to abolitionism in the late eighteenth century. Establishing this point requires a working definition of abolition, which is understood here to mean an organized attempt to outlaw or otherwise end the institutions of slave-trading and/or slavery. With the notable exception of Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker’s *The Many-Headed Hydra*, a rough consensus exists among scholars of the English Atlantic that abolitionism first arose in the region as a single-issue movement.¹¹ Historians of abolition customarily and rightly differentiate between this late-eighteenth-century abolitionism and the “antislavery” literature of the late seventeenth century. Those best known for expressing antislavery views before the eighteenth century—Morgan Godwyn, Thomas Tryon, and Richard

of the concept of abolition, the acted-upon desire to end slavery and/or slave-trading in the English Atlantic.

¹⁰ Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft*, 24–25, 29.

¹¹ Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, 2000). This article would have been impossible without the pioneering work of Linebaugh and Rediker, whose book on the lives of working people in the early modern British Atlantic represents a triumph of the evidence of lived experience over the mythology of imperial ideology. The authors view the radicalism of the English Revolution largely as a project to abolish different forms of political tyranny and economic unfreedom. The revolution’s radical legacy, according to Linebaugh and Rediker, fortified by the inspirational example of slave revolts, helped shape abolitionist thought in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In contrast to these two historians, most scholars understand abolitionism as an eighteenth-century phenomenon, although they disagree over whether abolitionists were motivated more by altruism or by political and economic self-interest. Eric Williams’s *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1944) advanced the now classic but much-disputed argument that the decline of the West Indian sugar industry rather than humanitarian concern drove the abolitionist movement forward to its ultimate political success. Seymour Drescher’s *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Pittsburgh, 1977) and *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective* (New York, 1987) effectively challenged the Williams thesis by showing that the abolition of slavery came at the zenith of sugar’s profitability. Other important works on abolition include Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760–1810* (New York, 1975); David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1987); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (New York, 1999); and Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006). See Brown, *Moral Capital*, 12–32; and David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York, 2006), 231–249, for invaluable historiographic overviews of abolitionism in the British Empire.

Baxter—all criticized the harshness of slavery, and while they did not call for an end to the institution itself, they did provide critical insights into its inequities that later abolitionists also exploited.¹²

In contrast to the abolitionists of the late eighteenth century who pursued their objective in single-minded fashion, transatlantic radicals during the age of the English Revolution embedded their calls for the end of slavery within larger political projects. But while significant differences exist between the two periods of abolitionism, the similarities seem more revealing. As Christopher Leslie Brown argues in his important book *Moral Capital*, the imperial crisis of the American Revolution figured prominently in the advent of late-eighteenth-century abolition, as the British, principally the English among them, began to question the substance of what made them a free people. The same kind of questioning can be discerned in the midst of an earlier, mid-seventeenth-century imperial crisis that trended, albeit on a much smaller scale, in parallel abolitionist fashion. To describe this development as constituting the "origins" of abolition in the English Atlantic thus seems fair because (a) it represented the first clear, organized call to end slavery and slave-trading in the region; (b) people in both the mid-seventeenth and the late eighteenth centuries articulated the substance of abolitionism, namely the clear, organized call to end slavery and slave-trading; and (c) imperial crises played an important role in facilitating abolitionist activity in both the mid-seventeenth and the late eighteenth centuries, providing roughly similar contexts that can help explain the rise of abolition in two distinct historical periods.

In most works on abolition, a widespread problem exists in reducing the concept of slavery to what it became in the eighteenth-century empire: an institution of permanent, racialized chattel bondage. But this type of slavery evolved from earlier variants in the seventeenth century that formed a complex system of bondage in which race had yet to become the defining feature of chattel status. Taking the English Atlantic as a whole in the mid-seventeenth century, those who served fixed terms as the chattel property of plantation owners outnumbered the permanently enslaved.¹³ Subsequently, to understand the origins of abolition in the empire, we need

¹² Philippe Rosenberg, "Thomas Tryon and the Seventeenth-Century Dimensions of Antislavery," *William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (2004): 609–642; Daniel Carey, "Sugar, Colonialism, and the Critique of Slavery: Thomas Tryon in Barbados," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 9 (2004): 303–321; Alden T. Vaughan, "Slaveholders' 'Hellish Principles': A Seventeenth-Century Critique," in Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience* (New York, 1995), 55–81; Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 39–49; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (New York, 1988), 204–206, 307, 339–341.

¹³ Between 1650 and 1660, 50,251 people from Britain and Ireland and elsewhere in Europe arrived in the English Chesapeake and Caribbean. During the same period, 40,726 people of African descent were imported, mostly to the Caribbean. Since the rate of white migration greatly outpaced that of blacks during the preceding decades of English colonization, and since anywhere from one-half to three-quarters of white migrants during the entire period under discussion came as "servants," colonial white workers continued to outnumber black workers during the period of the English Revolution, ca. 1640–1660. Importantly, black workers on Barbados came to outnumber white workers by the late 1650s or early 1660s; this did not occur in the Chesapeake until the 1690s. For colonial migration statistics, see David Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis* (New York, 1984), 216–218, tables H3 and H4. It has been estimated that a total of 125,271 people migrated out of England between 1651 and 1661. Besides the colonies, most left for Ireland or the European mainland. See E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (London, 1981), 227.

to understand how slavery began there. This in turn requires a workable definition of slavery itself.

Scholars of both historical and modern slavery define the institution broadly as the legal or illegal holding of people against their will through violence or the threat thereof, to labor as the chattel property of their so-called owners, for whose economic benefit they are forced to work.¹⁴ When placing slavery in the context of other extreme power relationships, the sociologist Orlando Patterson, perhaps the most celebrated theorist of slavery, describes “social death” as the institution’s most salient feature. Masters tried to impose “social death” by attempting to obliterate the personhood of their slaves, to make enslaved persons an extension of their wills, a process intended to deny the enslaved individual autonomy and sustainable membership within communities that vivify social life. But as Vincent Brown has reminded us in a compelling critique of Patterson’s thesis, the “political history” of slave resistance preserved the humanity of the enslaved as individuals and as a community in the face of the “social death” that their masters wished to impose.¹⁵ As Patterson and many others have observed, some type of slavery has existed in most if not all of the world’s societies. Continuing into our own time, slavery has taken many different forms over its protracted global history. Not all of those who are forced to perform unfree labor as chattels necessarily endure the condition for life. The forms of slavery practiced today, as well as in the former Ottoman Empire and by past societies of Africans and Native Americans, among others, speak to this point. Kevin Bales, the world’s leading authority on modern slavery, calls today’s slaves “disposable people,” because their owners usually discard them after their labor loses profitability.¹⁶

While scholars have long recognized the different forms that slavery has assumed, seldom if ever has this knowledge been used to deconstruct the term “indentured servitude” and reconstruct it in its mid-seventeenth-century context as an outright form of temporary chattel slavery that existed in tandem with the permanent enslavement of Africans and Native Americans. “Indentured servant” is hardly an objective signifier, as those who employ it unwittingly follow the lead of the slaveholders themselves, who concealed the slavery they imposed on the people they bought and sold from Britain and Ireland under the rhetorical cloak of the tradition of English service, partly as a way to shield themselves from well-informed contemporary criticism that they had made “slaves” out of Christians.¹⁷ Despite the entrenched place

¹⁴ Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 30; Kevin Bales, *Ending Slavery: How We Free Today’s Slaves* (Berkeley, Calif., 2007), 9–12.

¹⁵ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 21–27; Vincent Brown, “Social Death and Political Life in the Study of Slavery,” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 5 (December 2009): 1231–1249.

¹⁶ The enslaved of these societies were often held in bondage temporarily, frequently for the purposes of ransom. They could marry into the families that held them or other free families, and they could sometimes become fully integrated members of their societies; moreover, children did not necessarily inherit the slave status of their parents. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, eds., *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders: Early Fifteenth–Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2007); Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, 1983); James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002). For modern slavery, see Kevin Bales, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004).

¹⁷ For examples, see William Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined, and Left to Public View* (London,

the term holds in the lexicon of early American and English Atlantic studies, it is unsatisfactory for this particular period. A more apt term is "bond slave."

This problem of how to categorize temporary chattel workers intersects with the controversies surrounding the origins of slavery in the English Atlantic, where historians have questioned whether race, as a social construct, constituted the driving force in the institution's evolution. Arguing from the position that material conditions give rise to history, some scholars see race as an ideological by-product of slavery rather than its progenitor. Others view the ideological construct of race as a powerful force in the very creation of colonial slavery, which in turn helped to define "whiteness" and its attendant privileges.¹⁸ A second, related argument concerns why Europeans turned to the enslavement of Africans when they could plausibly have enslaved other Europeans more cheaply.¹⁹ Despite the disparate positions

1649), 13–14; and Martin Noell's remarks before Parliament in March 1659, in John Towill Rutt, ed., *The Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq.* (London, 1828), 258–259.

¹⁸ "Origins" literature is too prolific to cite comprehensively. For perhaps the most famous exposition of the materialist position, see Barbara Fields, "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review* 181 (1990): 95–118; for the same concerning race as an ideological catalyst in slavery's development, see David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York, 1991). In *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), Kathleen M. Brown convincingly showed the importance of gender's role in shaping the emerging racialization of slavery. The works cited above drew on earlier scholarship, most notably the following: Oscar and Mary Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," *William and Mary Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1950): 199–222; Winthrop Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968); Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975); T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, "Myne Owne Ground": *Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640–1676* (New York, 1980). For a review of the origins debate, see Alden T. Vaughan, "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," in Colin A. Palmer, ed., *The Worlds of Unfree Labour: From Indentured Servitude to Slavery* (Aldershot, 1998). For concise and illuminating treatments of the rise of slavery in the early English Atlantic, see Betty Wood, *The Origins of American Slavery: Freedom and Bondage in the English Colonies* (New York, 1998). Michael Guasco emphasizes the "slavishness" of indentured servitude in "From Servitude to Slavery," in Toyin Falola and Kevin D. Roberts, eds., *The Atlantic World, 1450–2000* (Bloomington, Ind., 2008), 69–95; for the mainland colonies in particular, see Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North America: A Short History* (New York, 2001). My own views on the origins debate were most informed by the work of Theodore Allen, Hilary McD. Beckles, Peter Linebaugh, and Marcus Rediker, as they all come close to arguing that multiple forms of slavery existed side by side in the early English Atlantic. Allen's stunningly impressive archival research in his two-volume *The Invention of the White Race* (New York, 1994, 1997) allowed him to trace the origins of both slavery and race in minute detail, charting with empirical precision the process by which Chesapeake planters were able to render their "Christian" and "negro" servants into various forms of chattel property, and how this in tandem with the culture of resistance that European and African workers formed together made it difficult for the modern notion of "race" to take hold among the unfree in the Chesapeake for most of the seventeenth century. The work of the prolific Hilary McD. Beckles is also deeply immersed in archival material. Beckles convincingly emphasizes the importance of the chattelization of workers from Britain and Ireland on seventeenth-century Barbados, and how this related to the rise of black slavery there as well as a tradition of combined resistance among black and white workers. In *The Many-Headed Hydra*, Linebaugh and Rediker drew out these features of Allen's and Beckles's work on an Atlantic canvas, depicting with empirical rigor a deeply human portrait of both the enormous monstrosity of slavery and the ingenious resilience of those who resisted it.

¹⁹ Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (New York, 1997), 315–331; Seymour Drescher, "White Atlantic? The Choice for African Slave Labor in the Plantation Americas," in David Eltis, Frank D. Lewis, and Kenneth L. Sokoloff, eds., *Slavery in the Development of the Americas* (Cambridge, 2004), 31–69; David Eltis, "Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery in the Americas: An Interpretation," *American Historical Review* 98, no. 5 (December 1993): 1399–1423; Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (New York, 2000), 63–70.

taken in these debates, they all assume that the rise of slavery in the English colonies began with the transition from so-called indentured servitude to a system that placed mainly people of African descent in perpetual bondage.²⁰ But if we shift the debate away from a definition of slavery that equates it with perpetual chattel bondage, we can see that slavery began in the English Atlantic when planters first rendered “Christians,” “negros,” and “savages” into chattels during the 1615–1619 period.²¹ Initially, race did not determine the distinction between slave and free; crucially, however, as early as 1640, colonial courts began constructing racial identities to determine who could be enslaved for a fixed term and who could be enslaved for life.²² Perhaps, then, a more precise way to frame one aspect of the origins debate would be to explore why the English plantocracy chose not to reduce their “Christian” workers from Europe to perpetual slavery. In view of bond slavery’s significance as the first, dominant form of chattel labor in the English Atlantic, where the world’s largest slaveholding empire eventually took root, we should move beyond the idea that the seventeenth-century transition from a majority of “Christian” to “negro” unfree workers involved a clear changeover from the use of servants to the use of slaves. In the end, this interpretation distorts what should otherwise be understood as a series of incremental innovations in an increasingly exploitative, capitalist labor system in which multiple forms of chattel slavery eventually crystallized by the eighteenth century into a dominant form of racialized, permanent slavery.

Bond slavery, as Charles Bayly’s poignant testimony reveals, involved the attempted imposition of social death that Patterson found so characteristic of slavery. This can be explained by comparing the practice to the English tradition of service. Servants working in England occupied a clearly defined place within English society; they bound themselves freely to masters or were bound through the consent of their parents for fixed terms of service regulated by statute and common law.²³ But research has shown that voluntary migration to the colonies declined precipitously during the era of the English Revolution. The demand for unfree labor, in contrast, simultaneously increased, due in part to the expansion of tobacco cultivation in the Chesapeake, but more directly to the advent of profitable sugar production in the

²⁰ See Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (New Haven, Conn., 2002), for the notable exception of the Carolina Lowcountry, where systemic Indian enslavement preceded the same for people of African descent.

²¹ A possible starting point might be November 1619, when John Rolfe described the buying and selling of English workers in Virginia. S. M. Kingsbury, ed., *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1906–1935), 3: 336. Allen quotes Rolfe’s description of this process in *The Invention of the White Race*, 2: 80. Governor Samuel Argall, however, introduced temporary slavery for colonists as a legal punishment in 1617. For probably the first shipment of enslaved Africans into the English Atlantic in 1619, see Engel Sluiter, “New Light on the ‘20 and Odd Negroes’ Arriving in Virginia, August 1619,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (1997): 395–398; and Arthur Percival Newton, *The Colonising Activities of the English Puritans: The Last Phase of the Elizabethan Struggle with Spain* (1914; repr., Port Washington, N.Y., 1966), 21–23.

²² In 1640, John Punch, a person of African descent, was sentenced to lifetime slavery in Virginia for running away with two bond slaves of European extraction. The latter were sentenced to flogging. This can be interpreted as the first legal sanctioning of lifelong slavery in the Chesapeake. The de facto practice developed much earlier on Bermuda, Barbados, and St. Kitts. See Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, 1: 179. Barbados passed its first comprehensive slave code in 1661, fashioned out of earlier slave laws. See *Acts of Assembly, Passed in the Island of Barbadoes, from 1648 to 1718* (London, 1721).

²³ I have learned much concerning the differences between English bound service and colonial unfree labor from Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges*, 107–144.

Caribbean.²⁴ As a result, a system of involuntary migration rapidly matured in the mid-seventeenth-century English Atlantic. While deception and coercion always figured in the supply of the colonial workforce, during the English Revolution they became the main means by which recruiters, merchants, planters, and the state mobilized the supply of plantation bond slaves. New words such as "spiriting," "Barbadosed," and later "kidnapping" entered the English language, denoting the fraudulent and violent practices by which people from Britain and Ireland were lured or forced away from their own communities and coerced into colonial bond slavery. Plantation bond slaves were then subjected to longer terms of service and harsher conditions of labor discipline than English statute or common law allowed. Some historians of slavery in the early English Atlantic deny that so-called indentured servants, even as chattel property, were slaves, because, allegedly, only the workers' contracts, rather than the workers themselves, were sold. But as Patterson has written and as Linebaugh and Rediker noted in their discussion of bond slavery, "the distinction, often made, between selling their labor as opposed to selling their persons makes no sense whatsoever in human terms."²⁵ We should privilege these human terms to study "indentured servitude" or bond slavery as an embodied experience rather than as a reflection of disembodied contract law. The suffering and exploitation endured by bond slaves such as Charles Bayly tells us more about the nature of unfree colonial labor than his contract does, which in any case he did not enter into voluntarily, just like tens of thousands of other plantation workers. The distinction between the sale of a contract and the sale of a person represents a legal fiction, and certainly made no sense to these workers, since their bodies and not their contracts were forced to labor for a new master as his chattel property. Bond slavery, however, was certainly not the same thing as perpetual slavery. Contemporaries used the term "bond slave" to signify a discrete condition of chattelized labor, one that differentiated the status of the temporarily enslaved from the permanently enslaved as well as from those bound to service in Britain and Ireland. Unfortunately, historians have not made use of this contemporary language often enough when exploring the initial phase of slavery's development in the English Atlantic. This terminology remains instructive for us in the present, however, when we note that contemporaries recognized that "Christians," "negros," and "savages" from around the Atlantic world could be subjected to multiple forms of enslavement there and beyond.²⁶

The seventeenth-century English viewed the enslavement of their own people

²⁴ See Carla Gardina Pestana's richly researched *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640–1661* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 183–212, esp. 186–190, for the decline in voluntary migration and the upsurge in the traffic of coerced unfree labor from Britain and Ireland and Africa during the revolutionary era.

²⁵ Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 9.

²⁶ For bond slavery in the Chesapeake, see Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, 2: 1–147. April Lee Hatfield recognizes that the bond labor regime in Virginia stemmed from exploitative innovations to the English apprenticeship system. See Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 2004), 135–143. Christine Daniels argues in a well-researched essay that indentured servitude in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake should not be viewed as a form of slavery because Maryland "servants" petitioned for better treatment, while slaves allegedly could not. See Daniels, "'Liberty to Complain': Servant Petitions in Maryland, 1652–1797," in Christopher L. Tomlins and Bruce H. Mann, eds., *The Many Legalities of Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001), 220–231. For bond slavery on Barbados, see Hilary McD. Beckles, "The Concept of 'White Slavery' in the English Caribbean during the Early Seventeenth Century," in John Brewer and Susan Staves, eds., *Early Modern*

within their own global context. In the Mediterranean, Muslim corsairs from Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco enslaved hundreds of thousands of Europeans during the early modern period, although many would ultimately be ransomed. Between 1609 and 1614, according to the research of Robert C. Davis, England alone lost 466 ships to these raids, resulting in the enslavement of thousands of English people in North Africa. Slaving raids also touched the British mainland: a single corsair venture on the Cornish coast in 1645 netted 240 slaves. Although the image of “the Turk” haunted the English mind during this period as a symbol of Christian enslavement, so too did the specter of the American colonies.²⁷ “It hath been a constant report among the ordinary sort of people that all those servants who are sent to Virginia are sold as slaves,” wrote the Virginia planter William Bullock in 1649. The London crowd acted on these constant reports, often pummeling into submission those who were accused of spiriting “servants” off the streets and “selling” them “beyond the seas” as “slaves.” Newspapers such as *Mercurius Elencticus* and *Mercurius Melancholicus* and political tracts such as *England’s Remembrancer* all cast the colonies as a place where “free born Englishmen” worked as “slaves.”²⁸

These accounts did not exaggerate. Like their African and Native American counterparts, workers from Britain and Ireland were auctioned, weighed on scales, and bought and sold, and they could be sold again for any reason during their term of service, often to pay off a master’s debts, sometimes from gambling. They were also whipped, branded, beaten, and starved. In one particularly appalling instance, an overseer reportedly forced a sick bond slave to dig his own grave to avoid pulling other workers away from the tobacco fields. Moreover, to maximize profits by expanding their dominion over their bond slaves, planters devised laws in Chesapeake and West Indian assemblies that lengthened the terms of unfreedom for Christian workers who committed infractions ranging from drunkenness and fornication to theft and running away. Servants convicted of crimes in Old England were punished according to normative statute and common law; their terms of service were not altered. In contrast, colonial courts levied sentences on Christian bond slaves that lengthened their terms of service while they imposed perpetual slavery on “negro” bond slaves.²⁹ As Christine Daniels’s research has revealed, mid-seventeenth-cen-

Conceptions of Property (London, 1995), 572–584; for a lengthier treatment, see Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627–1715* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1989).

²⁷ Robert C. Davis, “Counting European Slaves on the Barbary Coast,” *Past and Present* 172 (2001): 88 fn. 3 for the Cornwall raid, 90 for an estimate on the capture of English and Scottish shipping. For the image of the Turk in the early English mind, see Nabil Matar’s introduction to Daniel J. Vitkus, ed., *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England* (New York, 2001), 1–55.

²⁸ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 14; John Cordy Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, 4 vols. (London, 1888), 3: 306; for the newspapers cited, see Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution*, 188; *England’s Remembrancer* (London, 1656).

²⁹ *Acts of Assembly, Passed in the Island of Barbadoes*, 15–28, 39; David Barry Gaspar, “‘Rigid and Inclement’: Origins of the Jamaican Slave Laws of the Seventeenth Century,” in Tomlins and Mann, *The Many Legalities of Early America*, 78–96; Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution*, 183–212; Warren M. Billings, “The Law of Servants and Slaves in Seventeenth-Century Virginia,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 99 (1991): 45–62; Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, 2: 1–147, esp. 125–130; Beckles, “The Concept of ‘White Slavery,’” 572–583; Robert J. Steinfeld, *The Invention of Free Labor: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture, 1350–1870* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), 3, 4, 44–46; Christopher Tomlins, “Reconsidering Indentured Servitude: European Migration and the Early American Labor Force, 1600–1775,” *Labor History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 5–43; Sharon

tury bond slaves in the small colony of Maryland could often expect courts to protect them from abusive masters, although Charles Bayly's testimony about his experience in Maryland suggests that many bond slaves ran away because they could not manage to launch a civil suit or because they believed they would not receive justice if they did. Others probably perished before opportunities for escape or a day in court arose. Regardless of a bond slave's expectations concerning the law, he or she still remained temporary chattel property, a condition that the ability to petition did not change.³⁰ Indeed, as the esteemed historian of West Indian slavery Gad Heuman concluded, even with special courts set up to hear the petitions of the "apprentices" or slaves liberated under Parliament's abolition law of 1833, "slavery did not come to an end in the Anglophone Caribbean."³¹ In the mid-seventeenth century, however, the crucial difference that usually separated the experiences of "Christian" and "negro" and "savage" workers, the potential for perpetual enslavement faced by the latter two, did not mean much to thousands of bond slaves from Britain and Ireland who died before their terms expired, making their life under bondage one of de facto as opposed to de jure permanency.³² Consequently, those in bonded service and those who sympathetically observed their brutal treatment used the term "servant" interchangeably with "slave," "bond slave," and "white negger" to describe the lived experience of colonial "servitude."³³ From the perspectives of workers and many others

V. Salinger, "Labor, Markets, and Opportunity: Indentured Servitude in Early America," *Labor History* 38, no. 2-3 (1997): 311-338; Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 217-261.

³⁰ Daniels, "'Liberty to Complain,'" 220-232. Slaves in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American South petitioned courts and legislatures for various reasons, occasionally with success. See Loren Schweninger, ed., *The Southern Debate over Slavery*, vol. 1: *Petitions to Southern Legislatures, 1778-1864* (Chicago, 2001), xxvi, xxx; vol. 2: *Petitions to Southern County Courts, 1775-1867* (Chicago, 2008), 6, 18-20. The point here is threefold: First, the ability to petition does not negate slave status. Second, the low rate of successful petitions by the enslaved of African descent clearly demonstrates how much more the system of racialized slavery, in comparison to bond slavery, denied unfree workers a legitimate place in the community. Third, the fact that slaves in the American South did resort to petitioning reflects their self-definition as legitimate members of the community and thus their resistance to social death.

³¹ Gad Heuman, "Riots and Resistance in the Caribbean at the Moment of Freedom," in Howard Temperley, ed., *After Slavery: Emancipation and Its Discontents* (London, 2000), 135.

³² Before the late seventeenth century, Africans in the Chesapeake sometimes served as bond slaves. See Breen and Innes, "Myne Owne Ground," 8-15. For high mortality rates among bond slaves, see Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, 2: 143 n. 180. Allen compares the mortality statistics of workers in contemporary and scholarly accounts of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. For a contemporary estimate, see *The Invention of the White Race*, 2: 123 n. 41, where Allen quotes Governor William Berkeley, who noted for the period covering the revolution that not one in five workers from Britain and Ireland survived their first year in Virginia. For another contemporary estimate, see George Gardiner, *A Description of the New World; or, America Islands and Continent* (London, 1651), 99, where the author estimates that one of three Virginia migrants died in the first year, although he noted that some colonists reckoned the rate at eleven of every twelve.

³³ For examples of people in Britain and Ireland and throughout the empire using the term "slave" in reference to so-called indentured servants, see Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, 3: 306, 336; Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, 4: 235; Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 13-14, 47; Bayly, *A True and Faithful Warning*, 8-9; *The Banner of Truth Displayed; or, A Testimony for Christ, and against Anti-Christ* (London, 1656), A2, 90; Lionel Gatford, *Publick Good without Private Interest* (London, 1657), 4-5; Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, 43-44; also quoted in Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges*, 60. Jerome S. Handler and Lon Shelby, "A Seventeenth-Century Commentary on Labor and Military Problems in Barbados," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 34 (1973): 117-121. Handler and Shelby transcribed and edited a 1667 manuscript titled "Some Observations on the Island of Barbados." For "white negger" references, see Abbot Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776* (Gloucester, Mass., 1967),

in England and its colonies, even before the maturation of racial identities and the full-scale transition to racialized slavery in perpetuity, England's West Indian and Chesapeake colonies were slave societies rather than societies with slaves.³⁴

During the era of the English Revolution, the word "slavery" resonated powerfully in political as well as economic contexts. People on both sides of the political divide in England and the colonies chose the term to describe the condition that resulted from the loss of political liberty. Indeed, it is difficult to find a political pamphlet among the thousands written during the period that does not equate the effects of political tyranny with slavery. The tradition actually predates the English Revolution and is at least as old as the idea of the Norman Yoke, the notion that the conquest of 1066 permanently altered England's laws to accommodate the nobility and degrade the commons, a belief that persisted even after the new Norman ruling class had abolished England's last vestiges of economic slavery. As the pamphleteer John Warr wrote in the mid-seventeenth century, "When the poor and oppressed want right, they meet with law . . . Many times the very law is the badge of our oppression, its proper intention being to enslave the people."³⁵ As Warr's observation implies, the English perceived that liberty from tyranny represented the people's freedom from the slavery of arbitrarily applied state power.³⁶ During the English Revolution, both sides believed that citizens became slaves in a political sense when, without their consent and "contrary to nature," they were placed in subjection to rulers who pursued their own interests at the expense of the public good and the people's liberty. Parliament's allies described Charles I's "personal rule" as slavery, while those loyal to the king feared their own enslavement under a set of puritan upstarts seeking to gain the political whip hand. Historians Quentin Skinner

309; Vincent Harlow, *A History of Barbados, 1625–1685* (Oxford, 1926), 293; Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 18. Surveying the value of Irish land and labor after the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland, the Oxford mathematician and Royal Academy member William Petty worked out part of his pioneering calculus of early English political economy; "value[ing] the people in Ireland as slaves" according to the current £15 price of "negroes," the Irish could "be forced to as much labour, and as cheap fare, as nature will endure, and thereby become as two men added to the commonwealth, and not as one taken away from it." Petty developed this calculation to show the English government why enslaving the Irish who resisted the conquest of their country would be more profitable than killing them. See Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 147, and Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, 75 n. 32, for the quote from William Petty's *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (London, 1691).

³⁴ For the difference between societies with slaves and slave societies, see Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 7–8. See Philip D. Morgan's *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 1–26, for an impressive example of the widely accepted argument that slave societies were born in the English Atlantic when permanent, racialized slavery became dominant in the colonial labor force.

³⁵ Quoted in Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (New York, 1972), 218–219.

³⁶ Christopher Hill, "The Norman Yoke," in Hill, ed., *Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1969). For more on John Warr's class-conscious critique of the English common law, see Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, 216–222. For a broader survey of the early modern political tradition of the freeborn Englishmen that ranges beyond Hill's focus on radicalism, see David Underdown, *A Freeborn People: Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York, 1996). For the long-term historical and wide-ranging global reach of the English tradition of liberty, see Peter Linebaugh, *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All* (Berkeley, Calif., 2008). For a compact analysis of English traditions of liberty measured against political and economic slavery, see Betty Wood, "Freedom and Bondage in English Thought," in Wood, *The Origins of American Slavery*, 9–19.

and Jonathan Scott argued that republicans within the parliamentary fold, drawing on neo-Roman and Christian humanist sources of political thought, rejected a normative construct in English political thinking by defining prerogative political institutions as inherently tyrannical, since their potential to undermine the rule of law perpetually jeopardized the people's liberty and thus threatened the nation with enslavement.³⁷ Christopher Hill explained that republicans politicized the legend of the Norman Yoke to argue against monarchical government. Looking across the Atlantic, Carla Pestana illuminated how colonial merchants and planters appealed to the tradition of the "freeborn Englishmen" to protest their "enslavement" by new mercantile restrictions on "free trade" that the revolutionary government levied through the Navigation Acts.³⁸

Despite their ascent to power, England's revolutionaries soon found themselves dividing into factions over what shape the postwar political settlement should take. The most radical proposals for constitutional change came from the puritan sects that dominated the democratic Leveller movement and their allies in the New Model Army. Through a series of declarations and engagements (1647–1649), the Levellers and the mainstay of the soldiery united to support their proposed constitution, the *Agreement of the People*.³⁹ "To avoid . . . the danger of returning to a slavish con-

³⁷ Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1998), 1–100; Skinner, "Rethinking Political Liberty," *History Workshop Journal* 61, no. 1 (2006): 156–170; Skinner, "John Milton and the Politics of Slavery," in Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 2002), 2: 286–308; Jonathan Scott, *Commonwealth Principles: Republican Writing of the English Revolution* (New York, 2004), 151–169, 233–314. Before the civil wars, most English people agreed that the ancient constitution sanctioned the exercise of monarchical prerogative power, although celebrated jurists such as Edward Coke believed that this could still amount to tyranny if the king's use of the prerogative abridged the people's customary liberties. Therefore, when the fighting broke out in 1642, those opposed to the king were not necessarily enemies of the monarchical prerogative in principle. As Francis Seymour, member of the House of Commons, said in 1642, they feared the "dangers [that] ensue by want of privilege of Parliament . . . to bring the subjects under slavery. Whereby the King can neither be preserved in honour, nor the Commonwealth in safety." On the other hand, although many future Royalists had condemned Charles's personal rule, they feared during the 1640s that waging war against the king would obliterate the coordinate theory of power between king and Parliament at the heart of the ancient constitution. In 1649, the revolutionaries executed the king and abolished the monarchy, ostensibly freeing the nation from its enslavement by the "government of a single person." For the Seymour quote, see John Morrill, "Rhetoric and Action: Charles I, Tyranny, and the English Revolution," in Gordon Sochet, ed., with Patricia E. Tatspaugh and Carol Brobeck, *Religion, Resistance, and Civil War: Papers Presented at the Folger Institute Seminar "Political Thought in Early Modern England, 1600–1660"* (Washington, D.C., 1985), 93. For the ancient constitution and English conceptions of tyranny and freedom, see Janelle Greenberg, *The Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution: St. Edward's Laws in Early Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2001).

³⁸ Pestana's groundbreaking study represents the first monograph to synthesize the religious, political, and labor history of the English Atlantic during the revolutionary era. Her novel approach contrasts the miserable conditions of colonial "bound laborers" from Britain and Ireland with the "freeborn English" planters' protests against their "enslavement" by the Rump Parliament's mercantile policies, most specifically the Act of 1650 and the first Navigation Act (1651). See her *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution*, 183–210.

³⁹ The literature on the radical politics of this period is too voluminous to cite here. The following works explore the collaboration between the Levellers, the London sects, and the New Model Army that ultimately produced the first *Agreement of the People*: Ian Gentles, "The Agreements of the People and Their Political Contexts, 1647–1649," in Michael Mendle, ed., *The Putney Debates of 1647: The Army, the Levellers, and the English State* (Cambridge, 2001), 148–174; Samuel Dennis Glover, "The Putney Debates: Popular versus Elite Republicanism," *Past and Present* 164 (1999): 47–80; Michael A. Norris, "Edward Sexby, John Reynolds, and Edmund Chillenden: Agitators, 'Sectarian Grandees,' and the Relations of the New Model Army with London in the Spring of 1647," *Historical Research* 76, no. 191 (2003): 30–53.

dition,” the *Agreement* established a covenant of revolutionary principles that defined republican liberty against the servitude of state-mandated religious conformity and government by a king or “single person.” It also called for the abolition of military impressment, which the Leveller Richard Overton likened to the experience of a “Turkey galley slave.”⁴⁰ In the fall of 1647, after Lieutenant General Oliver Cromwell and his supporters in the army high command chose to table the *Agreement* after a series of debates with “agitators” or representatives elected by the soldiery, several regiments supported by the Levellers mutinied in Hertfordshire. They rebelled against the stifling of army democracy as well as their impressment for service in Ireland. Arrayed in defiant formation at Corkbush Field before Generals Cromwell and Thomas Fairfax, the soldiers carried copies of the *Agreement* and wore printed slogans in their hats reading “England’s Freedom—Soldiers’ Rights.” Viewing military labor as a sovereign foundation for citizenship, the men linked their acquisition of democratic political power to the country’s emancipation from political bondage. Soldiers in a “free state,” they declared, could not be “enslaved” to fight “against their consciences.” Unfortunately for the Levellers and their allies in the army, the army commanders suppressed the mutiny of 1647 and another in the spring of 1649 through the execution of low-ranking ringleaders.⁴¹

The Rump Parliament never ratified the *Agreement*, and by 1653 the deepest fears its supporters had expressed about the nation returning to a “slavish condition” appeared to materialize.⁴² In April, Cromwell forcibly dissolved the Rump Parliament and seemed complicit to many in the termination of its short-lived successor, the Nominated Assembly or “Barebones Parliament,” that December. Many English republicans interpreted the Council of State’s subsequent installation of Cromwell as Lord Protector as an arbitrary usurpation of parliamentary power that established monarchy by another name—in all, a betrayal of the revolution’s sacred covenants. Ominously, the *Instrument of Government*, or Protectorate constitution, written in secret by General John Lambert during the Barebones Parliament, effectively gave Cromwell and the Council of State control of the armed forces for two years.⁴³ To

⁴⁰ *An Agreement of the People* (London, 1647), in A. S. P. Woodhouse, ed., *Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates (1647–9) from the Clarke Manuscripts with Supplementary Documents*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1974), 443–445; for the Overton quote, see Richard Overton, *A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens* (London, 1646), in Don M. Wolfe, ed., *Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution* (New York, 1967), 124–125.

⁴¹ Holstun’s scholarship reifies and improves upon Christopher Hill’s treatment of the New Model Army’s radical politics. In terms of theoretical deconstruction, Holstun’s book poses a far-reaching and convincing challenge to Mark Kishlansky’s revisionist account of the New Model’s politics, where Kishlansky attempted to “debunk” Hill. Ian Gentles’s work on the army also compares favorably to Kishlansky’s, which depoliticizes the army’s internal conflicts and alleges that they showed little sign of significant ideological discord. See Holstun’s relentlessly insightful chapter on the politics of the New Model Army in *Ehud’s Dagger: Class Struggle during the English Revolution* (New York, 2000), 231–256, esp. 246–256 for the mutiny at Corkbush Field. See also Hill, “Agitators and Officers,” in *The World Turned Upside Down*, 57–72; Mark A. Kishlansky, *The Rise of the New Model Army* (1979; repr., New York, 1983); Ian Gentles, *The New Model Army in England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1645–1653* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

⁴² By early 1649, the *Agreement* debated in the fall of 1647 had undergone two major revisions in subsequent negotiations between the Leveller leadership, elected army agitators, the General Council of army officers, and leaders from London’s radical puritan community headed by John Goodwin of Coleman Street. See Gentles, “The Agreements of the People and Their Political Contexts.”

⁴³ Barry Coward, *The Cromwellian Protectorate* (New York, 2002), 7–20; Austin Woolrych, *Commonwealth to Protectorate* (Oxford 1982), 364–378. For the troubled relationship between the Protec-

England's radical republicans, the nation remained trapped in a state of political bondage.

IN THE SPRING OF 1654, following England's victory in a popular naval war with the Dutch, Cromwell and the Council of State embarked on a project to spread English liberty abroad while uniting Protestant factions at home by laying low the "common enemy," Catholic Spain, both in Europe and in the heart of its American empire.⁴⁴ Moving beyond the blood-drenched battlegrounds of the Continent, the saints would open yet another front in the "New World" to perform their self-perceived providential duty to expand the "reformation work" of the revolution.⁴⁵ Drawing on the Black Legend, the regime justified its portended invasion of the West Indies as a crusade to liberate English sailors, colonists, Native Americans, and Africans from Spanish enslavement. Nonetheless, profits as well as providence inspired Cromwell's Caribbean ambitions, which amounted to nothing less than a systematic reorganization of the empire around a West Indian epicenter peopled by godly planters removed from New England. Through this "western design," as the venture became known, Cromwell hoped that puritans relocated from the North American continent would form the nucleus of a new-modeled slaveholding plantocracy. He transformed vision into policy after launching the expedition by sending his personal emissary, Daniel Gookin, to New England to persuade the region's puritan colonists to resettle in the Caribbean. There the Protector believed that English privateers and naval

torate regime and its Parliaments, see David L. Smith and Patrick Little, *Parliaments and Politics during the Cromwellian Protectorate* (Cambridge, 2007).

⁴⁴ This article focuses on the colonial front of Cromwell's wider naval war with Spain. For more on the European theater, see Timothy Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (New York, 1995).

⁴⁵ For illuminating work on the western design, deeply immersed in the long and revealing history of puritan visions of Caribbean empire, see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "'Errand into the Indies': Puritan Colonization from Providence Island through the Western Design," *William and Mary Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (1988): 70–99. For Cromwell's discussion of the western design with his Council of State, see S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649–1656*, 4 vols. (London, 1894–1903), 3: 159; and C. H. Firth, ed., *The Clarke Papers: Selections from the Papers of William Clarke*, 4 vols. (London, 1891–1901), Appendix B, 3: 203–208. As Peter Gaunt has proven, Oliver Cromwell did not command the Council of State at will, but neither could his councilors easily resist his will when he chose selectively to impose it, as he did over the spring, summer, and fall of 1654 to launch his war of choice in the Spanish Caribbean. See Gaunt, "'The Single Person's Confidants and Dependents'? Oliver Cromwell and His Protectoral Councillors," in David L. Smith, ed., *Cromwell and the Interregnum: The Essential Readings* (Malden, Mass., 2003), 91–109. Gaunt doubts the veracity of the accounts of Cromwell's meetings with the Council of State on April 20 and July 20, 1654, documented in the *Clarke Papers*, because no corroborating evidence appears in the Interregnum order books for the first session, while the notes for the second session appear in the hand of a person who did not attend the meeting (108 fn. 35). Neither of these points effectively dismisses the evidence in the documents as inaccurate. The order books do not document every meeting conducted between the Protector and his councilors, particularly when the government tried to evolve secretive policies, as in this case. Moreover, contemporaries often made personal copies of notes and documents written by others. Other evidence exists, however, that illuminates the Protector's plans to put the nation on a war footing that spring. As early as May 1654, Cromwell commissioned letters of marque against Spanish shipping, ostensibly to avenge Spain's alleged enslavement of English sailors in the West Indies, an argument deployed later to justify the western design in *A Manifesto of the Lord Protector . . . Wherein Is Shown the Reasonableness of the Cause of This Republic against the Depredations of the Spaniards* (London, 1655). For the letters of marque, see the May 27, 1654, entry in George F. Steckley, ed., *The Letters of John Paige, London Merchant, 1648–58* (London, 1984), 108.

squadrons based on prosperous sugar-producing islands could easily pillage Spanish settlements and treasure ships.⁴⁶ Convinced by the writings of the renegade priest Thomas Gage, who described the riches the English might obtain in the West Indies by virtue of Spain's declining power, Cromwell clearly saw the brightest prospects for imperial profits in the West Indies. Consequently, the Protector turned to advisers with American experience to capitalize on these opportunities.⁴⁷ Most notable among them were the merchants Martin Noell, Thomas Povey, and Maurice Thompson, who trafficked in perhaps the Atlantic economy's most valuable "commodity," human beings from Africa and Britain and Ireland.⁴⁸ Cromwell and his supporters knew that merchants such as these could help resolve the most acute problem plaguing England's expansion into the Atlantic: the shortage of labor. Eventually, however, in the eyes of London's most militant republicans, Cromwell's reliance on these advisers would cast a disingenuous light on the expedition's emancipatory pretensions.

While the slaves and bond slaves supplied by Noell, Povey, Thompson, and others helped feed the rising demand for colonial labor, the exportation of commodified human beings also advanced the Council of State's clearly class-conscious vision of godly reformation. The war and the news that colonial masters treated their servants like slaves had severely diminished voluntary migration to the colonies.⁴⁹ Although the Council of State encouraged English merchants to venture into the African slave trade in 1650, England had yet to surpass the Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese in this base commerce. Consequently, with the state's sanction, the majority of the people whom Noell and others shipped to work on plantations during the revolution were orphans, convicts, and homeless people. Cleansing England of what the puritan regime regarded as the morally degenerate poor, Noell and his cohort funneled profits partly derived from the legal bond slave trade into loans that financed the Cromwellian government's wars.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Firth, *The Clarke Papers*, 3: 206–208; Thomas Birch, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, 7 vols. (London, 1742) [hereafter cited as *Thurloe Papers*], 5: 148, 6: 362; Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution*, 178–180. Cromwell also hoped that Caribbean and Chesapeake colonists would remove to newly conquered Jamaica; for the positive reception this initiative received on Antigua, see Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Mss A 37, fol. 15.

⁴⁷ For Cromwell's providential thinking and the Black Legend, see Thomas Fallon, "Cromwell and the Western Design," in Balachandra Rajan and Elizabeth Sauer, eds., *Milton and the Imperial Vision* (Pittsburgh, 1999), 133–154. Thomas Gage, *The English American: A New Survey of the West Indies* (London, 1648). See also Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Mss A 24, fol. 1, for Thomas Gage's 1654 paper to Oliver Cromwell, in which he urged the Protector to "proclaim liberty to all Negroes, Mulattos, and Indians." Gage advised emancipation not in abolitionist terms, but as a tactical expedient to weaken Spanish rule.

⁴⁸ Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Mss A 37, fol. 197; A 57, fols. 8–13; W. Noel Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574–1660* (London, 1860) [hereafter cited as *CSPC 1574–1660*], 348, 362, 404, 421, 423, 425–427, 432, 433, 441, 443, 445, 446, 452, 463; Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution*, 168, 189; Charles Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship, 1603–1763* (London, 1984), 58, 130–132; Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653* (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 163, 175–176, 192, 514, 589; Beckles, "The Concept of 'White Slavery,'" 574. Noell, despite his Cromwellian associations, became such a powerful financial figure in London that King Charles II knighted him in 1662. Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (London, 1905), 148.

⁴⁹ Johnson, "Bayly, Charles."

⁵⁰ *CSPC 1574–1660*, 389, 419, 421, 423, 427, 447, 448; Allen B. Hinds, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, 38 vols. (London, 1864–1947) [hereafter cited as *CSPV*], 30: 148; Charles Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of*

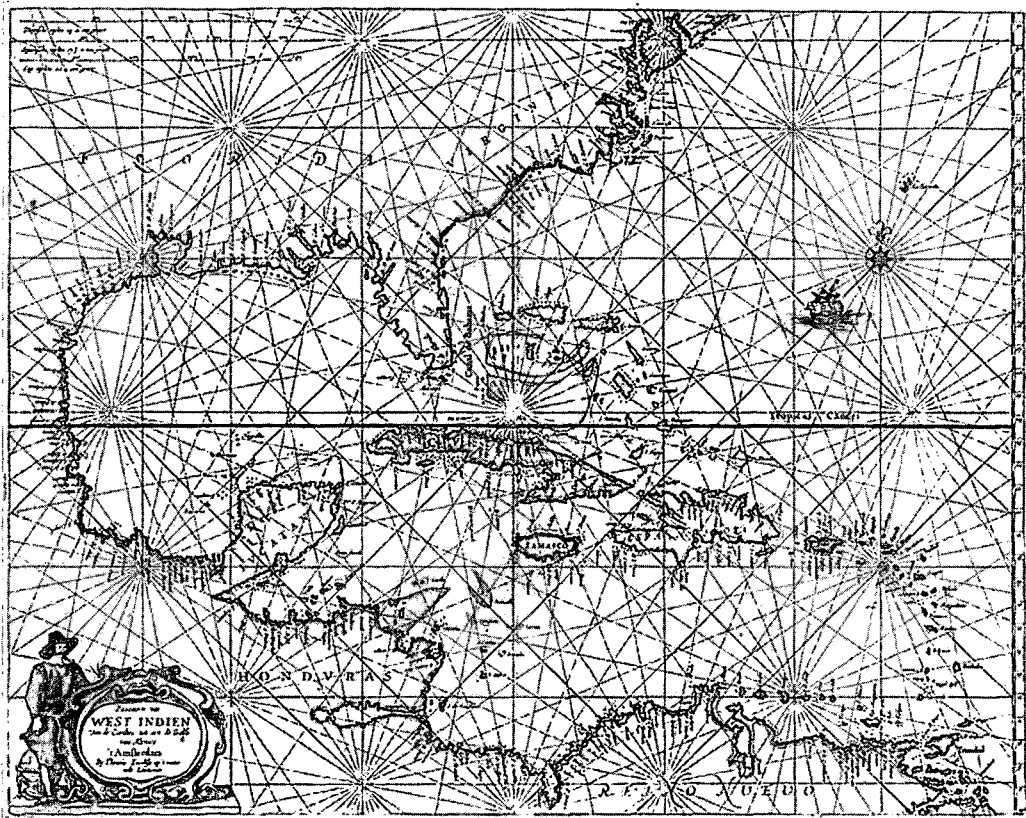


FIGURE 2: The Dutch cartographer Theunis Jacobsz drew this map of the West Indies in 1654, the very year Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell commissioned the invasion of the region known as the western design. Cromwell's colonial advisers had convinced him that England's imperial future lay in the Caribbean. As government financiers, contractors, plantation owners, and traders in bond slaves and enslaved Africans, these advisers profited from the design, which opened the Protectorate government up to charges of corruption from its republican opponents. Theunis Jacobsz op't water inde Lootsman, *Pascaerte van West Indien van de Caribes tot aen de Golfo van Mexico* (Amsterdam, 1654). Image reproduced courtesy of Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps—www.RareMaps.com.

The regime also set out to transform its political enemies into imperial assets. The New Model Army had already sold thousands of captive Scottish rebels into bond slavery in the Americas. To realize the goals of the western design, Cromwell planned to send even more.⁵¹ His government treated Royalist insurgents in south-

Trade and Plantations, 1622–1675 (Baltimore, 1908), 45, 49–58, 63, 67–68; Maurice Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate* (London, 1962), 115; G. E. Aylmer, *The State's Servants: The Civil Service of the English Republic, 1649–1660* (London, 1973), 75, 113, 250–251, 264; P. E. H. Hair and Robin Law, "The English in West Africa to 1700," in Nicholas Canny, ed., *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 2001), 241–263. The policy of convict transportation to foreign countries began in 1597 during the reign of Elizabeth I. London's Common Council, Parliament, and James I's Privy Council began applying the policy to England's new Atlantic colonies during the 1615–1620 period. See "Poor Children to Be Sent to Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 6 (1898): 232; Peter Wilson Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains: A Social History of Forced Emigration to the Americas of Felons, Destitute Children, Political and Religious Non-Conformists, Vagabonds, Beggars, and Other Undesirables, 1607–1776* (Baltimore, 1992), 50.

⁵¹ Scottish prisoners of war were first transported to the colonies in 1648. See Leo Francis Stock, ed.,

ern England in the same fashion, as those who rose up in Salisbury with John Penruddock discovered to their misfortune in 1655.⁵² Catholics fared even worse during and after the republic's scorched-earth campaign in Ireland. "Tories," Catholic partisans and their families who resisted "transplantation" to Connaught, a province west of the River Shannon, either were killed or in thousands of cases were "transported" to England's American colonies, particularly Barbados, as it made the profitable transition from tobacco to sugar cultivation.⁵³ In 1655, as the western design unfolded, 12,000 Irish Catholics and political prisoners, criminals, orphans, and homeless from the British mainland were working on Barbados sugar plantations.⁵⁴

Even with these far-reaching innovations in the labor supply system, the state still could not meet colonial planters' rapacious demand for unfree workers. An illicit trade in bond slaves supplementing the state's transportation system arose to meet the profitable challenge. As William Bullock wrote during the revolution, men "nick-named spirits" provided planters with "the usual way for getting servants."⁵⁵ In 1643, a year after the fighting began in England, the Virginia assembly noted that many laborers were arriving without indentures, a sure sign that they had been spirited into bondage. The House of Commons convened a committee to investigate the spirit trade the same year.⁵⁶ In 1645, 1646, and 1647, Parliament took successive and astonished note of the heavy volume of this illegal commerce and ordered customs officials, to no avail, to ensure that passengers boarded ships voluntarily.⁵⁷

Although Parliament hardly acted with effect to stop the black market trade that sold thousands of people such as Charles Bayly into bond slavery, it did collect evidence on how the trade worked when crowds brought accused kidnappers to its attention. In this way it was discovered that William Thiers, an East End shoemaker, inveigled 840 victims into colonial bond slavery. One spirit ring, working in London's

Proceedings and Debates of the English Parliaments Respecting North America, 1542–1688 (Washington, D.C., 1924), 206–207, 209–211; Firth, *The Clarke Papers*, 3: 205.

⁵² Rutt, *The Diary of Thomas Burton*, 244–253.

⁵³ See C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, eds., *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, 3 vols. (London, 1911), 2: 722, September 24, 1653, and 2: 293, June 23, 1654, for parliamentary acts concerning Irish Catholic land confiscation, transplantation, and transportation for forced labor in the colonies. For more on Irish transportation during the mid-seventeenth century, see Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Mss A 482, fols. 42–49; *CSPC 1574–1660*, 401, 407, 409, 419, 420, 426, 428, 430, 431, 441, 458, 481, 483, 487; Stock, *Proceedings and Debates*, 222. For new insights into the cultural and social history of the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland, set within an Atlantic and an even wider global context, see Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560–1660* (New York, 2008), chap. 8.

⁵⁴ Birch, *Thurloe Papers*, 4: 39–40.

⁵⁵ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 14. John Wareing, "The Regulation and Organisation of the Trade in Indentured Servants for the American Colonies in London, 1645–1718, and the Career of William Haveland, Emigration Agent" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 2000); Wareing, "'Violently Taken Away or Cheatingly Duckoyed': The Illicit Recruitment in London of Indentured Servants for the American Colonies, 1645–1718," *London Journal: A Review of Metropolitan Society Past and Present* 26, no. 2 (2001): 3. "Spirits" began delivering workers into bondage as early as 1618, when Owen Evans was charged with illegally "pressing maidens" in Devon and Dorset to serve in Bermuda and Virginia. See "Kidnapping Maidens, to Be Sold in Virginia, 1618," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 6, no. 3 (1899): 228–230.

⁵⁶ William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619*, 13 vols. (New York, 1819–1823), 1: 257; Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados*, 50.

⁵⁷ Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, 1: 681, 912; Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains*, 46–47.

Katherine's Stairs neighborhood, delivered more than 6,000 people into bondage between 1658 and 1670. While it is impossible to tell exactly how many people were lured into slavery by spirits, tens of thousands of people from Britain and Ireland ended up working as bond slaves in the Chesapeake and Caribbean during the revolutionary period.⁵⁸

Outside of the Chesapeake and Caribbean, however, antislavery positions began to take root in the New England colonies.⁵⁹ Establishing its first comprehensive legal code in 1641, the Massachusetts Bay Colony expressly forbade "bond slavery" to avoid emulating Caribbean and Chesapeake colonists in making chattels out of their coreligionists.⁶⁰ As Governor John Winthrop wrote, what "we stand in need of is treasured up in the earth by the Creator to be fetched thence by the sweat of our brows."⁶¹ Importantly, however, the puritan work ethic and Bay Colony statute law did not prohibit the temporary enslavement of criminals and the temporary or perpetual enslavement of Africans and Native Americans.⁶² In the aftermath of the Pequot War (1637–1638), John Winthrop presided over the sale of captive Pequots into slavery on Providence Island, the short-lived puritan redoubt in the West Indies; the planters of Providence, in turn, shipped black slaves back to godly planters in New England. Trading and owning slaves would be countenanced in the Bay Colony

⁵⁸ The transcript of this investigation can be found in Public Record Office, London [hereafter cited as PRO], CO 389/2. See also Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados*, 51. David Harris Sacks notes that local efforts to stop spiriting in port cities such as Bristol involved more self-interest than human sympathy for victims, as merchants sought to stem competition from spirits in the bond slave trade. See Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450–1700* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 255. Sacks also details in his chapter on spiriting how local sectarians affiliated with the Cromwellian regime and engaged in the "servant trade" were targeted by their political opponents as "spirits" to mobilize popular support against them and the revolutionary government. London played host to a similar controversy in the 1640s, when Presbyterians used charges of "spiriting" to criticize Independents. In both cases, conservative anti-spiriting politics hardly amounted to nascent abolitionism. My research indicates that as part of a wider, transatlantic network of radical republicans, sectarians in London criticized their coreligionists who directed the state's entire traffic in bond slaves, revealing that anti-spiriting also became part of the internal debates among revolutionaries. Additionally, as I argue, the anti-spiriting politics of the transatlantic republicans, unlike the conservative campaign against sectarians alleged to be involved in spiriting, became integral to early abolitionism. My thanks to an anonymous outside reader commissioned by the *AHR* for a thoroughly detailed discussion of Sacks's work on anti-spiriting.

⁵⁹ Bond slavery had early critics in the Chesapeake, however. John Smith wrote that "slavery" would "bring a well-settled commonwealth to misery, much more Virginia." In 1619 in the Chesapeake, colonists began objecting to the buying and selling of their countrymen. John Rolfe called the trade "odious" and "a great scandal." In 1622, upon being purchased by a planter, Thomas Best exclaimed, "Sold . . . like a damned slave!" In December of that year, William Weston refused to contract with a "Mr. Newman" to bring "servants" to Virginia, for "servants were sold here up and down like horses, and therefore he held it not lawful to carry any." Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, 1: 80, 108–109.

⁶⁰ In the section of the Body of Liberties devoted to servants, statute 91 reads: "There shall never be any bond slavery, villeinage or captivity amongst us unless it be lawful captives taken in just wares, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by authority." For statute 91 on bond slavery and statutes 85–88 regarding servants, see "The Massachusetts Body of Liberties, 1641," *Old South Leaflets* 7 (Boston): 262.

⁶¹ Honest labor, thought Winthrop, would prevent the godly from lusting after "the fleshpots of Egypt," or the dross puritans associated with the Bible's prototypical slave society. See John Winthrop, *Reasons to Be Considered for Justifying the Undertakers of the Intended Plantation in New England* (1628), Objection VIII, Answer 1, Answer 3, http://www.winthropsociety.com/doc_reasons.php.

⁶² For the enslavement of criminals in Massachusetts, see John Noble, ed., *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay*, 3 vols. (1630–1692) (Boston, 1901–1928), 2: 86, 90, 118.

as long as those bargained for were already slaves or had been taken captive in a so-called "just war." In 1645, perhaps after reflecting on the earlier sale of Africans from Providence in New England, the Bay Colony magistrate Richard Saltonstall condemned an attempt to revive the African slave trade in Massachusetts, declaring that the two men whom Captain Thomas Keyser had sold there after spiriting them away from "Guinea" should be returned to their African homeland. "Stealing negers" amounted to a "crying sin," according to Saltonstall, "contrary, both to the law of God, and the law of this country." Saltonstall did not choose, however, to invoke the full power of the law against Keyser, as the Body of Liberties capital statute number ten called for death against "any man who stealeth a man or man-kind."⁶³

Winthrop and the government of Massachusetts, however, did commit the act of man-stealing against the radical Samuel Gorton. In 1638, Gorton had fled to Rhode Island in the wake of the Bay Colony court's persecution of Anne Hutchinson's radical religious faction. This campaign, conducted largely by Winthrop, rejected the sovereignty of English common law in Massachusetts, denied Hutchinson's supporters the right to petition, and forced an election that suppressed their votes. This unseated the radicals' most powerful political leader, Governor Henry Vane, and put Winthrop back in the governor's chair.⁶⁴ Gorton settled with Hutchinson and her closest core of followers at Portsmouth on Aquidneck Island. They quickly fell out with their own governor, William Coddington, who, much like his friend John Winthrop, seemed bent on aggrandizing power in his own hands. When Coddington had Gorton flogged for sedition in 1640, the latter withdrew to a new outpost called Shawomet, next to Roger Williams's settlement at Providence. Around this time, Coddington and Winthrop formed an alliance to rid themselves of the Gortonoges, the name that Gorton's Narragansett Indian allies had given to his followers. In 1643, under Winthrop's direction and with Coddington's connivance, the Bay Colony militia invaded Shawomet, forcing the settlement's women and children to flee into nearby swamps, where two of them died. The militia proceeded to burn Shawomet to the ground and then marched Gorton and several other prominent men of the

⁶³ For Saltonstall's decision on the Keyser case, see Nathaniel Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England* [hereafter cited as *Records of Massachusetts Bay Colony*], 5 vols. (Boston, 1853), 2: 98–99, 129, 136; 3: 13, 46, 51, 58. For more on New England slavery in the seventeenth century, see Winthrop Jordan, "The Influence of the West Indies on the Origins of New England Slavery," *William and Mary Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1961): 243–250; Michael J. Fickes, "They Could Not Endure That Yoke": The Captivity of Pequot Women and Children after the War of 1637," *New England Quarterly* 73, no. 1 (2000): 58–81; Wendy Warren, "The Cause of Her Grief: The Rape of a Slave Woman in Early New England," *Journal of American History* 93, no. 4 (2007): 1031–1049; Eric Kimball, "A Wider Sea of Hate: The Atlantic Dimensions of Race and Slavery in Seventeenth Century New England" (paper presented at the National Conference on Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Power in Maritime America, Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic, Conn., October 2006). My thanks to Professor Kimball for making this paper available to me.

⁶⁴ John Winthrop, Esq., *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, ed. James Savage, 2 vols. (Boston, 1825) [hereafter cited as *Winthrop's Journal*], 1: 210–211, 216; John Winthrop, "A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruine of the Antinomians, Familists and Libertines," in David D. Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636–1638: A Documentary History* (Durham, N.C., 1990), 220, 224, 245, 250, 254, 257, 260–261; Shurtleff, *Records of Massachusetts Bay Colony*, 1: 207; Emery Battis, *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1962), 188.

colony to Boston in chains, where the General Court enslaved Gorton and his fellow prisoners, forcing them into hard labor around the Bay Colony.⁶⁵

A popular outcry in Boston against this draconian treatment led to the release of the Rhode Islanders, after which Gorton promptly left for London, where he ultimately convinced Parliament to protect his fledgling settlement from Massachusetts's aggression. While in London, he preached to Thomas Lambe's General Baptist congregation, which endorsed a salvific egalitarianism, teaching that Christ had died for all of humanity. Lambe's church met in London's Coleman Street Ward, one of the radical epicenters of the English Revolution. During Gorton's stay, Lambe's church and others in the ward served as organizing headquarters of sorts for the burgeoning Leveller movement at the high point of its alliance with the New Model Army. During this time, Gorton befriended the army chaplain and universal salvationist John Saltmarsh, a Leveller supporter who literally rose from his deathbed to condemn Cromwell for imprisoning the mutineers in the wake of their stand for army democracy at Corkbush Field in 1647.⁶⁶ In the midst of his London sojourn, Gorton also published his most famous tract, *Simplicities Defense*. In the pamphlet, the radical compared Winthrop to Herod, calling him the Bay Colony's "God man," who, "to satisfy his own lusts, in his lordship over it . . . pursues with all eagerness to make himself a god, by reigning over the bodies and estates of men." Whether subjected to arbitrary political power or hard labor in chains, Gorton argued that human beings, "that species or kind that God hath honored with his own image," should not be made "slaves" to one another because God had not "made man to be a vassal to his own species or kind."⁶⁷

By the time Gorton returned to New England in 1648, his allies had united the disparate settlements in the Narragansett Bay region into the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. The colony's new constitution reified an earlier Aquidneck compact designed to rein in Coddington, limiting governors to one-year terms. In a radical departure from the mixed constitution of monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic elements favored by most political thinkers of the day, the Aquidneck settlers styled their government as a simple "democracy," while the 1647 constitution called its body politic "democratical." In direct contrast to the Bay Colony political system and in line with the "neo-Roman" and Christian humanist republicanism then

⁶⁵ Nathaniel Ward, *The Simple Cobler of Agawam in America* (1646), ed. P. M. Zall (Lincoln, Neb., 1969), 14; Nathaniel Morton, *New England's Memorial* (Cambridge, 1669), 108–109; Edward Winslow, *Hyprocrisie Unmasked* (London, 1646), 53–55; Shurtleff, *Records of Massachusetts Bay Colony*, 2: 41, 46; David S. Lovejoy, *Religious Enthusiasm in the New World: Heresy to Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 93–96; Andrew Delbanco, *The Puritan Ordeal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 139; Philip F. Gura, *A Glimpse of Zion's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England, 1620–1660* (Middletown, Conn., 1984), 280–282; Samuel Gorton, *Simplicities Defense against a Many-Headed Policy* (London, 1646), in Sacvan Bercovitch, ed., *Tracts against New England* (New York, 1985), 60–66.

⁶⁶ Samuel Gorton's *Letter to Lord Hyde in Behalf of the Narragansett Sachems* (Providence, R.I., 1930), 6–15; George A. Brighton, "A Defense of Samuel Gorton and the Settlers of Shawomet," *Rhode Island Historical Tracts* 17 (1863): 42–120; Philip F. Gura, "The Radical Ideology of Samuel Gorton: New Light on the Relation of English to American Puritanism," *William and Mary Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1979): 78–100; for Saltmarsh, see his *A Letter from the Army* (London, 1647); and Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 88–90. Importantly, in the 1650s, Gorton published two tracts in defense of Saltmarsh, *Saltmarsh Returned from the Dead* (London, 1655) and *An Antidote to the Common Plague of the World* (London, 1657), proof that his association with the Levellers and their supporters continued to shape his thinking after his return to America.

⁶⁷ Gorton, *Simplicities Defense*, 38, 42.

developing among the English revolutionaries, the 1647 constitution guarded against the institutionalization of any form of prerogative power in the government, as this would always threaten to undo the sovereignty of a people, subjecting them to policies to which they did not consent.⁶⁸ Finding this new arrangement entirely unacceptable, Coddington returned to England, and somehow secured a new charter that declared him governor for life. He then returned to Rhode Island armed with this new power in the fall of 1651, which in the view of Gorton, Williams, and their allies jeopardized the colony's early experiment in republican democracy. To abrogate Coddington's charter, the assembly dispatched John Clarke and Roger Williams to Old England in 1652.⁶⁹

While Williams and Clarke labored in London to protect colonial republicans from political slavery, Gorton worked in America to defeat chattel slavery, guiding the first ordinance outlawing perpetual slavery in the Atlantic world through the Rhode Island assembly. Having witnessed with revulsion "the common course practiced amongst Englishmen to buy Negroes, to that end that they may have them for service or slaves forever," the Rhode Island assembly, separating itself from Coddington's faction, resolved to act for "the preventing of such practices among us." But moving beyond the permanent enslavement of Africans, the statute also sought to prevent the type of bond slavery that young people such as Charles Bayly suffered in Maryland. Consequently, through Gorton's leadership, the law placed both bond and permanent slavery on a continuum of anti-Christian inequity, ordering "that no black mankind or white being forced by covenant bond or otherwise" would "serve any man or his assigns for longer than ten years." "Black mankind or white" bound labor in Rhode Island *would* serve "as the manner is with English servants." Rejecting the slave codes of Chesapeake and Caribbean colonies, Rhode Islanders looked toward the restoration of traditional English labor laws, although under a radical form of republican government that they had developed in America, but one that nonetheless was guided by the egalitarian spirit that had inspired Gorton during his days among the Levellers in London.⁷⁰

Within the context of Rhode Island's Atlantic-wide effort to preserve a republican form of government, the colony's abolition ordinance linked the struggle for liberation from political enslavement during the age of the English Revolution with opposition to economic slavery—precisely when the latter began expanding expo-

⁶⁸ See John Russell Bartlett, *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*, vol. 1: 1636–1663 (Providence, R.I., 1857), 38–65 and 111–115 for the constitutions; as well as J. S. Maloy's discussions of them in *The Colonial American Origins of Modern Democratic Thought* (Cambridge, 2008), 140–170.

⁶⁹ Henry E. Turner, *William Coddington in Rhode Island Colonial Affairs: An Historical Inquiry* (Providence, R.I., 1878), 22–57; Sydney V. James, *John Clarke and His Legacies: Religion and Law in Colonial Rhode Island, 1638–1750*, ed. Theodore Dwight Bozeman (University Park, Pa., 1999), 49–52.

⁷⁰ It should also be noted that the phrase "black mankind" was probably meant to subsume Native Americans, many of whom served as bound laborers in Rhode Island, since at the time "black" was not applied exclusively to those of African descent. For colonists who persisted in slaveholding or tried to sell their slaves to avoid a financial loss, the colony ordered a fine of £40, more than twice the approximate price of a slave, thus removing any profit motive from resisting the law. For the Rhode Island abolition law, see Bartlett, *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island*, 1: 242–243; Jordan, "The Influence of the West Indies on the Origins of New England Slavery," 224; Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 126. The secondary literature on the abolition law is unjustifiably thin; more research into this underappreciated event would do much to improve our understanding of how abolitionism took root even as slave societies came into being in the seventeenth-century English Atlantic.

nentially around the early empire. Research has not yet revealed why the Rhode Islanders chose this particular moment to "prevent" slavery from developing among them, but a recent influx of settlers from Barbados, most probably slaveholders, may have triggered this attempt. Nonetheless, here we have what may well have been the first instance in history when a republican-style government, having explicitly defined itself as a democracy to prevent being politically enslaved by arbitrary forms of political power, sought to cleanse itself of the most extreme form of arbitrary economic power, chattel slavery. This inaugural attempt to abolish slavery should not be judged a complete failure because of Rhode Island's eighteenth-century development as a center for slave-trading; rather, it should be credited as a turning point in the conceptualization of human freedom that stood in stark contrast to the growing trend in England and its colonies to secure political liberty and the capitalist imperative of profit maximization on a material foundation that reconfigured human beings into multiple forms of private property.

In this respect, the Rhode Island abolition law of 1652 should be measured against the Protectorate's launch of the western design in 1654, which aimed to reorganize the imperial economy around slave-trading, slave labor, and state-sponsored piracy. Although the Protectorate tried to keep the destination of the expedition secret, savvy observers familiar with the slave trade could easily discern where the fleet intended to make landfall. The English slave trader John Paige did as much when ships for the expedition began anchoring on the London waterfront in July 1654. Paige knew from his own experience in outfitting slave ships that the "preparations and provisions" of the fleet portended a voyage for the West Indies.⁷¹

When the expedition finally did attack the Spanish on Hispaniola in April 1655, it met with disaster. More than 1,000 English soldiers died in just twenty days of campaigning, many in chaotic ambushes staged by freed slaves, but most from disease.⁷² Although the expedition's infantry commander, General Robert Venables, returned to England to recover from a bout with dysentery, he left thousands of hungry and disease-riddled men behind on lightly defended Jamaica, which the armada took almost as an afterthought. Starvation and endemic disease ensued, eventually killing 6,000 of the 7,000 soldiers garrisoned on the island. Those who did survive mutinied, refusing to help "plant" the colony, seeing the work they were ordered to do as more fitting for slaves than for soldiers. A self-proclaimed "eye witness" to the expedition, identifying himself as "I.S.," wrote in 1656 that by pressing "idle, profane, and irreligious ones" to "be sent over" to the Caribbean "as soldiers and servants," the Protectorate aimed at the "utter extirpation" of the poor whom it had forced to fight and plant for the empire.⁷³

⁷¹ John Paige to William Clerke, July 11, 1654, in Steckley, *The Letters of John Paige*, 108.

⁷² C. H. Firth, ed., *The Narrative of General Venables, with an Appendix of Papers Relative to the Expedition to the West Indies and the Conquest of Jamaica, 1654–1655* (London, 1900), 20, 28, 34, 45, Appendix B, 116–122.

⁷³ Ibid., 20, 28, 34, 45, Appendix B, 116–122, Appendix E, 156; Bernard Capp, *Cromwell's Navy: The Fleet and the English Revolution, 1648–1660* (Oxford, 1989), 88; S. A. G. Taylor, *The Western Design: An Account of Cromwell's Expedition to the Caribbean*, 2nd ed. (London, 1969), 91–92; Carla Gardina Pestana, "English Character and the Fiasco of the Western Design," *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3, no. 1 (2005): 5; Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Mss A 36, fols. 368, 374–376; A 37, fol. 31; A 53, fol. 284; I.S., *A Brief and Perfect Journal of the Late Proceedings and Success of the English Army in the West Indies, cont'd until June 1655* (London, 1655), 6, 16, 24.

When part of the fleet returned in late July 1655 with the shocking news of the army's bloody and humiliating defeat, Cromwell locked himself in his "closet" (his chamber).⁷⁴ Formerly unshakable in his providential convictions, the Lord Protector now felt utterly rebuked by God. In a letter to the expedition's new commander, Admiral Goodson, Cromwell professed that "no doubt we have provoked the Lord, and it is good for us to know, and be abased for the same."⁷⁵ In the wake of the disastrous news from the West Indies, the Protectorate insisted that all the "expense of blood and treasure" in the Caribbean would be made good "by endeavoring that the same might reap some fruits thereof."⁷⁶ One of Cromwell's critics, the naval administrator Robert Blackborne, lamented that this "dominion" that had been "impiously" acquired through imperial conquest would be "impiously kept." In this light, the regime planned perversely to recoup providential favor not by abolishing the expropriation of the liberty, labor, and bodies of people from Britain, Ireland, and around the Atlantic world, but by expanding it.⁷⁷ In 1656, the Council of State ordered judges to send assize lists to Whitehall to expedite the colonial exportation of English criminals and the poor. A subsequent sweep in London of the desperate and destitute sent more than 1,000 new plantation workers to Barbados, while portentously across the Atlantic, the trade in enslaved Africans began increasing, with close to 2,000 a year arriving on Barbados alone by 1656.⁷⁸

Historians have written much concerning the imperial crisis that engulfed England in the wake of the failure of the western design, when many of the country's republicans decisively turned against the Protectorate government for betraying the revolution. The part played by ex-colonists in organizing this political disaffection has yet to be explored in any sustained fashion, however. Some of the Lord Protector's most formidable and dedicated critics first underwent their radical political education in New England during the Hutchinson crisis, the conflicts between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and the struggles to prevent political slavery and the rise of slave societies. Having returned to Old England, these radicals joined up with a loose coalition of millenarian, anti-Protectorate republicans known as the Fifth Monarchists. Of these, we already know that John Clarke had returned to London on an errand to preserve republican government in Rhode Island against the designs of William Coddington. Clarke joined two other New Englanders, Wentworth Day and Thomas Venner, in Fifth Monarchist meetings held in the old Leveller bastion of Coleman Street Ward, London, where the revolutionary spirit of liberty had so

⁷⁴ Firth, *The Clarke Papers*, 3: 60; David Armitage, "The Cromwellian Protectorate and the Languages of Empire," *Historical Journal* 35, no. 3 (1992): 540.

⁷⁵ Cromwell to Goodson, October 30, 1655, quoted in Armitage, "The Cromwellian Protectorate and the Languages of Empire," 542.

⁷⁶ Firth, *The Clarke Papers*, 3: 65.

⁷⁷ R[obert] B[lackborne], *Letter from a Christian Friend in the City to His Friend* (London, 1656), 7.

⁷⁸ *CSPC 1547-1660*, 447; Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1649-1660*, 13 vols. (London, 1875-1886) [hereafter cited as *CSPD 1649-1660*], 10: 324, 343; Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Mss A 35, fol. 163; PRO C 66 2912/7; Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, 2: 1262-1264; Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth*, 4: 33; Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains*, 50; *CSPV*, 30: 184, 209, 309; Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery*, 47. For the African trade at this time, see David Eltis, "Seventeenth Century Migration and the Slave Trade: The English Case in Comparative Perspective," in Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, eds., *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (New York, 1997), 96; and Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution*, 192-193.



FIGURE 3: The imperial ambitions of the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, shown here crowned with laurels, are clearly in evidence on this coin, minted in 1656 in the wake of the western design. The English translation of the Latin motto on the obverse reads: "Peace is sought by war." Image reproduced courtesy of chards.co.uk.

intoxicated Samuel Gorton during the late 1640s. Day trained in the Bay Colony militia in the early 1640s during a period when it petitioned for religious toleration and the expansion of the franchise to non-church members. He returned to England during the first civil war and joined the New Model Army. Serving as a "cornet" or flag bearer in Thomas Harrison's regiment of cavalry, he helped lead his mutinous comrades in support of the *Agreement of the People* at Corkbush Field. Venner, a master wine cooper formerly of Salem and later of Boston, had served alongside Day in the Bay Colony militia before returning to London in 1651, where he worked as a cooper in the Tower of London. Clarke, who circulated petitions against the Protectorate government, would suffer arrest in 1658 for preaching against the regime with Day on Coleman Street. As "Cornet Day" had proclaimed earlier in December 1655 to hundreds of Fifth Monarchists assembled at All Hallows Church, the greed of the Protector and his corrupt circle had led to the loss of "many men's lives" and

"much blood and treasure" during the "secret design on Hispaniola." This, as Day read, "strengthened the wicked in their principles," a reference to the slave traders and money men such as Martin Noell who had planned and profited from the English invasion of the Spanish Caribbean.⁷⁹

At the Fifth Monarchist meetings that Venner held in his house near Katherine's Stairs, the faithful assembled next to one of early modern England's most notorious places of economic and political enslavement. Katherine's Stairs provided access to the Thames docks for provisioning warehouses engaged in the Atlantic trade. Blue-water ship's captains visited the East London neighborhood to purchase spirited workers covertly kept in dockside "cook shops" or victualing warehouses. Inmates languished in these impromptu dungeons for weeks, awaiting passage to a new and usually short life of colonial bondage. A large number of these stolen beings were children, and from Venner's house, he and his followers must surely have heard the "crying and mourning" of their neighbors who pleaded from the riverbank for their children's "redemption from slavery."⁸⁰ While spirits usually resorted to deception, the navy's press gangs used brute force, pouring out from their rendezvous point at Katherine's Stairs to comb the streets for the neighborhood's many sailors. The popular and violent resistance that spirits and press gangs elicited made Venner and his comrades witness to innumerable fights, riots, escapes, and near-escapes as Londoners struggled to avoid forced labor on plantations and the high seas. To Venner and other radicals who lived in the docklands of London's East End, the Protectorate's political enslavement of the nation through corrupt and arbitrary government had led, through the work of press gangs and spirits, to the bodily enslavement, both political and economic, of their neighbors and loved ones.⁸¹

Within the context of this life-and-death struggle between liberty and slavery, the combined republican principles, antinomian enthusiasm, and millenarian expectations that coursed through the Fifth Monarchist meetings held by Venner, Day, and Clarke led to a plot to overthrow the Protectorate that began in the summer of 1656 and continued to unfold through the spring of 1657. The former New England antinomian and Bay Colony governor Henry Vane lurked on the margins of the conspiracy. Vane, who had become one of the most powerful men in England during

⁷⁹ C. H. Firth and Godfrey Davies, *The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army* (Oxford, 1940), 175–180; G. M. Juretic, "Wentworth Day," in Richard L. Greaves and Robert Zaller, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century*, 3 vols. (Brighton, 1982–1984), 1: 217; Charles Banks, "Thomas Venner: The Boston Wine-Cooper and Fifth Monarchy Man," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 47 (1893): 437–444; Louise Breen, "Religious Radicalism in the Puritan Officer Corps: Heterodoxy, the Artillery Company, and Cultural Integration in Seventeenth Century Boston," *New England Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (1995): 6–24; *A Narrative Wherein Is Faithfully Set Forth the Sufferings of John Canne, Wentworth Day, John Clarke . . .* (London, 1658); Day read from Vavassor Powell's *A Word for God; or, A Testimony on Truth's Behalf from Several Churches and Diverse Hundreds of Christians in Wales* (London, 1655) at All Hallows; quotes drawn from A-6. For the All Hallows meeting, see Birch, *Thurloe Papers*, 4: 302–317.

⁸⁰ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 44; Harlow, *A History of Barbados*, 300. For court records concerning Katherine's Stairs (also called Katherine's Tower and Katherine's Dock) and spiriting, see Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, 3: 99, 224, 229, 239, 256, 269, 336, 381.

⁸¹ Champlin Burrage, "The Fifth Monarchy Insurrections," *English Historical Review* 25 (1910): 722–747; Lloyd, *The British Seaman: A Social Survey, 1200–1860* (London, 1968), 127–129; Birch, *Thurloe Papers*, 4: 184–187; W. Noel Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, 1661–1668* (London, 1880) [hereafter cited as *CSPC 1661–1668*], 220; Frances Henderson, ed., *The Clarke Papers V: Further Selections from the Papers of William Clarke* (Cambridge, 2005), 203.

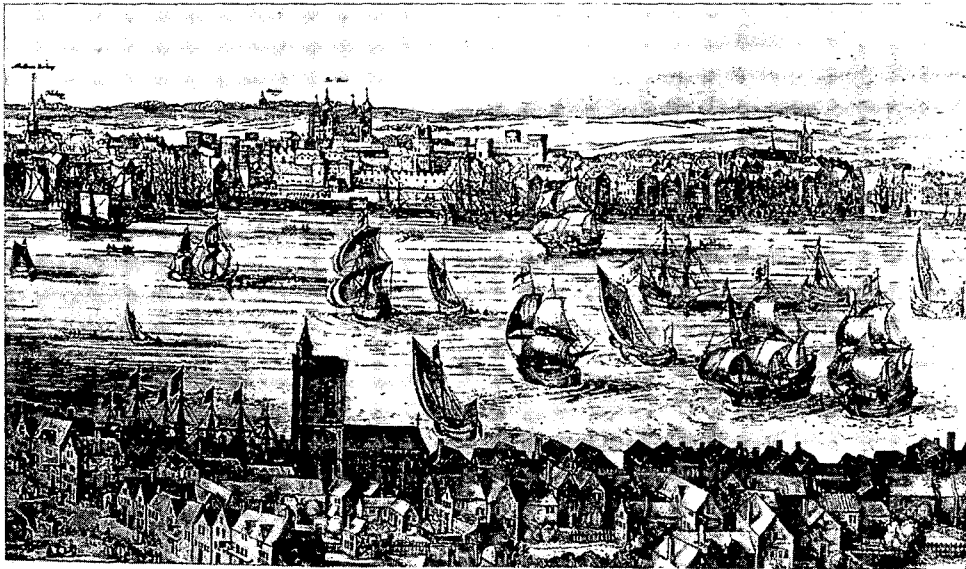


FIGURE 4: This view of the River Thames and east London portrays one of the most critical spots in the early English empire. Deep-water ships engaged in the transatlantic trade ride at anchor in the foreground and in the background near the Customs House to the immediate left of the Tower of London. The Tower itself served as a depot to supply ships with provisions as well as impressed soldiers, sailors, and future bond slaves. To the immediate right of the Tower lay the neighborhood of Katherine's Stairs, made infamous in the seventeenth century as the rendezvous point of navy press gangs and spirits engaged in the illicit bond slave trade. Detail from Claes Jansz Visscher, *Visscher's View of London*, engraving, 1616. LC-DIG-pga-02965, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

the revolution through his leadership of the parliamentary "war party," made his anti-Protectorate manuscript *A Healing Question* available to Venner and his followers through his steward John Browne, another Fifth Monarchist formerly of New England.⁸² Although Vane had the manuscript delivered to Venner's congregation before its publication, the radicals rejected his advice to pursue change through parliamentary methods. But despite the precautions they took in organizing the plot, first Day and then Venner and two other conspirators were imprisoned before they could bring off their intended uprising.⁸³

Perhaps because Day spent most of 1656–1657 in jail, Venner emerged as the key London figure in a transatlantic network of radical republicans, organizing the most militant and sustained republican opposition ever directed against the Cromwellian Protectorate. But the substance of the manifestos that Venner, Clarke, and Day's plotters debated and produced matter more than the ultimate collapse of their movement. During their deliberations on a tract titled *England's Remembrancer* before the

⁸² For John Browne, see Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Mss A 47, fol. 30; Charles Henry Pope, *The Pioneers of Massachusetts: A Descriptive List Drawn from Records of the Colonies, Towns, and Churches, and Other Contemporaneous Documents* (Baltimore, 1965), 73. Vane had enjoyed Cromwell's friendship before the latter's dissolution of the Rump Parliament, an action that prompted Vane to resign from the Council of State, thoroughly disgusted with Cromwell's and the army's grasping bid for power. For the 1656–1657 Fifth Monarchist plot, see Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism* (London, 1972), 114–119. Although written thirty-six years ago, Capp's book still impresses as a synthesis of social and intellectual history.

⁸³ CSPD 1649–1660, 9: 825–826, 847; Birch, *Thurloe Papers*, 4: 184–187; Burrage, "The Fifth Monarchy Insurrections," 734; British Library, Add Mss 4459, fols. 111–112.

opening of the Second Protectorate Parliament in September 1656, Venner's congregation recalled, among a host of the Protectorate's many crimes, how "the blood of many thousands" unjustly impressed for the western design was "poured forth in waste like water." It went on to recall the memory of their "banished neighbors . . . sold for slaves to serve like beasts the will and lust of great men" who profited from the commerce in and labor of bond slaves.⁸⁴ These words surely resonated with Venner's followers, who faced the daily threat of their own enslavement by spirits, press gangs, and the Protectorate's policy of transportation for the desperate poor. In one of their pamphlets, the rebels wrote that having "transgressed in the accursed thing," a biblical phrase associated with idolizing wartime pillage, God had "blasted" the "wickedness" of Cromwell's "designs" on "Hispaniola" for having placed "perfect yokes on the bodies and consciences of men." "Captivated in bonds" by a government that had "brought forth . . . nothing but blood monsters," the nation wore the "iron chains" of its rulers, whose "lusts" had "now become laws." But "the Lord had put the forces into the hands of the saints, and made them overcomers" to liberate the people of "these enslaved nations."⁸⁵

Demanding "blood for blood" and claiming sovereign political power in the name of "King Jesus," the radicals declared that they would rise up in arms to lead the nation "out of the land of bondage." In New England, Venner became acquainted with New World slavery and antislavery, but in London, near Katherine's Stairs, he and his rebels conspired at the epicenter of England's slave-trading empire, one that encompassed the traffic of peoples from Britain, Ireland, the Americas, and Africa. To usher in a new era of liberty, the rebels resolved to destroy the power of "the money changers, and merchants, and buyers and sellers, that are so busy now in the merchandise of slaves and souls of men." Adopting the language of kidnapping, Venner's men prophesied that the apostate regime would "deceive the nation no more, whose souls were made slaves unto her by the cunning and deceit of her spirits."⁸⁶ In the wake of broken engagements, army government, and the deaths of thousands stolen to fight for the state or to labor as the merchandise of "unscrupulous men," radical consciousness from the colonies expanded in England, linking the end of the slave trade to the entire empire's redemption from political slavery.

In 1658, following Cromwell's death, the collapse of the Protectorate, and the revival of the republic, Vane's return to parliamentary power paved the way for the release of Venner, Day, and other imprisoned radicals. But as Vane went about the work of restoring the free state, a scandal over bond slavery came to light in March 1659. The Royalists Oxenbridge Foyle and Marcellus Rivers had been captured in

⁸⁴ *England's Remembrancer*, A-6. See also Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 14.

⁸⁵ *A Standard Set Up* (London, 1657), 1, 4, 6-8.

⁸⁶ *The Banner of Truth Displayed*, 1, A, A2, 53-54, 90. This anonymous pamphlet can almost certainly be attributed to Venner's insurgent group because of its references to meetings held with other republican factions aligned against Cromwell over the previous summer, its outright Fifth Monarchist principles, and its open advocacy of violent rebellion, which, among all the other Fifth Monarchist meetings in London, Venner's group alone explicitly enacted, strengthened by defectors from John Simpson's Fifth Monarchist congregation. The plotting initially included high-ranking members of the armed forces such as Colonel John Okey, an agitator during the army debates of 1647, and Admiral John Lawson, who refused a commission in the western design; these officers opted against violence in late summer 1656. Moreover, *The Banner of Truth Displayed* anticipates the title of the tract *A Standard Set Up*, which Venner's group issued in exact conjunction with the rising they planned for April 7, 1657.

Salisbury during Penruddock's Rising and with seventy-two others had been sold into bond slavery on Barbados by Martin Noell, Cromwell's key financier. Foyle and Rivers petitioned for their and their fellow prisoners' release from captivity, arguing that their sale into forced labor violated the rights of "Englishmen." The petition went before the House of Commons the week after a spiriting riot had raged through the West End of London, not far from the halls of Parliament. In the ensuing debate, Vane interjected that the principles of the revolution stood in stark contrast to the evil of enslaving "the free born people of England." Parliament, however, did nothing on this score and put plans in motion to establish a new slave-trading monopoly in West Africa.⁸⁷

THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II in May 1660 swept Vane and his republican colleagues back out of power and drove Venner and his remaining followers into an embittered state of desperation. Venner held a series of Fifth Monarchist meetings that summer and fall, which resulted in the publication of *A Door of Hope*. The tract contended that "the true church of Christ will be brought out of the Wilderness," an allusion to the New England roots of Venner, Clarke, Day, and other Fifth Monarchists.⁸⁸ The saints would reestablish a free state designed, in anticipation of the apocalypse, to abolish all "anti-Christian yokes" according to the prescriptions of the Mosaic Code. In Old England, the Fifth Monarchist William Aspinwall, a former Bay Colony militia member banished for petitioning during Winthrop's onslaught against the antinomians, published this set of Old Testament laws in 1655, drawing from a collection of them organized originally by his old Boston minister John Cotton.⁸⁹ The ex-colonists on Coleman Street made sure to point out in *A Door of Hope* that the Mosaic Code prohibited "man-stealing," or kidnapping people to sell them into slavery.⁹⁰

On January 9, 1661, Venner's band of veterans and ex-colonists launched a rebellion to overthrow the newly restored Stuart Dynasty. Their battle cry, "King Jesus

⁸⁷ *England's Slavery; or, Barbados Merchandise* (London, 1659); *The Diary of Thomas Burton*, 24 March 1659 (London, 1828), 244–253; Stock, *Proceedings and Debates*, 247–263; Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution*, 208–212. For the spiriting riot, see Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, 3: 278–279.

⁸⁸ *A Door of Hope; or, A Call and Declaration for the Gathering Together of the First Ripe Fruits unto the Standard of Our Lord King Jesus* (London, 1661), 3–6.

⁸⁹ Lovejoy, *Religious Enthusiasm in the New World*, 101–102; John Cotton, *An Abstract of Laws and Government . . . Published after His Death by William Aspinwall* (London, 1655). Aspinwall published the tract through Livewell Chapman, a London printer who frequented Venner's Coleman Street meetings. For more on Aspinwall, see Stephen Robbins, "Manifold Afflictions: The Life and Writings of William Aspinwall" (Ph.D. diss., Oklahoma State University, 1988).

⁹⁰ The phrase appears in Exodus 21:16 and 1 Timothy 1:10 and encompassed a capital offense. Contemporaries used the term "man-stealer" interchangeably with "spirit." See *CSPC 1661–1668*, 331. The Fifth Monarchists turned the existing penal code on its head, abolishing capital punishment for theft while restoring it for man-stealing. Punishments doled out for spiriting under the reigning law were often farcical. One convicted spirit was fined twelve pence. *A Door of Hope* stipulated that thieves should be "sold" to a "workhouse" to pay off their debts, and not, as with the Cromwellian convict transportation system, enslaved in the colonies to profit a planter who exploited their labor in a way that exponentially multiplied the value of what had been stolen (5). For a contemporary explanation of Mosaic restitution, see the Leveller Samuel Chidley's *A Cry against a Crying Sinne; or, A Just Complaint to the Magistrates, against Them Who Have Broken the Statute Laws of God, by Killing of Men Meerly for Theft* (London, 1652), 16–17.

and the heads upon the gate," rang through the streets, an allusion to the hanging, drawing, and quartering of Wentworth Day's former regimental commander, Thomas Harrison, and Hugh Peter, a former New Englander who had earned fame for his fiery sermons to the New Model Army. The most ferocious combat took place on Wood Street, in front of the notorious Comptor Prison, which the Fifth Monarchists would have associated with the state's transportation of the poor into colonial bond slavery. The rebels demanded the release of the "poor prisoners" and stormed the gaol, but London's trained bands repulsed them before they could carry the day. In the melee, Venner brained three soldiers to death with his halberd despite sustaining nineteen wounds. The dramatic and bloody scene at the Comptor reveals Venner's fanatical determination as well as the transatlantic radical's expansive concept of republican liberty, in which the emancipation of England's slaves would mark the first act in the restoration of the English "free state."⁹¹

In the end, both Thomas Venner and Henry Vane would pay with their lives for their dedication to the Good Old Cause. Wracked with painful wounds during his trial at the Old Bailey, Venner declared that the "testimony" of his life in New England had taught him that it was the duty of all the saints "to look for liberty."⁹² A year later, when guards led Vane away after his conviction for treason, the former Bay Colony governor quoted the last words that the old Boston militiaman Venner had spoken from the scaffold: "Whom man judges, God will not condemn."⁹³

The transatlantic network of radical republicans joined their antipathy toward the development of colonial slave societies with their attempt to redeem both Rhode Island and the English free state from what they regarded as political enslavement under arbitrary and autocratic power. The republican principles they espoused opened a door of hope that the liberation of human beings from chattel slavery could in turn free commonwealths from their own political bondage. In the process, they fashioned a profound, if seldom explored, defense of human liberty, one that deserves a more prominent place in the history of slavery and abolition as well as the intellectual history of early America, the English Atlantic, and the English Revolution.

⁹¹ "A Relation of the Arraignment and Trial of Those Who Made the Late Rebellious Insurrection in London, 1661," in *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts on the Most Interesting and Entertaining Subjects . . . Selected from an Infinite Number in Print and Manuscript, in the Royal, Cotton, Sion, and Other Public as Well as Private Libraries; Particularly That of the Late Lord Somers*, 4 vols. (London, 1748), 4: 470 [hereafter cited as *The Somers Tracts*]; Laurence Echard, *The History of England* (London, 1707), 104. The Wood Street and Poultry Comptors (or Counters) received debtors and felons, but also saints who refused to pay tithes. Fifth Monarchists under arrest also served time there. Earlier, at the outbreak of the civil wars, it witnessed a riotous scene when supporters of Parliament stormed its gates to free their "brethren." The Comptors had become a visceral symbol of tyranny and oppression to the godly, which helps to explain why they were singled out for attack at the beginning and end of the revolution. For accounts of the prisons, see James Peller Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum; or, An Antient History and Modern Description of London*, 4 vols. (London, 1802–1807), vol. 4; R. F., *The True Relation of the Bloody Attempt by James Salowayes to Cut His Own Throat in the Comptor, upon Sunday the 21. of June, 1662* (London, 1663); R. S., *The Counter-Scuffle* (London, 1647); Thomas Jordan, *The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon, with the Humors of Compter Gate in Woodstreet* (London, 1657); *The Humble Petition of the Poore Distressed Prisoners in Poultry Compter* (London, 1644); *The Humble Petition of the Poor Debtors in the Common-Gaol, Newgate* (London, 1653); Bruce Watson, "The Compter Prisons of London," *London Archaeologist* 7 (1993): 115–118.

⁹² "A Relation of the Arraignment and Trial," in *The Somers Tracts*, 4: 470–471.

⁹³ Lovejoy, *Religious Enthusiasm in the New World*, 110; Violet A. Rowe, *Sir Henry Vane the Younger: A Study in Political and Administrative History* (London, 1970), 241.

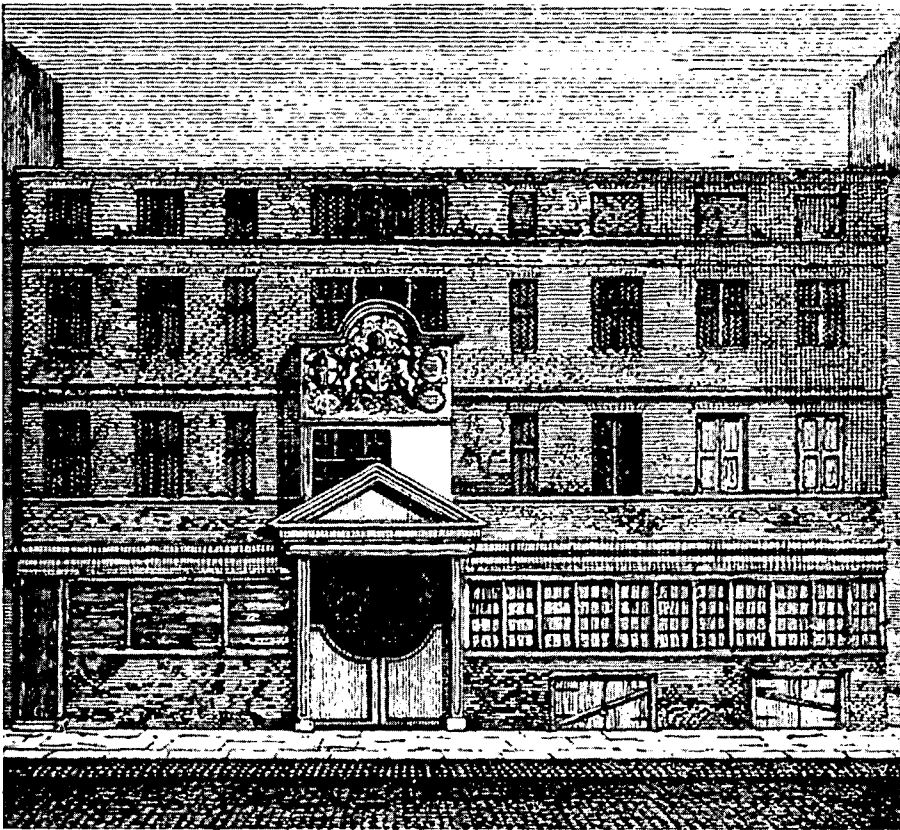


FIGURE 5: The most intense fighting that took place during Venner's 1661 rising occurred in front of the Wood Street Comptor, where the insurgents tried unsuccessfully to free the "poor prisoners," many of whom would have been destined for bond slavery in the colonies. "The Old Wood Street, Comptor," from John W. Sherwell, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Guild of Saddlers of the City of London* (London, 1889), 68.

The legal and illegal trade in "bond slaves" and permanently enslaved human beings surged in the wake of diminished wartime migration, the sugar boom, and the Protectorate's imperial conquests, accelerating the developmental pace of slave societies in the colonial Chesapeake and Caribbean, where tens of thousands of people were exploited for power and profit along a brutal spectrum of chattel slavery. The spirits' black market trade, the government's traffic in Irish tories, Scottish rebels, and English Royalists, and its transportation of the desperate poor swelled to meet the rising demand for unfree labor. Slave traders from Europe and the colonies would transport into bondage thousands of others from around the Atlantic world, including Ashantes, Mandinkos, Fulanis, Angolans, and others of African descent already enslaved in the Americas; less than a century later, English slave ships would come to dominate the African trade formerly governed by the Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese. Beginning in the Caribbean during the English Revolution and spreading throughout the Chesapeake and Carolina Lowcountry later in the century, the dramatic influx of African slave labor would lay the foundation for the terrible transformation to racialized slavery in the British Empire, when colonial assemblies changed the meaning of "negro" from a color to a demarcation of those who could

be permanently enslaved. With this sliding spectrum of slavery and slave-trading in view, rather than defining slavery in the English Atlantic by what it became in the eighteenth century, we should historicize it as something that changed over time. Applying this idea to the era of the English Revolution thus gives the people from Britain and Ireland who were trapped in a form of chattel bondage a more authentic voice in their own history. But this approach has other, perhaps more crucial benefits: it helps us to see how much more systematically dehumanizing, profitable, and culturally malignant slavery became when lifelong, race-based bondage eclipsed bond slavery as the dominant form of chattel labor in the English Atlantic. Having entered the prism of global slavery's history in bonded form in the mid-seventeenth century, slavery in the English Atlantic emerged in the eighteenth century as the "ultimate form of inhuman bondage," refracted into its racialized, perpetual form.⁹⁴

Carrying forward the idea that we should study the history of slavery as the history of slaveries, it follows that we should pursue the same flexible approach to the history of abolition, noting that it changed as slavery changed and as radicals developed new tactics and strategies to render rising antislavery sentiment into active abolitionism. In the mid-seventeenth century, in the midst of the English Revolution, a small number of radical colonists looked toward the abolition of multiple forms of slavery as important means to what they perceived as the greater end of establishing free commonwealths around the English Atlantic. Perhaps future research will reveal how spirit riots in England and the combined resistance of slaves and bond slaves in the colonies informed this process.

The radical ideas of freedom forged in the English Revolution as well as the resistance of slaves themselves certainly shaped the history of late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century abolition, when hundreds of thousands of black and white people organized around a common purpose, to end the trade in and perpetual enslavement of African peoples and their descendants in the Atlantic world. Importantly, abolitionists of both eras drew the seemingly simple yet historically transcendent conclusion that people cannot remain free while enslaving others.

⁹⁴ The phrase is David Brion Davis's; *Inhuman Bondage*, 11.

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Getting Out of Iraq—in 1932: The League of Nations and the Road to Normative Statehood

SUSAN PEDERSEN

Complete independence is what we ultimately wish to give.

Gertrude Bell

My lady, complete independence is never given—always taken.¹

Ja'far al-'Askari

ON OCTOBER 3, 1932, THE thirteenth annual assembly of the League of Nations voted unanimously to admit the Kingdom of Iraq to membership. Part of the Ottoman territory occupied by the Allied powers during the First World War and then turned over to British administration under League of Nations oversight, Iraq was the first—and would, in fact, remain the only—mandated territory to shed its tutelary status and be granted independence through collective agreement. The significance of the moment was not lost on the assembled delegates, and British foreign secretary Sir John Simon, speaking “as representative of the country whose privilege it had been to guide the State of Iraq through the period of adolescence to the full status of manhood,” insisted that it vindicated the mandates system itself. “When that regime was instituted there were not wanting critics and cynics who hinted that the whole Mandatory system had been devised merely as a cloak for colonization and annexation . . . The admission of Iraq to the League was a sufficiently emphatic answer.”²

But behind the scenes, and even within the hall itself, many were not so sure. Neither the League Council nor its Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC), which oversaw the administration of the mandated territories, had welcomed Britain's plan. Indeed, as one Colonial Office official admitted privately in late 1931, practically all the members of the Commission “were wholly unconvinced that Iraq was fit to be released from the Mandate and were most reluctant to agree to her eman-

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¹ Conversation between Bell and al-'Askari, as described in Bell to Hugh Bell, November 1, 1920, quoted in Liora Lukitz, *A Quest in the Middle East: Gertrude Bell and the Making of Modern Iraq* (London, 2006), 139.

² “Iraq Admitted to League,” *The Times*, October 4, 1932, 13.

cipation.”³ Only with difficulty did Britain win the League’s grudging consent to Iraqi independence, and even then that consent was conditional upon a set of pledges by Iraq negotiated at Geneva.

Several excellent studies exist of Britain’s role in mandatory Iraq and in the era of informal empire that followed. Those works have laid out the reasons why a financially and militarily overstretched British government was determined formally to withdraw; they have also made clear just how limited that withdrawal was, for Faisal and his allies won independence only by granting Britain extensive military and economic rights.⁴ What has received less attention, however, is the significant role played by international relations within, and the significance of international politics for, this process.⁵ Precisely because Iraq was a mandated territory, its “emancipation” had to be internationally agreed—a fact that occasioned three years of consequential and sometimes bitter debate over when a territory under the effective control of an imperial power could be declared sovereign.

What might we learn from the history of those negotiations? They suggest a different narrative about the role played by international organizations in the ending of formal empire from the one, familiar after 1945, that stresses internationalist and nationalist pressure and imperial resistance. For in this case, the imperial power was determined to withdraw, and the international body that was ostensibly committed to self-determination was reluctant to consent.⁶ And the reasons for that hesitation

³ The National Archives, London [hereafter TNA], Colonial Office [CO] 730/169/8, minute by J. E. Hall, December 29, 1931.

⁴ The best study of British policy during the mandate period, to which I am indebted, is Peter Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq: Contriving King and Country*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2007). For Britain’s role in Iraq following formal emancipation, see especially Daniel Silverfarb, *Britain’s Informal Empire in the Middle East: A Case Study of Iraq, 1929–1941* (New York, 1986). For an account focused less on British policy and more on Iraqi politics, see Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 2007), chaps. 2–3. Elie Kedourie’s coruscating analysis of Iraq as an artificial construction sustained only by military force and British patronage remains worth reading; see Kedourie, “The Kingdom of Iraq: A Retrospect,” in Kedourie, *The Chatham House Version and Other Middle-Eastern Studies* (New York, 1970), 236–285.

⁵ Two important exceptions being Toby Dodge’s studies of British officials’ construction of the mandatory state, which he sees as constrained equally by new international norms about sovereignty, nationalist pressures, and changed domestic political realities, and Helmut Mejcher’s account of Britain’s handling of Iraq’s efforts to control its own foreign relations. See Dodge, *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied* (New York, 2003); Dodge, “International Obligation, Domestic Pressure and Colonial Nationalism: The Birth of the Iraqi State under the Mandate System,” in Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett, eds., *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives/Les mandats français et anglais dans une perspective comparative* (Leiden, 2004), 143–164; and Mejcher, “Iraq’s External Relations, 1921–26” (1977), in Mejcher, *The Struggle for a New Middle East in the 20th Century* (Berlin, 2007), 71–91. Neither scholar closely examines internal debates within the League over emancipation, however. By contrast, while early historians of the League noted the PMC’s ambivalence about Iraqi independence, they tended to treat the Commission as a single entity and failed to note the degree to which different League states sought to use it toward their own ends. See F. P. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations* (1952; repr., London, 1960), 562–563; C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (Oxford, 1934), 266–268.

⁶ Historians routinely and rightly point to the influence of the spread of support for the norm of self-determination, as well as to the significant role of the United Nations in articulating that norm, in the discrediting and dissolution of the European empires after 1945; for a good introduction to a vast literature, see John Darwin, “Decolonization and the End of Empire,” in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 5: *Historiography*, ed. Robin W. Winks (Oxford, 1999), 540–557. Yet the impact of the League of Nations on European empires was (in comparison with the United Nations) ambiguous and paradoxical, since the mandates system sought to reform and legitimate empire as much as to end it and promoted norms of “civilization” and “good government” more than—and as a condition for—“self-government.” The system’s corrosive impact on empire was thus a consequence more of its role as an engine for (often unwelcome) publicity about governing practices and of the open contestation among

are revealing. Certainly, international officials and statesmen shared widespread European assumptions about non-Europeans' incapacity for self-rule and feared that the virus of independence might be catching, but arguments soon crystallized around two different objections. The problem was not, some argued, that Britain wished to emancipate Iraq, but that what was on offer was not independence anyway; pointing to the provisions for a continued British military presence and to the concession granted the British-dominated Iraq Petroleum Company, they charged that Britain was seeking to remove what was effectively a client state from even the minimal oversight exercised by the League. And that Iraq needed that oversight was, to a second group of critics, clear. Citing its turbulent borders and frightened minorities, they feared that the main victims of independence might be some segments of the Iraqi population itself.

Through diplomacy and pressure, British officials overcame those reservations, forcing approval of Iraqi independence through the tortuous process devised by the League. By doing so, however, did they strengthen an emerging norm about the right to national self-determination or win international agreement to a form of independence—what political scientists would term “quasi-statehood”—safe for empire?⁷ What one might call decolonization's Faustian bargain is perceptible in Iraq—a bargain whereby (often unrepresentative) national elites are ceded significant internal authority (including the right to enrich their followers and repress their perceived enemies) through collaboration with, and at the price of ceding a measure of economic and military control to, the former colonial power. Yet this outcome was both fragile and contingent, for it depended not only on the defeat of Islamist and tribal forces with different national aims, but equally on the occlusion of other internationalist visions. A (largely German) image of an international order governed more by markets than by military treaties, and an ideal of national sovereignties made subject to humanitarian norms both appeared—briefly—on the horizon in these debates, only to recede in the face of imperialists' and nationalists' joint preference for the comforts of statehood.

TO UNDERSTAND THE GENESIS of British strategy in Iraq, we must recall the important place that unequal alliances and covert forms of rule had in sustaining British im-

the great powers that it fostered than of open critique, as imperial powers calculated how to defend their interests in this new situation. This study of Britain's response in the case of Iraq is part of a broader project, to be published by Oxford University Press in 2012, aimed at specifying the impact of the mandates system on the global order. For a précis of my argument, see Pedersen, “The Meaning of the Mandates System: An Argument,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 32, no. 4 (October–December 2006): 560–582.

⁷ For the concept of “quasi-statehood,” see Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World* (Cambridge, 1990). Several international legal scholars and comparative political scientists have argued for the importance of the mandates system in legitimating the norm of state sovereignty, although some also insist that the form of sovereignty created was distinctly “damaged” and neo-imperial. For a more optimistic account of the system's impact, see Neta Crawford, *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention* (Cambridge, 2002); for more pessimistic readings, see Anthony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge, 2004), and Balakrishnan Rajagopal, *International Law from Below: Development, Social Movements and Third World Resistance* (Cambridge, 2003). Unfortunately, none of these works are based on archival research or attend to the recent historical scholarship on the subject.

perial power. Imperial history often concentrates on direct rule, but protectorates and princely states, treaties and trade concessions were also used to secure imperial interests. Britain, indeed, had a long history of preferring such clientelist arrangements, nowhere more than in the Middle East. "The independence of Arabia has always been a fundamental of our eastern policy," Lord Milner, then colonial secretary, told Prime Minister David Lloyd George in 1919 when arguing against any territorial concessions to the Italians along the Red Sea—and then clarified that what he meant was "that Arabia while being independent herself should be kept out of the sphere of European political intrigue and within the British sphere of influence: in other words, that her independent native rulers should have no foreign treaties except with us."⁸ When British occupying forces in Baghdad or Jerusalem proclaimed that they came as liberators, as when T. E. Lawrence and his Arab Bureau enthusiasts promised Sharif Hussein of Mecca and his son Faisal an Arab state, it was this kind of independence they sought to extend. These promises were not cynical ploys aimed at sugaring covert plans for annexation; they were part of a strategy of influence and hegemony that was always central to British imperial practice.

By 1920, that strategy lay in ruins. The conquest of Iraq in the face of Ottoman and Islamist resistance had cost Britain more than 90,000 casualties, and a concern to secure oil reserves and the air route to India led them to dig in.⁹ French and British control of the Middle East, envisaged in the 1916 Sykes-Picot agreements, was confirmed at the Paris Peace Conference—although, under pressure from Woodrow Wilson and the tide of public sentiment, those powers agreed to govern under a League of Nations "mandate" and with the ostensible aim of bringing the Middle East (or "A") mandated territories swiftly to self-rule.¹⁰ Meeting in San Remo in April 1920, the Allied powers confirmed Britain's mandates over Mesopotamia and Palestine and France's over Syria and Lebanon and hammered out a secret agree-

⁸ Bodleian Library (Oxford), MSS Milner 389, Milner to Lloyd George, May 16, 1919.

⁹ For a subtle analysis of the Shi'i *jihād* against the British occupation, see especially Pierre-Jean Luizard, *La formation de l'Irak contemporaine: Le rôle des ulémas chiïtes à la fin de la domination ottomane et au moment de la création de l'État irakien* (Paris, 1991), 319–344.

¹⁰ Wilson and Lloyd George overcame resistance to League oversight from South Africa and Australia in particular by agreeing to distinguish between three types of mandate. The ex-Ottoman territories in the Middle East were allocated to Britain and France as "A" mandates, with the pledge (honored in the breach) that their populations' claim to self-government would be "provisionally recognized" and the mandatory powers would provide advice and assistance only until the populations were able to "stand alone." Germany's East and West African colonies were designated as "B" mandates and were allocated under various economic and humanitarian conditions to Britain, France, and Belgium. South-West Africa and the German territories in the Pacific were handed over to the British dominions and to Japan as "C" mandates, and could be administered as "integral parts" of the mandatory powers' own territory—a solution that South Africa's Jan Smuts described happily as "annexation in all but name." Works written about the system before the opening of the League, national, and local archives could not adequately address the diplomacy around the system or its impact "on the ground," but Quincy Wright's magisterial *Mandates under the League of Nations* (1932; repr., New York, 1968) remains an authoritative study of its implications for international law, while H. Duncan Hall's *Mandates, Dependencies, and Trusteeship* (New York, 1948) provides an early synthetic study of its operation and significance. Among archivally based work, Roger Louis's articles from the 1960s, now gathered in his *Ends of British Imperialism: The Scramble for Empire, Suez, and Decolonization* (London, 2006), remain the best study of the system's inauguration, and Michael D. Callahan provides a comprehensive account of the impact of mandatory oversight on the French and British African "B" mandates in *Mandates and Empire: The League of Nations and Africa, 1914–1931* (Brighton, 1999) and *A Sacred Trust: The League of Nations and Africa, 1929–1946* (Brighton, 2004). The literature on individual mandates is too vast to summarize here. Recent accounts by political scientists and international lawyers are cited in fn. 7 above.

ment on the distribution of Iraqi oil. The British then withdrew their troops from Syria, standing by as the French picked a fight with, and then ousted, Faisal's fragile regime there. They had troubles enough of their own, for that summer Shi'i religious leaders and the rural tribes of the Euphrates allied with urban (often Sunni) nationalists in a major rising against British rule.¹¹

Yet as costs mounted and battles raged, British interest in Arab "independence" revived. Several of Faisal's close collaborators, including Nuri al-Sa'id and his brother-in-law Ja'far al-'Askari, hailed from Iraq, and when the Syrian regime was crushed, they turned their attention homeward. Some members of the British establishment in Baghdad (notably the influential Oriental secretary, Gertrude Bell), not to mention T. E. Lawrence, Kinahan Cornwallis, and other members of the wartime Arab Bureau, also viewed civil commissioner Sir Arnold Wilson's "Indian" style of direct rule as outdated and inappropriate. They found a British government more than willing to listen to them. Already struggling to find money and men for campaigns in Ireland, India, and Egypt, ministers—and still more a restive British public—viewed Britain's Mesopotamian commitments as a costly extravagance. A feeling of compunction toward Faisal also influenced Lloyd George, who informed the new French premier, Alexandre Millerand, only weeks after Faisal's expulsion from Damascus that the British were contemplating placing him on the throne of Iraq. Millerand was predictably horrified, but the plans went forward anyway.¹² Over the next year, Wilson was replaced, an Arab government was formed in Baghdad, the Middle East Department of the Colonial Office was brought into being, and secret instructions were issued to British political officers in Iraq to organize declarations in support of Faisal (no easy business in the Kurdish north, one sourly recalled).¹³ The Cairo conference of March 1921, attended by Churchill (now colonial secretary), Britain's officials in Iraq, and an Iraqi contingent led by Defense Minister Ja'far al-'Askari, clinched the deal. Britain would support an Arab government in Iraq, the Royal Air Force (RAF) would be entrusted with defense (a decision that would bring costs down substantially), a treaty would be negotiated to regulate the two states' relations, and Faisal would be offered the throne.¹⁴

Yet Iraq was still—unacceptably to Faisal, not to mention its population—under international law a territory governed under mandate, not an independent state able to control its own foreign affairs. Britain tried to live with this ambiguity, telling the League Council in late 1921 that while it had been "unable to resist the overwhelming

¹¹ Pierre-Jean Luizard and Amal Vinogradov argue persuasively that the 1920 revolt, viewed by the British as the work of outside agitators (whether Bolshevik, Iranian, or Hashemite), was significant as both the last Shi'i *jihad* and the first truly nationalist rising. See Luizard, *La formation de l'Irak contemporaine*, 383–402; Vinogradov, "The 1920 Revolt in Iraq Reconsidered: The Role of Tribes in National Politics," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 3, no. 2 (April 1972): 123–139.

¹² For the Anglo-French argument over Faisal, see "British Secretary's Notes of an Anglo-French Conference, Held at Lympne on Sunday August 8, 1920," in *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939 [DBFP]* (London, 1946–), 1st ser.: 1919–1930, vol. 8, 718–719.

¹³ D. K. Fieldhouse, ed., *Kurds, Arabs and Britons: The Memoir of Wallace Lyon in Iraq, 1918–44* (London, 2002), 94–95.

¹⁴ The innovative role of the RAF in Iraq had a significant impact not only on practices of colonial control but also on the status and mystique of the RAF. For this symbiotic relationship between "air policing" and covert strategies of imperial control, see David E. Omissi, *Air Power and Colonial Control: The Royal Air Force, 1919–1939* (Manchester, 1990); and more recently Priya Satia, *Spies in Arabia: The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain's Covert Empire in the Middle East* (Oxford, 2008).

desire of the people of Iraq for the formation of a national Government under an Arab ruler," and hence wished to replace the original mandate text with a bilateral treaty, it remained accountable to the League for Iraq's administration.¹⁵ The Anglo-Iraq Treaty that Britain negotiated thus recognized Iraqi "national sovereignty" but bound the king to accept British advice "on all important matters"; supplementary agreements kept foreign relations, the defense of the country, and key judicial, financial, and advisory posts in British hands.¹⁶ Negotiations over the treaty were anything but easy: it was agreed in October of 1922 only after High Commissioner Percy Cox shut down nationalist newspapers, proscribed opposition parties, and deported key Shi'i leaders, and not until 1924 was it finally forced through the Constituent Assembly. Yet however restrictive its provisions, it was less humiliating to Iraq than the mandate, and in 1924 Britain persuaded the League Council to accept it as a replacement for that still-unratified text.¹⁷ Moreover, during negotiations, Britain made several key concessions, adding a supplementary protocol that reduced the treaty's duration from twenty years to a mere four, and promising first to try to secure the Mosul region, also claimed by Turkey, for Iraq, and then to consider Iraq's candidacy for League entry at four-year intervals, beginning in 1928.¹⁸ In 1925, albeit with difficulty, British officials in Iraq persuaded a skeptical League visiting commission to award Mosul to Iraq—although the commissioners, well aware of Kurdish hostility to rule from Baghdad, also recommended that Britain guarantee Kurdish autonomy and retain the mandate for at least a generation.¹⁹

In the eyes of Faisal and his ministers, the way was now clear for Britain to make good on its promise to support Iraq's admission to the League. A serious campaign

¹⁵ League of Nations Archives, Geneva [hereafter LNA], Box R58, File 1/17516/17502, H. A. L. Fisher to the Council, November 17, 1921. Britain had submitted draft mandates to the Council, but asked it to postpone consideration of the Iraq text, which was never ratified. For the original texts, see "Draft Mandates for Mesopotamia and Palestine as Submitted for the Approval of the League of Nations," *Parliamentary Papers* [hereafter *PP*] 1921, Cmd. 1176. The first British member on the PMC, William Ormsby-Gore, also explored the possibility of Britain's simply asking the League Council to terminate the mandate but was warned that such action would be "very strongly resented" by the French for its effect on Syria, and possibly by other Council members who hoped to profit from the requirement that all League states be granted equal economic rights in "A" and "B" mandated territories. See LNA, S284 (1) (9), Rappard to Ormsby-Gore, May 29, 1922.

¹⁶ "Iraq. Treaty with King Faisal," *PP* 1922, Cmd. 1757, here at Article IV, and for the numerous subsidiary agreements, see "Protocol . . . and Subsidiary Agreements," *PP* 1924, Cmd. 2120.

¹⁷ The discussion at the Council on September 20, 1924, and the Council resolution accepting the Anglo-Iraq Treaty as giving effect to the mandate were published by Britain as "Papers Relating to the Application to 'Iraq of the Principles of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations," *PP* 1924–1925, Cmd. 2317.

¹⁸ It is worth noting that many British officers in Iraq thought the promised four-year period simply "a concession to extremist opinion" and fully expected the treaty to be renewed. See C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs: Politics, Travel and Research in North-Eastern Iraq, 1919–1925* (London, 1957), 414–415.

¹⁹ Those recommendations, which were supported by the Council, were published by the League as CPM Document 483, "Iraq. Administration of the Kurdish Districts. Note by the Head of the Mandates Section" (November 2, 1926). In response to the Mosul award, the British government and Faisal signed a treaty extending the mandate for twenty-five years, but with the proviso that it would of course end if Iraq was admitted to the League. See "Iraq. Treaty with King Faisal signed at Baghdad, 13th January, 1926," *PP* 1926, Cmd. 2587. For Britain's decision to turn to the League to solve the Mosul dispute, see Peter J. Beck, "'A Tedious and Perilous Controversy': Britain and the Settlement of the Mosul Dispute, 1918–1926," *Middle Eastern Studies* 17, no. 2 (April 1981): 256. Wallace Lyons's memoir provides a revealing account of the British effort to manage the League Commission on the ground; see Fieldhouse, *Kurds, Arabs and Britons*, 146–152.

for League entry was certainly in the offing, High Commissioner Henry Dobbs warned the Colonial Office in late 1926; if Britain offered support, it could negotiate concessions protecting its strategic interests and retain the friendship of the Iraqi political elite.²⁰ Neither the Colonial Office nor Stanley Baldwin's new Conservative government thought that Iraq—a "mere geographical expression," in one official's words—was ready. Privately, officials imagined a scenario in which Britain would publicly propose Iraq's entry and then maneuver some other power—ideally the French—into turning the case down, but concluded that such a course of action "would, in order to be successful, demand on the part of the British representatives concerned, a skill in dissimulation and deceit which is happily foreign to our national character, and on the part of other members of the League a degree of benevolent discretion for which it would be extremely unwise to look."²¹ Colonial Secretary Leo Amery thus took refuge behind the Mosul Commission's stipulations. "I cannot conceive that anyone at Geneva eighteen months ago imagined that we should propose Iraq for membership of the League so soon as 1928," he wrote; to do so "might lay us open to the suspicion of having secured a favourable frontier award by undertaking further obligations which we had no real intention of discharging."²² Sir Hugh Trenchard, the air marshal who had found Iraq such a wonderful arena in which to try out his ideas about "air policing" (that is, bombing local tribes into submission), also frankly thought that Britain should never withdraw from Iraq as long as it was possible to hold it, and that "it was time this play-acting [about Iraqi independence] ceased."²³ The cabinet did not go this far, agreeing to support Iraq's entry in 1932. Amery, transmitting the decision to Baghdad, added blithely that Britain would not mind the League's sending its own commission to Iraq to decide whether independence was justified.²⁴

Amery was probably right to think that the League would have been astounded by a British proposal for Iraqi independence as early as 1928, although he was also clearly looking for an excuse not to go forward. (He was rarely so solicitous of Geneva.) For Faisal and the Iraqi nationalists, however, Britain's decision came as a betrayal. Abortive efforts at reconciliation and then two years of stalemate followed, with disagreement, predictably, crystallizing around military questions.²⁵ Yet both Dobbs and his successor, Gilbert Clayton (another old Arab Bureau hand), believed that compromise was possible: Iraq's nationalist politicians, they thought, although eager to build up their army, did not really want to do without the RAF. When a new Labour government committed to the ideals of imperial trusteeship and dev-

²⁰ Dobbs's views are mentioned in TNA, CO 730/107/73, memo by Hall, December 29, 1926, and are spelled out more fully in TNA, CO 730/119/10, C.P. 173 (27), June 8, 1927; circulating Dobbs to Amery, March 24, 1927; and TNA, CO 730/119/10, Dobbs to Amery, March 31, 1927.

²¹ TNA, CO 730/107/73, memo by Hall, December 29, 1926. Horace Wilson also thought it would be nice to orchestrate French obstruction; see TNA, CO 730/119/10, minute by Wilson, March 11, 1927.

²² TNA, CO 730/119/10, minute by Amery, March 15, 1927; and C.P. 178 (27), "Entry of Iraq into the League of Nations. Memorandum circulated by the Secretary of State for the Colonies," June 9, 1927.

²³ TNA, CO 730/119/10, minute by Hall, June 29, 1927; and TNA, CO 730/120/1, Trenchard, "Personal Note," June 28, 1927.

²⁴ TNA, CO 730/120/1, Cabinet 38 (27), July 4, 1927; and Amery to Dobbs, July 6, 1927.

²⁵ Another treaty removing some of the more humiliating conditions was agreed in December 1927, but since it modified the promise to support Iraq's entry with the words "if all goes well," Iraqi nationalists refused to ratify it. See "Iraq. Treaty between the United Kingdom and Iraq signed at London, December 14, 1927," *PP* 1927, Cmd. 2998.

olution came into office, the stalemate was finally broken. In September 1929, Britain told Baghdad that it would unconditionally support Iraq's entry into the League in 1932 and negotiate a new treaty resolving all outstanding questions. On November 4, the League's secretary-general, Sir Eric Drummond, was informed of Britain's decision.²⁶ It was now the job of the Colonial Office to bring the League around.

THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION of the League of Nations was just convening in Geneva for one of its regular sessions when the British made their announcement. Its members, as quickly became clear, were taken aback and even irritated by Britain's unilateral action.²⁷ Envisaged in the League Covenant and finally set up in 1921, the PMC was an advisory body that met twice yearly to review (with representatives of each mandatory power in turn) the annual reports those powers were required to submit and any petitions the League had received about alleged abuses in the mandated territories. It then reported to the League Council about any concerns. With Britain, France, and Japan (mandatory powers all) permanently represented on the Council, the Commission was kept on a tight leash: it was allowed neither to conduct fact-finding missions within the mandated territories nor to examine petitioners in person. Yet for several reasons—because the Council had more pressing concerns, because PMC members served without term and hence developed real expertise, because several were strong personalities, and (not least) because the states from which they came were often at loggerheads on imperial policy anyway—the Commission proved more independent and harder to manage than anyone could have predicted.²⁸

Of the PMC's eleven members in 1929, four were nationals of the main mandatory powers (Britain, France, Belgium, and Japan), three were nationals of other European imperial powers (the Netherlands, Italy, and Portugal), all but the Japanese member were white Europeans, and all but the Scandinavian member were men. In theory, all members were appointed by the Council for their expertise and not as government representatives; in practice, most were former colonial governors or diplomats with close ties to their state's foreign policy establishment. Yet, of the members from the mandatory powers, only the former French colonial governor, Martial Merlin, acted unabashedly as his government's mouthpiece; both the British member, the famous architect of indirect rule Sir Frederick Lugard, and Belgium's Pierre Orts (who had negotiated the East African boundaries with Milner in 1919) were more independent. The legalistic Dutch member, D. F. W. Van Rees, also tended to say whatever he liked (often at length), and the PMC's mercurial Italian chairman, the Marquis Theodoli, delighted in causing difficulties for the French and

²⁶ For this correspondence, see "Policy in 'Iraq: Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Colonies," *PP* 1929–1930, Cmd. 3440.

²⁷ PMC, *Minutes*, 16th sess., November 6–26, 1929, 17–20.

²⁸ Too little has been written from League archives on the internal workings of the Permanent Mandates Committee and the Mandates Section, but see Véronique Dimier, "L'internationalisation du débat colonial: Rivalités franco-britanniques autour de la Commission permanente des mandats," *Outre-mers: Revue d'histoire* 89, no. 336–337 (2002): 333–360; Dimier, *Le gouvernement des colonies, regards croisés franco-britanniques* (Brussels, 2004); and Annique H. M. Van Ginneken, "Volkenbondsvoogdij: Het Toezicht van de Volkenbond op het Bestuur in Mandaatgebieden, 1919–1940" (diss., University of Utrecht, 1992).

British officials who appeared before him. Staunch imperialists these men may have been, but they did not speak with a single voice.

For varying reasons, four members were consistently critical of the mandatory powers. Only one, the Spanish social reformer and political economy professor Leopoldo Palacios, supported self-determination on principle, but he often found a pragmatic ally in the member appointed following Germany's entry into the League, the financial expert Ludwig Kastl (and after 1930 his replacement, Julius Ruppel).²⁹ Yet it was the Swiss member, professor and political scientist William Rappard, who became the Commission's chief strategist and moral lodestar. As director of the Mandates Section from 1921 through 1924, Rappard had fought hard, sometimes even against Secretary-General Drummond, to bolster the Commission's authority, and when he left the Secretariat, the PMC insisted that he be appointed an extraordinary member.³⁰ Intelligent, hard-working, based in Geneva, and possessing an insider's knowledge of the League, for twenty years Rappard caused more trouble for the mandatory powers than any of his fellows. The Commission's sole woman member, the Norwegian school director Valentine Dannevig, often followed his lead.

This was the group that the Colonial Office would have to convince of Iraq's fitness for independence within three years. But when Sir Bernard Bourdillon, acting high commissioner after Gilbert Clayton's sudden death, met with them at that November 1929 session, they expressed "a good deal of well-bred surprise, and even incredulity" at this claim.³¹ Why did Britain think that Iraq could govern itself? If it was making progress, how much was due to the British advisers present in every ministry? The PMC had seen little evidence of the Iraqi government's ability to function on its own, but enough to question its probity and character. Remember, Orts and Rappard pointed out, the petition the previous year from Baghdad's Bahai community over the wrongful seizure of a house sacred to them, which bordered on a Shi'i site and which the British authorities had been unable to persuade an Iraqi government anxious about Shi'i loyalties to restore. "In a country . . . where religious fanaticism pursues minorities and controls power," Orts told Bourdillon, "a state of affairs prevails which is not calculated to ensure the development and well-being of the inhabitants."³²

Bourdillon handled the Commission well, pointing out that whatever Iraq's de-

²⁹ Records of the complex negotiations over Germany's seat on the PMC are found in the archives of the Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin [henceforth AA], R29434 and R96513. The episode is covered from the standpoint of the British and the French in Callahan, *Mandates and Empire*, especially 129–131.

³⁰ For Rappard's disagreements with Drummond, see in particular Ania Peter, *William E. Rappard und der Völkerbund: Ein Schweizer Pionier der internationalen Verständigung* (Frankfurt, 1973), especially 88–90; also LNA, R20bis, 1/13140/3800, Rappard to Drummond, December 20, 1921, and R58, 1/17517/17502, Rappard, "The Iraq Treaty," October 27, 1922; and Van Hamel, "The Iraq Treaty," November 9, 1922.

³¹ TNA, CO 730/150/3, note by Clauson, received December 28, 1929.

³² PMC, *Minutes*, 16th sess., November 6–26, 1929, 33. For the discussion and report on the Bahai petition the previous year, see PMC, *Minutes*, 14th sess., October 26–November 13, 1928, 189–190, 275–276. PMC consideration of the Bahai appeal turned into a hardy perennial. Given Shi'i feeling, the Iraqi government demurred at restoring the property to the Bahai, but under British pressure eventually agreed to expropriate it for a public purpose. The Bahai and the Mandates Commission accepted this compromise; each year, however, the PMC learned that it had not yet been implemented. The Iraqi government no doubt found such procrastination prudent, but the Commission read it as evidence of the "fanaticism" of Iraq's Muslim majority and the Iraqi government's pusillanimity. The mandate ended with the issue still unresolved. For the records of the Bahai petition, including petitions from sympa-

fects, it was already as independent as some other member states of the League. Yet the PMC's report to the Council that session was—despite objections from Palacios and Kastl—grudging at best, stating that the Commission would welcome Iraq's entry only "if and when" it became clear that the territory was able to "stand alone" and effective safeguards had been worked out for its religious and racial minorities and for League member states.³³ One year later, with petitions arriving from minority populations apprehensive at the prospect of independence, the PMC again gave the British representative, by his own admission, "a pretty stiff time."³⁴ The minutes of the session made "very disturbing reading," one official minuted: it was clear the Commission was "distinctly hostile to the position of His Majesty's Government."³⁵

That hostility did not prompt any reconsideration of British policy, but nor did it lead Britain to flout the PMC. Deeply invested in the League and aware of the institution's strong public backing, British officials never suggested going forward without its consent, instead crafting a finely calibrated strategy for managing the Commission. Officials thus fought to restrict the PMC's independent access to information, successfully opposing the proposal that the League send a fact-finding mission to judge Iraq's readiness for independence. (Such a prospect, cheerfully contemplated by Amery when the aim had been to slow independence down, was now considered out of the question.)³⁶ Second, they inundated the Commission with their own information, providing detailed observations on all petitions and writing a highly selective survey of the expanding capacity of the Iraqi government under their eleven-year tutelage.³⁷ Third, they dispatched the imposing new high commissioner, Sir Francis Humphrys, to Geneva to make their case at the June 1931 and November 1931 PMC sessions. There, Humphrys stayed relentlessly on message, lobbying members individually and hosting luncheon parties to introduce them to Iraqi ministers Nuri al-Sa'id and Ja'far al-'Askari.³⁸

What made this strategy necessary was the undiminished level of anxiety, unrest, and dissent that the prospect of Iraqi independence aroused, not only among members of the Mandates Commission but also among Iraq's minorities, other European

thizers outside Iraq, see LNA, R2314, 6A/7886/655, jacket 1; expressions of thanks from Bahai congregations for the PMC's support are in jacket 2.

³³ "Report to the Council of the League of Nations on the Work of the Session," in PMC, *Minutes*, 16th sess., November 6–26, 1929, 203.

³⁴ TNA, CO 730/152/7, Young to Hall, November 11, 1930.

³⁵ TNA, CO 730/152/7, minute by Hall, November 21, 1930; see also minutes by Shuckburgh, November 25, 1930, and Drummond Shiels, December 2, 1930.

³⁶ TNA, CO 730/152/7, minute by Hall, October 25, 1930; see also the interoffice meeting held to work out a strategy for Humphrys to oppose such a demand in late 1931 in TNA, CO 730/179/3, "Memorandum: Attitude to be adopted by the British Accredited Representative at the forthcoming meeting of the Permanent Mandates Commission" (n.d. [October 1931]). In 1945, Bernard Bourdillon recalled how easy it was for the mandatory powers to "hoodwink" the PMC given that it could not check their comments by personal inspection. Quoted in Robert D. Pearce, *Sir Bernard Bourdillon: The Biography of a Twentieth-Century Colonialist* (Oxford, 1987), 99.

³⁷ *Special Report by His Majesty's Government . . . on the Progress of Iraq during the Period 1920–1931* (London, 1931). As the Colonial Office's J. E. Hall put it, material that was "true" but might "make a bad impression at Geneva" could be "toned down," since the purpose of the report was to persuade the League that the Iraqi government was "sufficiently enlightened" to be granted independence. See TNA, CO 730/167/14, note by Hall, March 30, 1931. (It is impossible not to recall how some seventy years later, another government dossier on Iraq would be "sexed up" in order to deliver a very different verdict.)

³⁸ TNA, CO 730/166/7, note by Hall, June 26, 1931.

powers, much of the British political establishment, and even some senior British officials in Baghdad and London. “Your statement . . . that it is beyond question that progress in general has been maintained is one to which, I think, few people would subscribe,” Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, adviser to the interior minister and in Iraq continuously since 1920, wrote in March 1931 when reviewing the British report; he himself thought that British withdrawal would lead to a period of near-anarchy followed by either British reoccupation or the emergence of a dictator.³⁹ “We are very doubtful of the truth of our own opinion that Iraq is fit for admission,” J. E. W. Flood at the Colonial Office likewise admitted.⁴⁰ In reading the blunt comments in the Colonial Office files, Elie Kedourie’s old charge—that British officials supported Iraqi independence out of an excess of liberal idealism and self-delusion—falls to the ground. Pragmatic calculations drove them. If Britain wished to retain control of its airfields and oilfields in Iraq but was not willing to spend money and lives reoccupying the country (and it was not), there was no other choice. “His Majesty’s Government are committed lock stock and barrel to the opinion that Iraq will be fit for admission to the League by 1932,” Flood concluded, “and whatever happens we must stand by that.”⁴¹

This strategy was successful, enabling Britain to retain a low-cost hegemonic position in Iraq for another dozen years. Yet the campaign for Iraq’s admission to the League also fostered an important and consequential debate, one that spilled beyond the Mandates Commission, about the nature of independence and sovereignty in a post-Wilsonian but not yet post-imperial world. The PMC and other participants in that debate could not force the British to stay in Iraq; they could, however, criticize the nature of the independence on offer and articulate other visions or norms. By doing so, they not only exposed the shifting relations between internationalism and imperialism in this period but also to a degree affected those relations. Two issues—whether that independence was a kind of imperialism in disguise and whether Iraqi nation-building would threaten non-Arab populations—dominated. The historical record would give an affirmative answer to both questions, yet this definition of independence prevailed anyway, in a pragmatic bargain that gave both the imperial powers and Arab nationalists some part of what they needed.

THE FIRST CONTROVERSIAL QUESTION the PMC was forced to consider was whether Iraq could, indeed, be considered a “state.” The British, understandably anxious on this score, tried to prevent the Commission from even discussing the question. Adjudicating a state’s readiness for admission to the League was not the PMC’s job; Foreign Secretary Arthur Henderson insisted in a Council meeting in January 1930; if anything, that was the prerogative of the League Assembly, a heterodox body dominated by small (and in some cases scarcely “sovereign”) states certain to welcome Iraq’s entry. It is a sign of how anxiously the imperial powers on the Council viewed the prospect of Iraqi independence that they disagreed, insisting that the Mandates Commission be asked for its views about when a territory administered

³⁹ TNA, CO 730/167/14, Cornwallis to Young, March 22, 1931.

⁴⁰ TNA, CO 730/152/7, minute by Flood, October 27, 1930.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

under League mandate might be considered ripe for emancipation.⁴² In memoranda and discussions between late 1930 and June 1931, the Commission pondered this question.⁴³

That a mandate *could* end was clearly implied by the League Covenant, members agreed, for if the mandates system had been constructed to protect peoples “not yet able to stand alone” (in the words of Article 22), the implication must be that they might one day do so. But it was not for the inhabitants to decide when that day had come, the Dutchman Van Rees characteristically insisted, and “in the case of the African and South Pacific territories, this goal is beyond dispute still so remote that it would be safe to say that it is really no more than of theoretical interest.”⁴⁴ Instead, whether the stage had been reached was a question of fact, of the empirical and observable condition of the territory’s institutions. At a minimum, the PMC members agreed in their final report on the subject in June 1931, it should have a settled administration, the capacity to maintain its territorial integrity, the ability to keep internal order, adequate financial resources, and a judicial apparatus that would afford equal justice to all.⁴⁵ It need not be able to repel any possible attack entirely on its own, Lugard added, for that was a standard that few small states could meet; internally, however, it had to have the rudimentary capacities of the modern bureaucratic state.⁴⁶

This was a list of conditions that many European political theorists of the day would have endorsed. Interestingly, however, the Commission did not stop there. For the state in question was not being freed in order to act like an unbound captive in a war of all against all. Rather, it would be admitted into a community of states, one bound by norms and practices to which it should conform. The mandates system had been set up as part of a peace settlement, Portugal’s Count de Penha Garcia pointed out, and it was reasonable to insist that emancipation not disrupt that peace.⁴⁷ The new state should therefore agree to honor commitments made under the mandate regime and specific League covenants. By accepting this argument, the Commission on the one hand virtually invited the League to impose conditions that would protect European interests, but on the other hand implied that sovereignty could be legitimately constrained by the obligation to adhere to what they would have termed “standards of civilization” and we would term “the protection of human rights.”

The Commission’s report went on to propose a list of appropriate specific guarantees. At this moment, however, any illusion that they were discussing an abstract

⁴² Minutes of the Council, 58th sess., January 13, 1930, *League of Nations Official Journal* [hereafter *OJ*], February 1930, 77.

⁴³ A preliminary report drafted by the Portuguese member, Count de Penha Garcia, “General Conditions that must be fulfilled before the mandate regime can be brought to an end in respect of a country placed under that regime,” was published in PMC, *Minutes*, 19th sess., November 4–19, 1930, annex 8. The committee then discussed the issue at their 20th session in June 1931, and a final report, also titled “General Conditions that must be fulfilled . . .,” was published in PMC, “Report to the Council on the Work of the 20th Session,” *Minutes*, 20th sess., June 9–27, 1931, 228–230.

⁴⁴ PMC, *Minutes*, 20th sess., June 9–27, 1931, 152; LNA, R2346, 6A/16601/16601, CPM 1183, “Contribution to the examination of the question of the general conditions required for the termination of the mandate regime . . . Note by M. Van Rees” (June 13, 1931).

⁴⁵ PMC, “General Conditions that must be fulfilled” (1931), 228–229.

⁴⁶ LNA, R2346, 6A/16601/16601, jacket 1, CPM 11997, “General Question. Termination of a Mandate. Note by Lord Lugard” (June 20, 1931).

⁴⁷ De Penha Garcia, “General Conditions that must be fulfilled” (1930).

question vanished, with debate focusing on the sticking points that had arisen over Iraq. The list was thus an odd mix of protections for existing European privileges (such as the obligation to maintain the legal immunities granted foreigners) and genuine humanitarian norms (such as freedom of conscience). The PMC also suggested—in a sign of things to come—that if the mandated territory had been required to grant equal economic access to all League states (as Iraq had been), it should grant those states most-favored-nation status at least for a time.⁴⁸

This motley list bore the traces of the Iraq debates, but it bore something else, too—the fingerprints of the foreign ministries of the major European powers. Certainly the PMC was the bearer of a genuine, if paternalistic, humanitarian sensibility that transcended nationality, but on issues of real importance to European powers, it could also serve as an arena in which to negotiate their interests. Iraqi independence—involving as it did global security and the disposition of large supplies of oil—was just such an issue. It thus not only divided the PMC but also spilled beyond its bounds, with key discussions taking place in the League Council or among diplomats behind the scenes. Albeit for rather different reasons, Germany and Italy became heavily involved in those discussions. The German position was the most subtle, and is worth recovering.

Germany's approach to colonial questions at the League was shaped by its unusual position as not only the most powerful state on the Council without a colonial empire, but also the former sovereign of many of the territories that the Mandates Commission now oversaw. Since Germany had been stripped of those territories amid charges that it was too brutal to be trusted with colonies (charges that very much still rankled), the mandatory powers expected Germany to use its position within the League to lobby relentlessly for their return. Yet it did not do so. The German Foreign Ministry had given considerable thought to colonial policy before Germany's entry in 1926 and had come to the conclusion that any early restitution of those colonies was outside the realm of practical politics. As a result, and paradoxically, upholding League authority became an imperative: Germany could simultaneously assert its humanitarian and internationalist credentials, rebuild its economic interests in its former territories, keep alive hopes of their eventual return, and placate a vociferous domestic colonial lobby, by insisting on the sovereignty of the League (and not the individual mandatory power) over the mandated territories and by defending the rights of all League states to equal access to their markets.⁴⁹ If for its own instrumental reasons, Germany thus acted as the most staunchly internationalist member of the Council during its brief period of League membership.

The German position on Iraq flowed from this analysis. That position was worked out by Fritz Grobba, the talented Arabist, former consul in Kabul, and later ambassador to Baghdad during the Nazi era, who headed the Foreign Ministry's Middle

⁴⁸ PMC, "General Conditions that must be fulfilled" (1931), 229.

⁴⁹ German policy began to be worked out through correspondence with former governor of German Togo Edmund Brückner and former governor of German South-West Africa (and now president of the principal colonial lobby, the Kolonial Reichsgesellschaft) Theodor Seitz even before Germany's entry into the League. For Brückner's interventions and the emphasis on economic rebuilding, see Dirk van Laak, *Imperiale Infrastruktur: Deutsche Planungen für eine Erschließung Afrikas 1880 bis 1960* (Paderborn, 2004), especially 204–205; for Seitz's important views, see AA, R29433, memos of May 16, 1925, and May 23, 1925; for a cogent later statement of German policy, see AA, R76851, De Haas, Abschrift, III.K.1, 1661/28 (March 22, 1928).

East and South Asia Section in the late 1920s. Grobba followed debates over Iraq within the PMC and the Council closely and developed a sophisticated understanding of just what the British were doing. In a series of memos written between 1928 and 1932, he analyzed British policy and outlined Germany's response. Britain, he wrote, wished to retain its military and economic advantages in Iraq, but at a low cost, with Arab collaboration, and free from international oversight. As a power without an empire, Germany, too, had every interest in moving the Middle East mandates rapidly to independence; unlike Britain, however, it wished to maximize Iraq's (and thus its own) room to maneuver. Thus, while Britain would make independence conditional on special military rights, and other imperial powers would likely demand economic concessions, Germany should not acquiesce: having had its own economic sovereignty constrained by the Versailles Treaty, "we must reject the imposition of such economic restrictions on another land on moral grounds."⁵⁰ Yet if morally right, this policy was also reassuringly pragmatic, for it would win the new state's friendship, on which basis Germany could build strong economic ties.⁵¹ Against the backdrop of grumbling on the PMC and anxiety among the great powers, German state secretary Carl von Schubert therefore declared in the League Council in January 1930—immediately after the British declaration—that Germany supported Iraqi independence free from harassing conditions. Von Schubert's statement, Grobba noted, had made a great impression in Iraq.⁵²

Ludwig Kastl, the experienced economic negotiator and lobbyist whom German foreign minister Gustav Stresemann had succeeded in placing on the PMC in 1927, kept in close touch with Grobba and faithfully represented the Foreign Ministry's views. That is, he welcomed the prospect of Iraqi independence while raising questions about British companies' monopoly over oil concessions and about the degree of military and political control that Britain proposed to exercise over the new state.⁵³ "I hold the view," he wrote to the director of the Mandates Section, Vito Catastini, as early as December of 1928, "that the A-mandates should become independent as soon as possible," but clarified that such independence "cannot consist in the mandatory relationship being abandoned in favour of a single power, with which the former mandated territory enters into a new and indeed uncontrollable relation of dependence."⁵⁴ Admittedly, British policy over the next few years did much to justify Kastl's fears. Britain did recognize Iraqi sovereignty in the Anglo-Iraq Treaty of 1930, but at a considerable price—including the right to move troops over Iraqi soil, the continued presence of the RAF, British ownership of two airbases, the right to train and supply the Iraqi army, the continued employment of some British judges,

⁵⁰ AA, R96537, Grobba, "Zu Punkt I der Tagesordnung der 58. Tagung des Völkerbundesrates" (December 23, 1929).

⁵¹ AA, R96543, Grobba, "Zu Punkt 2 der Tagesordnung der 62. Tagung des Völkerbundesrates" (December 23, 1930).

⁵² AA, R96540, Grobba, "XI Bundesversammlung. Punkt 2 Ziffer 8 II Mandats" (August 23, 1930).

⁵³ Kastl objected to the Anglo-Persian oil concession as early as 1927 (see LNA, R59, 1/62947/17502, CPM 674, "Anglo-Persian Oil Concession. Report by M. Kastl" [November 7, 1927]) and kept a vigilant eye out for any monopolistic practices in the mandated territories that might limit Germany's access to their markets.

⁵⁴ AA, R96535, Kastl to Catastini, December 8, 1928, enclosed in Grobba, "Zu Punkt 2 der Tagesordnung der 54. Tagung des Völkerbundesrates. Mandate. Irak" (February 28, 1929); copy in LNA, S 284 1 (4), "Kastl."

and a phased diminution of other British staff.⁵⁵ In 1931, moreover, the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) successfully negotiated a twenty-five-year extension of its exclusive rights over oil exploration in the north, as well as a contract to build a pipeline.

Over three sessions in 1930 and 1931, the PMC raked over the Anglo-Iraq Treaty and the IPC concession in painstaking if inconclusive detail. Soon the German argument that Britain was effectively constructing a “protectorate in disguise” came to be echoed by other members, especially the Spaniard Palacios, who was committed on principle to the ideal of self-determination, and the Swiss Rappard, who was prone to follow up every critical argument. The question, Palacios told one British official, was whether a new and genuinely international institution—the mandates system, under supervision of the League—was being done away with in favor of a bilateral system of protection, outside international control, by the former mandatory power.⁵⁶ And yet the PMC found it impossible to condemn the British plan outright, not only because those who most objected to continued British control (Palacios and Kastl) genuinely supported Iraqi independence and were therefore unwilling (unlike Rappard or Orts) to say that Iraq was not ready for emancipation anyway. The problem was also that the German argument was appropriated by a state with different interests and goals—that is, Italy.

The Colonial Office became seriously concerned about the possibility of Italian obstruction in the summer of 1931, when the Italian ambassador informed Foreign Secretary Arthur Henderson that his government felt the question of Iraq’s readiness for self-government should be turned over to a League commission, “as representative of all the allied Powers who share an equal right of Sovereignty on the territories under Mandate.”⁵⁷ But the Italians had no interests in Iraq, the Colonial Office insisted. What on earth were they after? In late July, Humphrys met the ambassador and got an answer: the Italian government indeed did not care about the principle but wanted to set a price on their consent—ideally, a share of Iraqi oil.⁵⁸ “It is unpleasant to have to submit to blackmail,” Hall at the Colonial Office minuted, but the British Oil Development Company (BOD)—an undercapitalized multinational venture with a significant Italian stake whose protests against the IPC’s monopoly had (despite German and even Iraqi support) hitherto been unavailing—should probably be given a concession.⁵⁹ Faisal clearly thought so as well, and by

⁵⁵ *Treaty of Alliance between the United Kingdom and Iraq*, PP 1929–1930, Cmd. 3627.

⁵⁶ PMC, *Minutes*, 19th sess., November 4–19, 1930, 87.

⁵⁷ TNA, CO 730/164/5, Bordonaro to Henderson, July 6, 1931.

⁵⁸ TNA, CO 730/164/5, Hall minute, July 30, 1931.

⁵⁹ TNA, CO 730/169/7, Hall minute, September 9, 1931. Both Kastl and Ruppel supported the BOD’s petition to the League against the IPC’s monopoly, although the British successfully claimed that the matter fell outside the PMC’s jurisdiction. See PMC, *Minutes*, 16th sess., November 6–26, 1929, 42; PMC, *Minutes*, 19th sess., November 4–19, 1930, 181–184; and TNA, CO 730/168/12. The Iraqi government, feeling that the IPC was too slow to drill new wells, supported the BOD’s efforts behind the scenes; indeed, Grobba claimed in his memoir that on a visit to Germany in 1930, Faisal himself solicited German support. See Fritz Grobba, “Deutsche Erdölinteressen in Arabien,” in Grobba, *Männer und Mächte im Orient: 25 Jahre diplomatischer Tätigkeit im Orient* (Göttingen, 1967), 85–94. The complex diplomacy around Iraqi oil cannot be discussed here, but see Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq*, 135–140; and for the BOD and German attempts to support its claims, see Helmut Mejcher, *Die Politik und das Öl im Nahen Osten*, 2 vols., vol. 1: *Der Kampf der Mächte und Konzerne vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart, 1980), 37–42; and Mejcher, “The International Petroleum Cartel (1928), Arab and Turkish Oil Aspirations and German Oil Policy towards the Middle East on the Eve of the Second World War,” in Klaus

January 1932, negotiations were under way in Baghdad for a concession to the BOD, which was granted in May.⁶⁰

Italy was also concerned that the Iraq proposals not be seen as a precedent, Foreign Minister Dino Grandi added, for while Italy did not object to Britain's plan "to transform a mandate into a protectorate" (as he bluntly put it), it would not accept a similar French proposal for Syria.⁶¹ The mandates system, Grandi told the League Council in September 1931, had not been devised to create "a system of permanent and special relations between the mandatory Power and the territory under mandate"; to the contrary, the clauses prohibiting fortifications and requiring an economic "open door" had been written expressly to prevent such an outcome.⁶² Largely to deter the French from following the British lead, Grandi then ordered Theodoli to cause as much trouble as possible for Britain at the November 1931 PMC session. His position, Theodoli did not mind telling High Commissioner Humphrys privately, would "be greatly eased" if the British could find some argument that would justify their treaty with Iraq but "could not be used to defend a similar Treaty between France and Syria." This took a little ingenuity, but Humphrys obliged.⁶³

Germany and Italy thus objected to Britain's bid to preserve its military and economic hegemony in Iraq after independence, but for different reasons and toward different ends. Both states' arguments were based on a strict calculation of their own national interest, but while the Germans intervened to limit British constraints on Iraq's resources and sovereignty, the Italians did so to force Britain to share the spoils. One might say that the two states were articulating, if only partially and in embryonic form, two different international visions—the Germans of a world of formally equal sovereign states regulated largely through market competition, the Italians of a world in which the great powers (among whom Italy liked to count itself) would negotiate their spheres of influence and extract privileges from the more vulnerable. Germany, unsurprisingly, recognized the use to which its arguments were being put and carefully sought to differentiate its position from Italy's. Although Kastl's successor on the PMC, Julius Ruppel, joined Theodoli, Rappard, and Orts in criticizing the IPC's grip on Iraqi oil, he did not support the proposal, dear to the Italians, that Iraq grant all League states most-favored-nation status for twenty-five years.⁶⁴ Likewise, German foreign minister Julius Curtius declined to make common

Jürgen Gantzel and Helmut Mejcher, eds., *Oil, the Middle East, North Africa and the Industrial States* (Paderborn, 1984), 29–59.

⁶⁰ Foreign Office, Eastern Department, "Iraq: Proposed Release from Mandatory Regime: Memorandum for British Representative on the Council of the League" (January 21, 1932), in *British Documents on Foreign Affairs* [hereafter *B DFA*], pt. II: From the First to the Second World War, ser. B: Turkey, Iran, and the Middle East, 1918–1939, vol. 7: *Eastern Affairs, June 1930–June 1932*, 376–377. By 1935 the Italians were the majority shareholders in the BOD, but the company proved unable to meet its schedule of royalty payments to the Iraqi government, and by 1938 all oil concessions were back in IPC hands. For this, see Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq*, 140.

⁶¹ TNA, CO 730/169/7, "Record of interview between Lord Cecil and Signor Grandi," September 2, 1931.

⁶² The Italian statement was agreed with the French and British beforehand in order to prevent public disagreements but was still quite hard-hitting. See Minutes of the Council, 64th sess., September 4, 1931, in *OJ*, November 1931, 2049.

⁶³ TNA, CO 730/1704, memo by Hall, November 10, 1931.

⁶⁴ Grobba's analysis of Germany's interest in opposing attempts to force Iraq to grant most-favored-

cause with Grandi at that September 1931 Council meeting, stating that Iraq's independence should not be hampered by excessive conditions.⁶⁵

By the PMC's November 1931 session, all the cards were on the table. The majority of its members, the Colonial Office knew, remained highly skeptical of Iraq's readiness for independence, and the few that favored it were far from certain that it was on offer anyway. Even Palacios, who thought it normal and desirable for mandated territories to move toward statehood, worried that the Anglo-Iraq Treaty might be a "step backwards" from the mandate, which at least placed Britain under international scrutiny.⁶⁶ Yet partly because members could not decide whether Iraq's continued tie to Britain was a scandal or a safeguard, partly because the Council was so interested in this question, and especially because they were absorbed by the problem of Iraq's minorities, the PMC moved off center stage. To the relief of the British Foreign and Colonial offices, the Commission would be asked to report merely on whether Iraq had met the conditions it had outlined in June, and not to conduct the negotiations over any special guarantees. This task would fall to the Council, an unsentimental body that British officials could influence. True, they would probably face problems from the Italians, but thought they need go no further to meet them.⁶⁷ They had, after all, and to their surprise, French support.

Nothing is more revealing of the nature of the independence granted Iraq in 1932 than the role played by France. The Colonial Office had expected that the French would cause the most trouble, given that France had expelled Faisal from Syria and remained very sensitive about Hashemite influence there.⁶⁸ The Colonial Office was thus quick to attribute the PMC's early obstinacy to malign French influences and feared that the French member, Merlin, would "hold out for all sorts of guarantees and undertakings."⁶⁹ But in Geneva, France proved to be the dog that did not bark. Indeed, as the Quai d'Orsay reflected on the expense, unpopularity, and international censure generated by French behavior in Syria, Britain's Iraq policy—that of creating a cheap client state outside the realm of international scrutiny—looked increasingly attractive. Journalists and statesmen in Geneva who had expected to hear France's Middle East expert Robert de Caix condemn Britain's policy thus found him surprisingly mild, and in June 1931 he announced to the PMC that France also planned to negotiate a treaty with Syria and then end the mandate.⁷⁰ "This is," J. E. Hall of the Colonial Office commented, for once speaking the whole truth, "the most striking compliment yet paid to our Iraq policy."⁷¹

nation status to League states is in AA, R96543, Grobba, "Zu Punkt 2 der Tagesordnung der 62. Tagung des Völkerbundesrates" (December 23, 1930).

⁶⁵ Minutes of the Council, 64th sess., September 4, 1931, in *OJ*, November 1931, 2052.

⁶⁶ PMC, *Minutes*, 21st sess., October 26–November 13, 1931, 77–78.

⁶⁷ TNA, CO 730/169/8, "Notes of a meeting held in Mr. Rendel's room on Dec. 14th at 8:30 pm to consider the Permanent Mandates Commission's report to the Council on the release of Iraq from the Mandatory Regime"; and more generally, Foreign Office, "Iraq: Proposed Release from Mandatory Regime," in *BDFR*, pt. II, ser. B, vol. 7, 372–384.

⁶⁸ For those rivalries, see Martin Thomas, *Empires of Intelligence: Security Services and Colonial Disorder after 1914* (Berkeley, Calif., 2008).

⁶⁹ TNA, CO 730/152/7, note by Shuckburgh, November 25, 1930, and memo by Clauson, November 19, 1930.

⁷⁰ PMC, *Minutes*, 20th sess., June 9–27, 1931, 33–38.

⁷¹ TNA, CO 730/166/7, note by Hall, September 1, 1931.

IF A FIRST SET OF DEBATES sparked by the Iraq proposals concerned the relationship between the new state and the international order into which it would be born, a second set dealt with its relationship to its own population. Wilsonian rhetoric saw that relationship as unproblematic. The state was, in an almost Hegelian way, the emanation of the “nation,” the embodiment of a self-determining people united for freedom. But who, in the ex-Ottoman Middle East, made up that “people”? For those who had participated in the prewar Arab awakening or joined the wartime Arab revolt, that people was the Arab people, and the imagined state was a pan-Arab polity. Britain and France put paid to this vision, crafting, through the agency of the mandates system, a set of discrete “states”—Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq—under their influence. Yet the creation of those states only made the problem of the nation more acute. For how could such states, carved out of largely Arab and Muslim provinces but marked by sectarian divisions and with minority populations of other faiths, become a united and self-determining nation? Decentralization, federalism, even cosmopolitanism—the tools with which empires often manage sectarian or ethnic differences—were discredited, but the national ideologies and institutions that might surmount them were only in formation.

The invention of Iraq posed these problems in an extreme form. Of the 3 million inhabitants of the former Ottoman provinces of Basra, Mosul, and Baghdad at the beginning of the mandate period, about half were Shi'i Arabs. Sunni Arabs and Kurds (mostly in the north) each constituted about a further fifth, with significant groups of Jews, Christians, Turks, and Yezidis making up the rest.⁷² Many of these groups had national dreams: the Shi'i clerics and tribesmen who had been the backbone of the 1920 rising hoped to bring about an independent and devoutly Islamic Iraq; Kurds were striving for the autonomous Kurdistan envisaged in the abortive Treaty of Sèvres. British guns and the emergence of the Turkish Republic shattered those visions, their defeat making the marriage of convenience that was the Hashemite Kingdom of Iraq under British mandate possible. But if Faisal's rule rested on British support and the collaboration of much the same Sunni and urban elite that had been the backbone of the Ottoman state as well, he was aware of the tenuous nature of his legitimacy. His governments thus sought to disguise the extent of their dependence on the British, to build up an army and bureaucracy capable of uniting (and dominating) this disparate population, and to cultivate the loyalty of largely Shi'i rural sheikhs by strengthening their near-feudal hold on their impoverished tenant-cultivators.⁷³

Such strategies—along with the summary exile of key Shi'i clerics in the early 1920s—to a degree neutralized Shi'i resistance, and in the cities especially a fragile nationalist and cosmopolitan culture emerged.⁷⁴ Yet ethnic antagonisms still festered: indeed, Iraq's status as a League of Nations mandate made those divisions more intractable. For not only had Wilsonian rhetoric legitimized the assumption that ethnicities and nations should normally coincide, but the League also estab-

⁷² Population figures are from Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 31.

⁷³ For that strategy of domination, see especially Pierre-Jean Luizard, “Le mandat britannique en Irak: Une rencontre entre plusieurs projets politiques,” in Méouchy and Sluglett, *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives*, 361–384.

⁷⁴ For a sensitive account of the emergence of fragile but pluralistic institutions in Hashemite Iraq, see Orit Bashkin, *The Other Iraq: Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq* (Stanford, Calif., 2009).

lished new processes and institutions—plebiscites and boundary commissions, minorities treaties and petition processes—through which such putative “nations” learned to state their claims and test their powers. The right of inhabitants of mandatory territories to petition the League was one such process and in mandatory Iraq played an unusual and particularly significant role. That right was itself controversial, for mandatory powers feared that petitions would be used to foment unrest and undermine their authority; thus, while petitions were (on the insistence of the League Assembly) allowed, they were “receivable” only if they met strict conditions, and were to address only possible violations of the mandate and not the legitimacy of the mandate itself. Emergent national movements (notably in Palestine, Syria, and Western Samoa) nonetheless tried to use petitions to protest mandatory status and call for self-determination, but such petitions were usually dismissed by the PMC as in conflict with the very system they were charged to uphold.⁷⁵ In Iraq, by contrast, since an Arab national government was already in place, petitions could become a vehicle for separatist claims by those ethnic and religious minorities who feared that government and sought to challenge its authority.⁷⁶ Since those petitions did not question the mandate, the PMC took them very seriously, and their impact was further heightened by the fact that the Iraqi government, having no standing in Geneva (yet), could not directly answer petitioners’ charges. Only the mandatory power could do so; only Britain could persuade the League of minorities’ safety in a unitary Iraqi state.

They faced an uphill battle, for when the provisions of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty of 1930 became public, the PMC found itself confronted by an avalanche of petitions from Iraq’s Kurds and Assyrians. Both groups had good reason to feel betrayed.

⁷⁵ A right of petition for territories under mandate was not envisaged in Article 22 of the Covenant, but rather was crafted, with the support of the first British PMC member, William Ormsby-Gore, to respond to pressures from the Assembly and to deal with the flood of appeals and claims making their way to Geneva. In order to calm mandatory powers’ fears that petitioning would incite unrest and diminish their authority, strict rules governed petitioning: to be “receivable,” the petition could not stem from an anonymous source, could not call the terms of the mandate itself into question, could not ask for redress for a grievance justiciable through domestic courts, and—most importantly—if sent by a petitioner resident in the mandated territory itself, had to be sent to the League through the agency of the mandatory power, which had the right to append its comments on the petition before forwarding it to the PMC. The PMC examined the petition and comment, usually together with the representative of the mandatory power during its regular session, and then issued a report to the Council either recommending some action or (more usually) explaining why no action need be taken. Petitions rarely brought the plaintiff redress, yet—precisely as the mandatory powers had feared—they did offer aggrieved individuals and groups both training in international advocacy and a mechanism for publicizing their complaints. Petitioning under the mandates system is a subject ripe for study. Although some attention has been paid to its role in particular territories and conflicts, the only comprehensive account of the system as a whole is to be found in Van Ginneken, “Volkenbondsvoogdij.” Callahan’s *Mandates and Empire* provides a good account of debates within the League and within the French and British Foreign Offices over the establishment and workings of the system.

⁷⁶ Under the treaties agreed after the war, most East European and Balkan states pledged to guarantee minority populations specific linguistic and cultural rights; the League oversaw and acted as guarantor for those treaties. That minority rights regime also included a right of petition; because Iraq was a mandated territory, however, and not an independent state, petitions from its minorities were necessarily dealt with by the PMC, and not (as under the minorities regime) by a Council Committee-of-Three assisted by the League’s Minorities Section. Upon independence, Iraq was brought under that minorities regime. For an early account of that minorities system and of Iraq’s incorporation, see Macartney, *National States and National Minorities*; for the system’s development and later breakdown in the 1930s, see Carole Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938* (New York, 2004).

Given the Mosul Commission's recommendations, many Kurds had assumed they would be allowed to govern themselves following Iraq's emancipation; when they discovered that the Anglo-Iraq Treaty contained no such provisions, they immediately asked the League to ensure their autonomy.⁷⁷ British comments on those petitions were scathing. Rather overlooking their own earlier plans for an autonomous Kurdistan, British officials now dismissed the Kurds as "essentially tribal," "illiterate and untutored," and "entirely lacking in those characteristics of political cohesion which are essential to successful self-government." They nevertheless prudently pressed the Iraqi government to pass a law (first proposed in 1926) to protect Kurdish linguistic rights; once that had been done, Britain assured the PMC, the Kurds would have "no legitimate cause for complaint."⁷⁸ But Rappard, reviewing the petitions for the PMC, was not so sure, and even Humphrys privately admitted that Prime Minister Nuri al-Sa'id was stonewalling.⁷⁹ The Iraqi government had already decided that Kurdish autonomy might mean no more than requiring that local administrators have a knowledge of Kurdish; now it proposed to exempt key posts from even that obligation. A discomfited Humphrys told the Colonial Office that he would prefer not to give further assurances to the League until he was convinced that the Iraqi government honestly planned to implement the legislation.⁸⁰

That day never came. The Iraqi government was trying to create a centralized state, not a federation of ethnic republics, and saw in British solicitude for the Kurds the specter of the old Sèvres policy of creating an autonomous Kurdistan. Persia and Turkey also found that prospect unacceptable, and in February 1931, Nuri privately assured Turkey that independent Iraq would never tolerate Kurdish separatism.⁸¹ Humphrys and the Colonial Office thought this reckless and insubordinate, and warned Nuri that if news of his action got out, Iraq's Kurdish policy would be regarded as merely "a façade to impress foreign countries" and its prospects of admission to the League would be "wholly destroyed."⁸² But while it was certainly true that Iraq's "Kurdish policy" was a façade, Britain's chastisement was (as Nuri surely realized) bluff. Throughout 1931, although the government's languages law was whittled down further and risings in the Kurdish areas were suppressed by the Iraqi army and the RAF, Humphrys and the Colonial Office steadfastly assured the PMC that Kurdish complaints of intimidation were exaggerated or fabricated. Rappard, trying to make sense of this "jungle of assertions, denials, and explanations" when reporting on the second batch of petitions in mid-1931, became deeply frustrated: "Never have

⁷⁷ LNA, R2316, 6A/22413/655, jacket 1, containing petitions of July 27, 1930, and August 5, 1930. Acting High Commissioner H. W. Young told the PMC that he found a widespread belief among the Kurds that the League Council would provide for an independent Kurdish state upon Iraqi independence, although he had done his best to discourage such ideas. See PMC, *Minutes*, 19th sess., November 4–19, 1930, 78–80.

⁷⁸ LNA, R2316, 6A/22413/655, jacket 1, "Observations, dated October 29th 1930, of the Mandatory Power"; see also Minutes of the Council, 62nd sess., January 22, 1931, in *OJ*, February 1931, 185.

⁷⁹ LNA, R2316, 6A/22413/655, jacket 1, CPM 1081, report by Rappard (November 13, 1930).

⁸⁰ TNA, CO 730/16/2, Humphrys to Passfield, February 10, 1931, and February 13, 1931; also K. Cornwallis, British Adviser, to the Minister of the Interior, February 4, 1931.

⁸¹ For Turkish, Iraqi, and Persian collusion over the need to resist demands for Kurdish autonomy, see TNA, CO 730/161/4, Humphrys to Passfield, February 18, 1931; and TNA, CO 730/161/1, Nuri to Humphrys, February 25, 1931.

⁸² TNA, CO 730/161/4, Passfield to Humphrys, March 3, 1931. Humphrys, however, had a good understanding of the symbiotic relationship between Kurdish unrest and Iraqi government repression. See TNA, CO 730/161/1, Humphrys to Williams, Editor of *The Near East*, March 28, 1931, private.

I felt more keenly the weakness of the Mandates Commission's procedure in the matter of petitions." Barred from conducting their own investigation, the PMC could only note that Kurdish fears, even if groundless, were deeply felt, and urge the Council to establish meaningful protections at the moment of emancipation.⁸³

Moreover, if the Commission members were, by 1931, deeply uneasy about the situation of the Kurds, they could hardly contain their worry about the Assyrians. Nor was this anxiety misplaced, for Iraq's tens of thousands of Assyrians were uniquely vulnerable.⁸⁴ They were, to begin with, Christian, with a young English-speaking patriarch—the Mar Shimun—who had been educated under the protection of the Archbishop of Canterbury. They were, second, Britain's wartime allies, having risen against the Ottomans at Russian instigation and having suffered terribly for their rebellion. Third, many were refugees and thus newcomers to Iraq, unable to return to their historic home in the Hakkari Mountains (now in the Turkish Republic), but reluctant to identify themselves as Iraqis and on poor terms with the Muslim population among which they were dispersed. But the fact that caused particular heart-burning among the Commission was that they not only were seen to be, but actually were, the shock troops of the British occupation. Excellent soldiers, culturally and ethnically distinct, many had been recruited into the "Assyrian levies," special battalions under exclusively British command that had been used to guard airfields, defend Iraq's borders, and—ominously—put down rebellions among the Kurds.

Like so many imperial collaborators beloved by the commanders they served, the Assyrians found it hard to believe that the British would abandon them. When they too discovered that the 1930 treaty did not mention them, however, they too petitioned the League, first through one Arthur Rassam, a former British officer of Assyrian descent who organized a noisy public campaign in their support, and later through their patriarch.⁸⁵ They asked to be recognized as a distinct community and—again as the Mosul Commission had recommended—to be settled together somewhere in northern Iraq. Once again, it was left to the British to assure the PMC that these demands were impossible, and that if the Assyrians were told so firmly, they would surely calm down. Orts, reporting to the PMC on the petitions, thus gave no support to the demand for political autonomy, although he underscored—as Rappard had done with the Kurdish petitions—the need for minority protections after the mandate's end.⁸⁶ Yet, however discouraging the news from Geneva, the Assyrians—like the Kurds—manifestly declined to settle down. In October 1931, a representative meeting of Assyrians in Mosul concluded that they could no longer live in Iraq and asked that a new home be found for them; the following summer, most

⁸³ LNA, R2316, 6A/22413/655, CPM 1198, Rappard, "Report on the various petitions emanating from Kurdish sources" (June 22, 1931). David McDowall characterizes Britain's retreat from promises of Kurdish autonomy and its delivery of the Kurds into the hands of a unitary Iraqi state straightforwardly as a betrayal; see McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds* (London, 1996), chap. 8.

⁸⁴ Silverfarb, *Britain's Informal Empire in the Middle East*, 45, gives the size of the Assyrian population in 1933 as 28,000, a low estimate.

⁸⁵ The very extensive petitions from Rassam, and later from the Mar Shimun, are to be found in LNA, R2317 and R2318, 6A/22528/655.

⁸⁶ LNA, R2317, 6A/22528/655, jacket 4, CPM 1208, "Petitions dated September 23rd 1930 and December 9, 1930 from Captain Rassam . . . Report by M. Orts" (June 26, 1931).

Assyrian soldiers resigned from the levies en masse.⁸⁷ The mandate ended with a backlog of Assyrian petitions still awaiting consideration.

Nothing so perturbed the PMC as the situation of Iraq's beleaguered minorities. On this issue, official solidarity crumbled as well, with former Conservative air minister Sir Samuel Hoare and former Iraq commissioners Arnold Wilson and Henry Dobbs breaking ranks to remind the government of Britain's historic obligations to the Assyrians and the Kurds.⁸⁸ The liberal leadership of the League of Nations Union, although reluctant to criticize publicly a Labour government deeply committed to the League, also began writing jittery private letters to the Foreign Office and their contacts in Geneva.⁸⁹ But what, exactly, was to be done? One obvious solution—that the Assyrians be offered asylum in the land they had faithfully served (that is, Britain)—was never proposed, nor was a federal solution to meet Kurdish demands seriously discussed. Iraq was, after all, a state born under the sign of national self-determination, and both Sunni and Shi'i elites could agree that that nation was essentially an Arab and Muslim one; Iraqi ministers were also convinced that administrative decentralization could easily, as Ja'far al-ʿAskari put it, “undermine the foundations on which a settled government have gradually been built.”⁹⁰ British officials shared those fears of internal disorder, and although some admitted privately that they were worried about the minorities' likely fate and disliked the government's policy of “arabization,” they acquiesced. Indeed, having secured Britain's strategic interests through the Anglo-Iraq Treaty, ministers and officials showed themselves to be extraordinarily sensitive to any (further) infringement of Iraqi sovereignty, not only insisting that (as Foreign Secretary Arthur Henderson wrote Gilbert Murray of the League of Nations Union) Britain could not have included minority protections in that treaty, since to do so would have implied “a continuing right on our part to interfere with the administrative measures of the Iraq Government,” but also exerting considerable pressure in Geneva to ensure that no international guarantees were asked of the Iraqis beyond those previously required of other states.⁹¹

Humphrys especially proved crucial to this effort. In his discussions with the Commission in June 1931, he dismissed the Mar Shimun as “an impressionable youth” and Rassam as little more than an adventurer, insisted that “he had never found such tolerance of other races and religions as in Iraq,” stressed the importance

⁸⁷ LNA, R2318, 6A/22528/655, jacket 6, Mar Shimun to the League of Nations, October 23, 1931, and June 17, 1932.

⁸⁸ See especially Hoare's initiation of two Commons debates over Iraq policy and protection of minorities in *House of Commons Debates [HC Deb.]*, vol. 242, July 31, 1930, cols. 800–817, and vol. 255, July 23, 1931, cols. 1784–1834; Dobbs letter to *The Times*, July 10, 1931; A. T. Wilson, “Peace in Iraq,” *The Times*, May 22, 1931. These British critics worried particularly that the RAF squadrons left in Iraq after independence would be used to repress minorities (although they refrained from pointing out that this had also been the case under the mandate). Rappard expressed the same concern on the PMC; see *Minutes*, 20th sess., June 9–27, 1931, 130. Wilson, never convinced of Iraq's capacity for self-government, also tried to persuade the PMC (especially Lugard) to take a strong stand against independence, for which see the correspondence from October 1931 in Rhodes House (Oxford), Lugard Papers, 127/3.

⁸⁹ For which see LNA, Box S284, file 2, Gilbert Murray to Arthur Henderson, January 14, 1931, and “Confidential report of an interview by De Haller with Mr. Epstein of the League of Nations Union,” February 6, 1931.

⁹⁰ LNA, Box R2316, 6A/22413/655, Ja'far al-ʿAskari to Major H. W. Young, August 19, 1930, appended to the observations of the Mandatory Power on Kurdish petitions, October 29, 1930.

⁹¹ LNA, Box S264, file 2, Henderson to Murray, January 21, 1931.

of making sure that all Iraq's inhabitants considered themselves normal citizens—and, when all else failed, shouldered the fate of Iraq's minorities himself.⁹² "His Majesty's Government," he declared, "fully realized its responsibility in recommending that Iraq should be admitted to the League . . . Should Iraq prove herself unworthy of the confidence which had been placed in her, the moral responsibility must rest with His Majesty's Government."⁹³ Nothing so impressed and silenced the Mandates Commission as this declaration. Even Rappard and Orts professed themselves to be "completely satisfied"; if Britain assumed responsibility, Theodoli added, "there was very little left for the Mandates Commission to ask."⁹⁴ The Colonial Office was itself taken aback at the stress placed on Humphrys's words and concluded rather cruelly that "the Commission in their desire to avoid responsibility would clutch at almost any straw."⁹⁵ Although further petitions kept the minorities question to the fore during the PMC's November 1931 session, Humphrys and the Colonial Office successfully held out against a proposal to place a League commissioner responsible for minority protections in Iraq, agreeing only that Iraq might come under the League's existing minorities protection regime.⁹⁶ Obligations already submitted to by Poland, Albania, and other European states, it was thought, would not humiliate Iraq or derogate from its sovereignty.

The final stages of the Iraq drama, as played out in Geneva, were therefore surprisingly anodyne. At the end of its November 1931 session, the Commission gave Iraq what one official termed "a very grudging 'pass degree.'"⁹⁷ In an unconscious tribute to the Colonial Office's success in controlling information, the PMC's members stated not that Iraq had met all of the conditions for independence, but merely that they had "no information which would justify a contrary opinion" to Britain's claims. They specified that Iraq should promise to respect existing contracts, guarantee the rights of foreigners, and offer all League member states most-favored-nation status for a fixed period; unsurprisingly, however, they gave pride of place to the question of minorities, stipulating (as Humphrys had agreed) that Iraq make a declaration before the Council of its commitment to uphold minority rights and come under the League's minorities protection regime. Once again, they underscored Britain's "moral responsibility," stating that without Humphrys's declaration they would "have been unable to contemplate the termination of a regime which appeared some years ago to be necessary in the interests of all sections of the population."⁹⁸ The Colonial Office, pleased that it had successfully warded off the plan to place a League

⁹² PMC, *Minutes*, 20th sess., June 9–27, 1931, 122. British representatives consistently tried to discredit Rassam; see, in addition to Humphrys's comments, Young's remarks in PMC, *Minutes*, 19th sess., November 4–19, 1930, 79; and TNA, CO 730/166/7, Hall minute, July 26, 1931. Rassam, stung, protested to the League, sending numerous letters about his character and good faith. See LNA, R2317, 6A/22528/655, jacket 4, Rassam to PMC Chairman, September 17, 1931, and jacket 5, Rassam to PMC Chairman, October 23, 1931.

⁹³ PMC, *Minutes*, 20th sess., June 9–27, 1931, 135.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ For Hall's estimate of the importance of Humphrys's declaration, see TNA, CO 730/166/7, note by Hall, June 26, 1931; and TNA, CO 730/169/8, memo by Hall, November 28, 1931.

⁹⁶ TNA, CO 730/170/4, memo by Hall, November 10, 1931.

⁹⁷ TNA, CO 730/169/8, memo by Hall, November 28, 1931.

⁹⁸ PMC, *Minutes*, 21st sess., October 26–November 13, 1931, Annex 22, "Special Report of the Commission to the Council on the Proposal of the British Government with Regard to the Emancipation of Iraq," 222.

commissioner on the ground, thought the PMC's report "as favourable as could have been hoped."⁹⁹

The discussion in the Council in January 1932 also went much as expected. No Council member had much direct interest in Iraq's minorities, although most were concerned to protect the privileges of their own citizens and their access to Iraq's lucrative resources and contracts.¹⁰⁰ Nuri and Humphrys thus had little trouble persuading the Council committee appointed to draft the Iraqi guarantees to pare down the pledges to the Kurds (over the strenuous objections of the PMC's Orts), but utterly failed to prevent it from imposing on Iraq the obligation to grant most-favored-nation status to League members for ten years.¹⁰¹ In exchange for economic concessions, in other words, Iraq was free to run its internal administration much as it liked. For all of the PMC's reservations, this form of "independence" won international approbation.

CRAFTED AS IT WAS to reconcile British imperial interests and the national ambitions of a group of Iraqi collaborators, formal independence in 1932 reinforced many characteristics of the mandatory state. Although Faisal died soon after independence, the Hashemite monarchy and the strategic alliance with Britain held. Humphrys, the last British high commissioner, stayed on as the first British ambassador; the ubiquitous Cornwallis remained as adviser until 1935 (returning as ambassador in 1941 to direct the British reoccupation of the country). Iraqi politicians of the mandate period (especially Nuri) also remained important, ensuring that government policies held to a familiar track. Much effort was put into building up the army, seen as a tool equally of social integration and domination, and if that work was carried on under British patronage, many Iraqis hoped that it would also make possible its eventual elimination—ambitions that Fritz Grobba, also in Baghdad from 1932 until 1939 as the German ambassador, did his best to cultivate. There was plenty of money for this project, for the IPC oil concession paid large royalties, enabling the government to secure its position by remitting taxes on key notables. Yet militarization and patrimonialism delivered neither legitimacy nor stability, and the regime remained factionalized and buffeted by coups. Jaʿfar al-ʿAskari and Nuri al-Saʿid would both die violently—Jaʿfar by assassination in 1936, and Nuri, many prime ministerial terms later, in the 1958 revolution that brought the Hashemite Kingdom down.

Repression of minority cultures and claims continued to play its part in that effort at state-building. The army and RAF were used to keep control in the Kurdish areas

⁹⁹ TNA, CO 730/169/8, "Memorandum" (n.d. [December 1931]).

¹⁰⁰ Minutes of the Council, 66th sess. (January 28, 1932), in *OJ*, March 1932, 471–479. The end of the Ottoman capitulations was made palatable through the introduction of a new judicial system with a statutory role for British judges. While the Council required Britain and Iraq to secure each state's consent to that regime, through this painstaking process the judicial immunities of foreigners in Iraq were finally abolished. For this work, see LNA, R2315, 6A/10243/655.

¹⁰¹ LNA, R2319, 6A/35197/655, jackets 1 and 2, containing the minutes of the committee appointed under the Council Resolution of January 28, 1932. The declaration on employment of Kurdish officials made "efficiency and knowledge of the language, rather than race" the qualification for appointment, and qualified the obligation to select officials from the population of the region with those fateful bureaucratic words "as far as possible."

(as during the mandate period), but the Assyrian situation deteriorated immediately. Assyrian petitions were still before the League in 1932; when negotiations in Baghdad with the Mar Shimun broke down, the Iraqi government detained him. The crisis then escalated, with an armed group of Assyrian men leaving their villages for Syria and then returning to clash with Iraqi troops in the north. Local Kurds and Arabs took advantage of the situation to loot Assyrian homes and steal livestock and grain, but the real violence was unleashed by the army, especially in the town of Simmel, where an armored division hauled out and massacred hundreds of Assyrian men.¹⁰² This was feted in Baghdad as a great victory over rebels possibly acting at Britain's behest, but League officials and PMC members could hardly contain their consternation. For the next decade, a League committee would search with limited success for a state willing to accept the remnants of the Assyrians.¹⁰³

If formal independence and League entry marked a stage and not a break in Iraq's domestic history and the Anglo-Iraqi relationship alike, that moment nonetheless had global significance. Britain's campaign for Iraq's admission to the League of Nations aimed to win international legitimacy for a particular neo-imperial definition of independence, one that would help to reconcile its imperial interests with a global order composed of formally sovereign nation-states. That model had a long genealogy, drawing as it did on British practices in Egypt and a preference for monarchic alliances and indirect rule; it could be applied to Iraq, however, only if it gained formal international approbation. Britain's successful management of that international debate robbed "independence" of its terrors: *pace* the Mandates Commission, "independence" proved to be a matter less of the "de facto conditions" of the territory than of the interests and persuasive abilities of the withdrawing power. Indeed, such were the attractions of this model that in 1936 France would briefly seek to extend it to Syria, while in 1937 Egypt, too, would be declared "independent" and join the League. Client states would have little difficulty being accepted as sovereign members of the international order after 1945.

¹⁰² Much has been written on the Assyrian tragedy of 1933. A good account is found in Silverfarb, *Britain's Informal Empire in the Middle East*, chap. 4. Fritz Grobba, then ambassador to Iraq and on confidential terms equally with the Mar Shimun and several Iraqi ministers, provides an eyewitness account of perceptions and politics in Baghdad during the crisis in "Die Assyrische Tragödie," in his *Männer und Mächte im Orient*, 75–85. Reports from Humphrys and other British officials in Iraq about their efforts to mediate the crisis and quiet the levies in the first half of 1933 are in *BDEA*, pt. II, ser. B, vol. 8: *Eastern Affairs, Dec. 1931–June 1933*, 368–410; reports of the August crisis, including administrative inspector R. S. Stafford's despatch from Simmel giving a full account of the massacre, continue in *ibid.*, vol. 9: *Eastern Affairs, June 1933–May 1934*, 204–357, with Stafford's report at 223–224. Stafford later produced a comprehensive account, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians* (London, 1935). The Iraqi government produced a blue book on the run-up to the conflict that sought to shift responsibility from the Iraqi army to the French and the Assyrians themselves; this material is in LNA, R4064, telegrams from Nuri al-Sa'id, August 7, 1933, and August 22, 1933; and Government of Iraq, *Correspondence Relating to Assyrian Settlement from 13 July 1932 to 5 August 1933* (Baghdad, 1933). The Mar Shimun's desperate appeals in July and August are in LNA, S1633.

¹⁰³ At its 68th session on September 24, 1932, the Council appointed a committee to consider what action to take on the outstanding Assyrian petitions; the gripping records of that committee are in LNA, R2320, 6A/39025/655; and the discussions in the Council on December 5 and 15 about the plan are in *OJ*, December 1932, 1962–1966 and 1984–1985. For Lugard's guilt-ridden response to the massacres, and his efforts to aid their survivors, see Rhodes House (Oxford), Lugard Papers, 128/1; and Lugard, "Assyrians in Iraq," *The Times*, August 14, 1933. The records of the committee established by the Council to seek a new home for the Assyrians outside Iraq are, with much other material on the Assyrians, in LNA, S1630 and 1633.

We can see this international order in formation in this history, but other visions can be detected as well, if only in a shadowy form. Shi'i notions of some sort of Islamic polity were crushed by the British and repudiated by the Hashemites, but—as later history would show—retained much of their cultural power. The surprisingly prescient German vision of the world of sovereign states ordered as much through markets and trade as through military alliance was swept away by Hitler's crudely territorial conception of imperial power; after 1945, however, two defeated powers (Germany and Japan) would quickly rediscover this type of global influence. Yet there was another vision, too, most apparent during debates over the minorities question—a vision of a world in which national sovereignty was genuinely constrained by international norms. To the Permanent Mandates Commission fell the tricky task of reconciling those competing claims of self-determination and what we would now call human rights, but their interventions in the Iraq processes gave few grounds for optimism. Indeed, the experience left most of the Commission feeling distinctly sore about “self-determination”; in the future, mandatory powers would find them “suspicious and difficult” and with “a strong bias against the abandonment of mandatory control.”¹⁰⁴ They could not forget the Assyrian massacres, and vowed that they would not entrust Syria's minorities to anything so ineffective as a “declaration.”¹⁰⁵

What undermined the Commission's authority, though, was its inability in the 1930s to present its humanitarian values as credibly universalist. Given the League's relative inaction over Abyssinia, the PMC's routine rejection of petitions when they came from (say) Syrian nationalists complaining of French behavior rather than Assyrians complaining of Arab behavior, Rappard and Orts's endorsement of strict repression of Arab aspirations in Palestine, and the fact that the European state most insistent on minority rights in the 1920s was now persecuting its own minorities, the Commission's desire to preserve European rule as a bulwark of human rights looked retrograde and racist, to say the least.¹⁰⁶ An emanation of the imperial order and in every way caught up in its logic, the mandates system could not escape those entanglements. And yet the international ideals it espoused, however imperfect and distorted by the imperatives of power, are still with us.

¹⁰⁴ NA, CO 733/326/6, Ormsby-Gore to Wauchope, August 24, 1937.

¹⁰⁵ LNA, R4137, 6A/24275/24275, note by De Haller, June 5, 1936.

¹⁰⁶ The role played by Germany in initially upholding, and then discrediting, the League's minorities protection regime is well explored in Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others*.

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AHR Forum
**Intimate Life and Sexuality in
Mid-Twentieth-Century France**

Introduction

The December 2009 issue featured an *AHR* Forum on “Transnational Sexualities,” testifying to the fact that the history of sexuality had become so intensely transnational as to reach the threshold of synthesis. That forum was organized by broad global regions, whereas the focus here is on a single nation: France in the 1940s and 1950s, in the denouement of World War II and then the amplification of the Cold War. Situating a national history of intimate life and sexuality in a transnational context, the four contributions that follow place France in reference to military occupation by the United States, to medical science in the Soviet Union, and to an international readership with respect to Simone de Beauvoir. While the essays demonstrate that transnationalism now seems a fundamental element of historical inquiry, we must not reduce history to a blithe hegemony of transnationalism, because “the national” certainly remained an important factor in mid-twentieth-century France. Analysis of intimate life has been used fruitfully to challenge our understanding of imperial formations, but this forum uses it to challenge our understanding of national politics.

In the first two essays, Mary Louise Roberts and Paula A. Michaels go beyond a simple showcasing of the phenomenon of transnationalism, seeking ultimately to revise narratives of national political history. Roberts examines contests over the U.S. Army’s management of sexual activity between American soldiers and French women in American-occupied France at the end of World War II. She reveals the stark inequality between a French government trying to reestablish itself after Nazi occupation and an American government bidding to impose its political culture on occupied Europe. These conflicts over sexual regulation throw open new windows into the social relations of military occupation, but above all into the French government’s process of national redefinition. Michaels interrogates France as a way station in the transit of the famous “Lamaze method” of childbirth preparation from its origins in the Soviet Union to its remarkable popularity in the United States. Championed by French communists sympathetic to the Soviet Union, the Lamaze method added fuel to the fire of 1950s political rivalries within France. In the third essay, Judith G. Coffin situates the rising celebrity of Simone de Beauvoir in France, but also internationally. People from around the world wrote intimate letters to Beauvoir, but her international celebrity did not seem to influence the controversies over her writings voiced in France’s national media. Judith Surkis concludes the forum with a comment, highlighting precisely the theoretical tension between the transnational and the national manifest in the three essays, and assessing how each framework can benefit our analytical work.

The Price of Discretion: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and
the American Military in France, 1944–1946

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IN SEPTEMBER 1944, WHILE LEADING the 29th Infantry Division across Brittany to liberate France, the American general Charles Gerhardt decided that his boys needed sex. So he instructed his chief of staff to start a house of prostitution.¹ The task went to the St. Renan office of Civil Affairs, the military section assigned to address the needs of the liberated civilian population. Asa Gardiner, the local civil affairs officer, called upon his contacts in the French police force, who produced a pimp named Morot. The pimp, in turn, recommended four prostitutes currently refugee nearby. Gardiner and Morot rode an army jeep to interview them, and on the way back Gardiner asked Morot to manage the business. For the actual brothel, they billeted a house outside St. Renan that had recently been vacated by the Germans.²

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¹ General Charles H. Gerhardt (1895–1976) was educated at West Point, graduating in 1917. He became known in the army for the high casualty rate in his division, as well as for the house of prostitution he established near Brest. He assumed command of the 29th in July 1943. On Gerhardt, see Geoffrey Perret, *There's a War to Be Won: The United States Army in World War II* (New York, 1991), 311; Andy Rooney, *My War* (New York, 1995), 180; A. J. Liebling, *Normandy Revisited* (New York, 1958), 72–73. He was lauded by the French for his liberation of Breton towns. See Bernard Festoc's memoir of liberation in Airel, *La vie à Airel et Saint-Fromont pendant la seconde guerre mondiale* (Périers, 1994). Gerhardt's personal papers are in the United States Army Military History Institute at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania [hereafter MHI]. On how quickly the house of prostitution was established, see also Joseph Balkoski, *Beyond the Beachhead: The 29th Infantry Division in Normandy* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1989), 48.

² National Archives and Records Administration [hereafter NARA], Record Group 331, Records of Allied Operation and Occupation, Headquarters, World War II (SHAEPF) [hereafter RG 331], Headquarters Twelfth Army Group, Special Staff, Adjutant General's Section, Administrative Branch, Dec-

A few days later, as Morot moved in with the prostitutes, Gerhardt approved the sign for the establishment, which read "Blue and Gray Corral, Riding Lessons 100 Francs."³ When the Corral opened for business on September 10, twenty-one GIs, transported by jeep from the bivouac area, waited patiently in line.⁴ After five hours of business, the brothel was shut down by the assistant provost marshal on the recommendation of the division chaplain.⁵

The Corral was not the only "GI whorehouse" established in France. An estimated dozen divisions started their own brothels there and in Italy during the years 1943–1945. As early as July 6, 1944, one month after D-Day, brothels in Cherbourg were being run indirectly by and for GIs, including some designated strictly for "negroes."⁶ The creation of such establishments resulted in great part from the fact that, as the Brittany case makes clear, the French were happy to help. For a century, prostitution had been legal in France under a system of *maisons closes* supervised by the police. Grounded in the assumption that male sexual needs could not be suppressed, the system was designed to ensure the medical safety of sexual contact. Prostitutes were allowed to practice their trade as long as they registered with the police and received regular examinations for venereal disease. Some of these *maisons*, particularly in Paris (122 rue de Province, Le Sphinx, and Le Chabannais, to name a few), became world-famous seats of pleasure.⁷

The French system of legal sexual commerce was not lost on the GIs. Because of fantasies nurtured by their fathers' (no doubt embroidered) stories about sexual

imal File, 1943–1945, Entry 198 [hereafter Entry 198], Box 83: 250.1 to 250.2 Morals and Conduct [hereafter Box 83], Report of Investigation to Determine the Facts Surrounding the Establishment of a House of Prostitution for Members of the 29th Division, Conducted by Lt. Col Francis B. Lineman, IGD, November 14–17, 1944 [hereafter Lineman Report], 31.

³ NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, Lineman Report, 28. The 29th Infantry Division is nicknamed the "Blue and Gray" because it was composed of men from both northern and southern states who had fought each other in the American Civil War.

⁴ Ibid., 20. Word of the new "cat house" had "got around like fire," according to one officer.

⁵ During those five hours, seventy-six men managed to avail themselves of the Corral's services, for an average of nineteen men per woman.

⁶ Graham A. Cosmas and Albert E. Cowdrey, *The Medical Department: Medical Service in the European Theater of Operations* (Washington, D.C., 1992), 540; Leonard D. Heaton, *Communicable Diseases Transmitted through Contact or by Unknown Means* (Washington, D.C., 1960), 243. When the chief medical officer found out about the brothels, they were swiftly placed off limits. Further evidence of so-called "GI brothels" can be found in the 1944 Preventive Medicine Report, where French health officials related their frustration at "the operation of brothels in Commercy and elsewhere by the United States Army." Quoted in Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 249. According to Perret, *There's a War to Be Won*, 471, the Twelfth Army Group's G-2 Section also started its own whorehouse. Paratrooper Robert E. Seale remembers how the medical staff of his infantry regiment set up a brothel in Soissons that they called the "Idle Hours Athletic Club" with the full cooperation of the local female mayor, who helped recruit prostitutes from Paris. When the division chaplains discovered the "club" and blew the whistle, it was shut down. According to Seale, "of course the brass denied any knowledge of the club's existence." See MHI, Robert E. Seale Papers, "WW II as I Remember It," 62. Official denial of such whorehouses was common. See, for example, NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated May 16, 1945.

⁷ For an excellent clear summary of the French system, see Jacques-Pierre-Georges Pénaud, *La prostitution (Vers un contrôle humain)* (Bordeaux, 1945), 13–14. The classic work on the history of French prostitution is Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990). For this period, see also Insa Meinen, *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l'Occupation, 1940–1945* (Paris, 2006); K. H. Adler, "Reading National Identity: Gender and Prostitution during the Occupation," *Modern and Contemporary France* 7, no. 1 (1999): 47–57; Alphonse Boudard, *La fermeture: 13 avril 1946, la fin des maisons closes* (Paris, 1986); Fabienne Jamet, *One Two Two* (Paris, 1975).

escapades in France during World War I, the GIs expected the country to be nothing less than a paradise of carnal delight. The “general opinion all along the line,” wrote *Life* journalist Joe Weston, was that “France was a tremendous brothel inhabited by 40,000,000 hedonists who spent all their time eating, drinking [and] making love.”⁸ Given his soldiers’ expectations of France in particular, Gerhardt thought the best he could do was to ensure the medical safety of their sexual pursuits. Like many U.S. commanders, the general held that male sexual activity was healthy for battle. As General George Patton famously put it, “if they don’t fuck, they don’t fight.”⁹

The U.S. Army and the French local government, then, shared the belief that sexual fulfillment was necessary for male physical vigor. Given this commonality, one might assume that the Americans and the French would have found it easy to cooperate in the regulation of GI sexual activity. Not so. Prostitution became a point of contention between the two nations during the years 1944–1946. Army officers blamed French women for infecting U.S. soldiers with venereal disease. In order to keep their men battle-ready, they began to manage the health and mobility of French women, seeking to control their proximity to U.S. soldiers.¹⁰ In the officers’ view, the necessarily complete command of the GI’s body gave them dominion over the French woman’s body as well. The military’s insistence on sexual management of this kind sprang from a double contempt of the French. The French government, it was believed, was not only bureaucratically inefficient but also morally depraved. This disrespect emboldened American officers to deny French authorities political autonomy over a broad terrain of social welfare administration. The U.S. military used the regulation of the French female body not only to ensure the health of its fighting force, but also to demarcate and consolidate its power in France in the days following liberation. In addition, by defining the nation itself in prostituted terms, the U.S. military naturalized its dominance of power relations in the European theater.

The conflicts that arose between the U.S. Army and the French government over commercial sex anchored larger struggles for authority and revealed the willingness of Americans to flex their new muscles as a global power. At the heart of the quarrel was the issue of discretion. Soon after D-Day, military officers realized that they could not control GI sexual activity in France. In order to keep such activity medically safe, they ended up condoning it privately while condemning it publicly. The War Department prohibited brothels such as the “Blue and Gray Corral” because it could not prevent their being observed and photographed by journalists, and thereby exposed in the American press. Above all, the army wanted to “protect” the American public from such sexual indiscretions. As a result, GI promiscuity took place in unsupervised locations: in the parks, cemeteries, streets, and abandoned buildings in French cities. Sexual relations became unrestricted and public; sexual intercourse was performed in broad daylight before the eyes of civilians, including children. Locals in cities such as Le Havre and Reims condemned such public displays as

⁸ Archives municipales du Havre [hereafter AMH], FC H⁴ 15-5, Joe Weston, “The GIs in Le Havre,” manuscript.

⁹ Peter Schrijvers, *The Crash of Ruin: American Combat Soldiers in Europe during World War II* (New York, 1998), 181.

¹⁰ In the First World War, French authorities had blamed women as dangerous carriers of disease and a threat to men’s health. See Michelle Rhodes, “‘No Safe Women’: Prostitution, Masculinity, and Disease in France during the Great War” (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 2001), 14, 138.

scandalous and degrading. This spectacle of sex was the price paid by the French for American discretion.

The army sham concerning sex signaled a fundamental disrespect toward the people of France, which led to bitter conflict with French health and government officials. In the summer and fall of 1944, the American military blamed the French state for soaring rates of venereal infection among GIs but gave them little or no power to do anything about it. Then, as the war drew to a close in 1945, the army increasingly ignored the serious social and medical effects of continued GI promiscuity in urban areas. While at first glance sexual relations may seem to have been a minor issue in debates between French and American leaders over who would run the country and how the war could be won, in fact the management of GI sex in France became a subtle but vital transfer point for the growth of American political power in Europe. Sexual encounters between the American GI and *la française* were undeniably politicized for two reasons: first because the threat of venereal infection made sexual management crucial to the successful prosecution of the war, and second because the sexual relations took place between two peoples who were struggling for national sovereignty.¹¹

The full importance of the Franco-American struggles over prostitution can be understood only within their historical context of political flux, in which the Americans were not wholly receptive to attempts by the French state to “prove” itself and assert political autonomy.¹² As Normandy was liberated, Charles de Gaulle struggled against the Allied leadership in order to install his own *commissaires* and seize control over France. Besides being “illegal” in this sense, de Gaulle’s government lacked resources and international legitimacy; it was not formally recognized by the Allies until October 23, 1944. Although the United States did not become a sovereign power in France, it took advantage of its military presence there to control a great deal of French economic, social, and political life during the years 1944–1946. More importantly, it remained a forceful presence in Europe throughout the Cold War. Hence GIs in France sought out sexual encounters with women whose national status and autonomy as French citizens had been called into question by the U.S. military invasion. Historians have demonstrated the crucial role of European governments’ sexual regulation of colonized societies in securing imperial hierarchies.¹³ In a similar way, the American control of sexual relations in France produced critical differences between liberator and liberated. This sexual management, then, also needs to be understood within the context of growing American dominance on the European continent.¹⁴

¹¹ For an excellent historiographical overview of the politics of prostitution, see Timothy J. Gilfoyle, “Prostitutes in History: From Parables of Pornography to Metaphors of Modernity,” *American Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (February 1999): 117–141.

¹² This was Charles de Gaulle’s perspective as he related it in a conversation with President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s emissary Harry Hopkins in January 1945. “In the moral dangers we French have survived since the beginning of the century,” de Gaulle recalled telling Hopkins, “the United States does not give us the impression that it regards its own destiny as linked with that of France, that it wishes France to be great and strong.” See *The Complete War Memoirs of Charles de Gaulle* (New York, 1955), 761.

¹³ See Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, N.C., 2006); Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds., *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham, N.C., 2005).

¹⁴ Charles Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors* (Cambridge, Mass.,

Far from being confined to diplomatic or political circles, postwar transnational relations were shaped at every level of society, and often emerged through specific cultures of gender and sexuality.¹⁵ Historians such as John Dower, Mire Koikari, Petra Goedde, and Maria Höhn have explored how sexual contact between GIs and women shaped American foreign policy and the “Americanization” of defeated Japan and Germany. Like the peoples of those countries, the French had to deal with Americans on their soil. At the same time, however, France was in an exceptional situation. Unlike Germany, Japan, or even Italy, France distinguished itself by being both a U.S. ally and a conquered state. That ambiguity confused the lines of authority between the two nations, complicating the assertion of American power there. On the one hand, the massive force of the American military and its status as liberator of the French people left little doubt about who was in control. On the other hand, the Americans planned, albeit without success, to wrest sovereignty from the hands of the French. Despite the obstacles that weighed against the people of France, including the chaos of war, they strongly resisted American dominion in domestic affairs.¹⁶ Control of sexual commerce was a way for the U.S. military to claim its authority over the French nation at the dawn of the Cold War.

FRANCO-AMERICAN CONFLICTS over venereal disease reveal the wider moral assumptions of American society and the military during World War II. In particular, they expose the hypocrisy at the heart of the U.S. Army’s policy toward sex. The army did not really care if a GI had sex with a French woman. What it did care about—a great deal—was that a soldier not contract a venereal disease. According to the U.S. Army in the European Theater of Operations (ETOUSA), VD posed a very real threat to the endurance of the troops fighting in the European theater of war. “In

2006), 143–170; Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire* (New York, 2004), 66–68. See also the French sociologist André Siegfried, “Les États-Unis à la croisée des chemins,” *Le Figaro*, March 26, 1945. In referring to American political, military, and cultural dominance in Europe during the Cold War, I argue for the more nuanced notion of Americanization that has emerged in recent years, which sees American dominance as a two-way process of appropriation and cultural co-production between the United States and Europe. See, among many other possibilities, Heidi Fehrenbach and Uta G. Poiger, eds., *Transactions, Transgressions, Transformations: American Culture in Western Europe and Japan* (New York, 2000), xiii–xl; Jonathan Zeitlin, “Introduction,” in Jonathan Zeitlin and Gary Herigel, eds., *Americanization and Its Limits: Reworking US Technology and Management in Post-War Europe and Japan* (Oxford, 2000); Richard Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture since World War II* (New York, 1997), particularly 278–324; Oliver Schmidt, “No Innocents Abroad: The Salzburg Impetus and American Studies in Europe,” in Reinhold Wagnleitner and Elaine Tyler May, eds., *“Here, There and Everywhere”: The Foreign Politics of American Popular Culture* (Hanover, N.H., 2000), 64–79; Malachi Haim Hachohen, “The Congress for Cultural Freedom in Austria: *Forum*, the Rémigrés, and Postwar Culture,” *Storiografia* 11 (2007): 135–145.

¹⁵ Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945–1949* (New Haven, Conn., 2003); Fehrenbach and Poiger, *Transactions, Transgressions, Transformations*; John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York, 1999), 135–136; Mire Koikari, “Rethinking Gender and Power in the US Occupation of Japan, 1945–1952,” *Gender and History* 11, no. 2 (1999): 313–335. See also Naoko Shibusawa, *America’s Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), 38–40.

¹⁶ On the French challenge to the Anglo-American bid for military government, see Julian G. Hurstfield, *America and the French Nation, 1939–1945* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), 194–224; Irwin M. Wall, *The United States and the Making of Postwar France, 1945–1954* (Cambridge, 1991), chap. 1.

the face of the impending battle,” wrote Commander Jacob Devers to all units in December 1943, “the loss of manpower from venereal disease cannot be excused. Each soldier who contracts venereal disease betrays the United States Army as completely as one who willfully neglects his duty.”¹⁷ By likening VD to betrayal, Devers freighted sexual behavior with the weight of treason. Given these stakes, promiscuity became a topic of paramount military concern during early 1944 as troops trained in England for the invasion of the Continent. Officers at Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) in London grappled with the high rate of infection among GIs who had fought in Italy.¹⁸ Besides high-ranking generals, those officers included senior medical consultants as well as the staff of the army’s Preventive Medicine Division, in particular officers from its Venereal Disease Control branch.¹⁹

The official policy of the War Department was the repression of commercial prostitution.²⁰ But as the number of men in training grew rapidly after 1941, the sex trade flourished around army bases. Critics began to emphasize the link between venereal disease and military effectiveness, and to demand a comprehensive program of education and treatment.²¹ In 1941 the U.S. Congress passed the May Act, which outlawed prostitution near army camps. But the law was slow to be implemented, and as American soldiers began fighting on foreign shores, the inadequacies of the program became painfully obvious.²² Controlling promiscuity among GIs in North Africa in 1943 proved to be nearly impossible: venereal infection became the largest non-combat medical problem in that theater of war.²³ In Casablanca and Oran, the army failed to repress prostitution, managing only to organize it along the lines of race. While “native” brothels were declared “off limits,” the “better type of European brothels” kept their doors open to U.S. troops.²⁴ This latter “European” type of whorehouse was, in turn, segregated by race. When venereal disease rates exploded in Italy in 1943, brothels in Rome, Pisa, and Florence were similarly split between those “off limits” to whites and those “off limits” to blacks.²⁵ In Italy, almost all classes of women resorted to prostitution in order to put food on their tables.²⁶

¹⁷ NARA, RG 331, General Staff Divisions, G-5 Division, Information Branch, Historical Section, Numeric-Subject Planning File, 1943–July 1945, Entry 56 [hereafter Entry 56], Box 121, memo dated December 31, 1943. ETOUSA (European Theater of Operations, United States Army) was the American branch of the larger Allied SHAEF military operation (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces), which comprised British, Canadian, French, and American forces, and was commanded by Dwight D. Eisenhower.

¹⁸ NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated April 22, 1944.

¹⁹ Cosmas and Cowdrey, *The Medical Department*, 137–138, 143.

²⁰ Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 141.

²¹ Thomas Parran and R. A. Vonderlehr, *Plain Words about Venereal Disease* (New York, 1941), 1.

²² For the May Act, see Allan M. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States since 1880* (New York, 1985), 162–163; Sonya O. Rose, “The ‘Sex Question’ in Anglo-American Relations in the Second World War,” *International History Review* 20, no. 4 (1998): 890. For a longer history of commercial sex and the military, see Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

²³ Charles M. Wiltse, *The Medical Department: Medical Service in the Mediterranean and Minor Theaters* (Washington, D.C., 1987), 60. Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 207.

²⁴ Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 208, 215–216. For GIs’ preoccupation with brothels in North Africa, see Marc Hillel, *Vie et mœurs des GI’s en Europe, 1942–1947* (Paris, 1981), 110.

²⁵ Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 208, 215–216. On the issue of racially segregated brothels in France, see Marie-Thérèse [Cointré], *Histoire d’une prostituée* (Paris, 1964), 87.

²⁶ Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 213–216, 220.

By April, the VD rate in Italy was estimated to be 168 cases per 1,000 men, more than five times the acceptable standard set by the War Department.²⁷ SHAEF medical planners realized that promiscuity could threaten the success of the Allied mission.

A close look at how medical planners “explained” the high VD rate in Italy in a series of widely circulated memos reveals the complex notions of gender and race that underwrote their understanding of the disease. The “availability of brothels” in Italy had been, in these planners’ opinion, enough to arouse the soldiers’ “normal instinct” for sex. One division surgeon reported that “prostitutes from Naples descended upon our encampment by the hundreds, outflanking guards and barbed wire. They set up ‘business’ in almost inaccessible caves in the surrounding bluffs. Many of them gained entrance into the camp by posing as laundresses.”²⁸ Italian women, then, were viewed as agents of infection who “descended upon” the camp, attacking men like so many parasites swarming down. The surgeon failed to specify who let the “laundresses” into the camps, or why the prostitutes figured it was worth their while to occupy “inaccessible caves.”

As was the case in Italy, SHAEF medical planners assumed that women in France would act as agents of venereal infection. At a Civil Affairs planning meeting just before D-Day, the officers considered what was required to prevent VD “as the result of infection from the civilian population,” from whom the GIs would have to be “protected.”²⁹ They recommended that such women “be rounded up and deported from the occupied area” because, they believed, nothing would deter them.³⁰ Before they even set foot in France, SHAEF medical officers were assuming their right to dispose of French women’s bodies in whatever way they saw fit. The soldiers in these scenarios are cast as the prey of women who insidiously arouse their desires. Despite conforming to the Victorian dictates of self-control, the men are unable to rise to the sexual challenges of these exceptional circumstances.³¹ In this way, prostitution symbolized the fragility of masculine sexual control and hence masculinity itself—at a time when manliness was necessarily equated with strength.³² The legacy of the Depression, shell shock, and Nazi propaganda had already undermined American virility in the war years.³³ As symbols of compromised manhood, sexual commerce

²⁷ NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memos dated April 22, 1944, and December 13, 1944. In December 1943, the venereal rate in some divisions soared to 192 cases per 1,000 soldiers. See Wiltse, *The Medical Department*, 258–259; Cosmas and Cowdrey, *The Medical Department*, 172.

²⁸ Quoted in Wiltse, *The Medical Department*, 258.

²⁹ NARA, RG 331, General Staff Divisions, G-5 Division, Secretariat, Numeric File, August 1943–July 1945, Entry 47 [hereafter Entry 47], Box 47, Extract from the Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the Combined Civil Affairs Committee, May 16, 1944. For the language of “protection,” see NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 28, Civil Affairs Summary No. 6, July 21, 1944.

³⁰ NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated April 22, 1944.

³¹ For the Victorian emphasis on manly sexual self-control, see John D’Emilio and Estelle Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York, 1988), 69–72, 179–180; George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York, 1985), 13.

³² On the connection between masculinity and military strength, see Christina S. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity during World War II* (DeKalb, Ill., 2004), 10–55, 48; and Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*.

³³ On American masculinity in the Depression and World War II, see Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*.

and VD anchored diffuse anxieties about American masculinity, resolve, and endurance.³⁴

If medical officers considered white men to be the innocent quarry of Italian women, they defined African American men as sexual aggressors. Racial prejudice inverted the gendered logic of contamination: European women became victims rather than agents of contagion. "European womanhood has been warned concerning the attendant risk to association with the American negro," wrote Sergeant Walter Bonner, self-described as "colored," in an ETOUSA memo outlining VD control "for colored units" on the eve of the Normandy landings. "We as a race," he urged, "can no longer afford to be termed 'immoral,' 'oversexed,' 'animalistic' and the like, but we shall always lay ourselves open to the accusation as long as we continue to furnish the smallest reasons for such assertions."³⁵ The army believed that venereal rates were higher in all-black units.³⁶ Because of poor medical care and a number of other factors, black registrants in the army did have a higher VD rate. Whether or not a disproportionate percentage of black soldiers became infected during their service is less clear because inconsistencies in VD reporting made statistics on the subject unreliable. For example, if a division had a high VD rate, a commanding officer, when forced to explain himself, might blame the rate on black units.³⁷ Whatever the statistical reality, African American GIs became a symbol of perversion within the U.S. military. Army racial prejudice legitimated harsh regulations restricting their freedom of movement.³⁸ Once the Normandy campaign be-

³⁴ For a similar case during and after the First World War, see Judith Surkis, "Enemies Within: Venereal Disease and the Defense of French Masculinity between the Wars," in Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe, eds., *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics* (New York, 2007), 116.

³⁵ NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated June 2, 1944. Bonner argued that the high rate of disease among black soldiers was caused by "congested housing conditions, lack of medical facilities, poor educational opportunities, social segregation, general poverty and so forth."

³⁶ Kenneth D. Rose provides the following statistics: "Fifty-four percent of blacks in the army admitted that they had had a venereal disease at some point in their lives, and 21 percent said that they had contracted the disease since coming overseas (compared with 15 and 8 percent, respectively for whites)." Rose, *Myth and the Greatest Generation: A Social History of Americans in World War II* (New York, 2008), 41.

³⁷ For an example of this blame, see NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated April 28, 1944. Even official army histories do not agree on VD statistics for black men. Cosmas and Cowdrey argue that black troops throughout the war had a venereal rate about four and a half times that of white troops; *The Medical Department*, 147. Heaton puts the rate at eight to twelve times higher; *Communicable Diseases*, 188–189. Heaton gives the following reasons for higher venereal rates among "Negro" soldiers: low educational level, inadequate repression of prostitution in black communities, and "lack of recognition of the seriousness of the problem, together with reluctance to face the facts." He also argues that "The failure to control venereal disease among Negroes in the Army was, at least in part, a reflection of the failure of society through individual and governmental efforts to develop a satisfactory race relationship between the white and Negro populations"; *ibid.*, 196. In *The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington, D.C., 1966), 277, Ulysses Lee maintains: "the presence of venereal diseases bulwarked personal prejudices in the training and use of Negro troops." On the issue of a higher venereal disease rate among black soldiers, see also Samuel A. Stoffer et al., *The American Soldier: Adjustment during Army Life* (Princeton, N.J., 1949), 545–550; Sue Sun Yom, "Sex and the American Soldier: Military Cinema and the War on Venereal Disease, 1918–1969" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2003), 85–86. Sun Yom argues that white doctors stigmatized black men (but not whites) by officially registering their venereal disease. White men with VD were often not accepted into the military, whereas black men were, "based on the conviction that virtually all blacks were malingerers or carried disease." Sun Yom gives these statistics: among the first 2 million draftees in the late 1930s, 48 out of 1,000 white men were found to carry syphilis, whereas 272 out of 1,000 black men were registered with the disease.

³⁸ On the issue of stigmatizing African American GIs as hypersexual, see Sun Yom, "Sex and the American Soldier," 91–92.

gan, black soldiers were accused of raping women in disproportionate numbers.³⁹ In this way, army sexual control also secured the internal boundaries of race between the GIs.

Venereal disease became inseparable from anxieties concerning Allied strength, masculinity, and interracial sex. Despite this heavy symbolic load, SHAEF planners had no new ideas for reducing it.⁴⁰ The army issued an arsenal of pamphlets, posters, and films aimed entirely at men.⁴¹ Women who enlisted in the Women's Army Corps (WAC) were not required to complete sexual education.⁴² SHAEF refused to see American women in the same way that they viewed their European counterparts—as shameless and aggressive. Entrenched views no doubt informed this refusal, but the army was also not eager to convey the notion that it had let thousands of WACs loose on the world to experience sexual adventure. Men were issued free condoms by the army, six per soldier per month.⁴³ Finally, SHAEF imposed such coercive measures as limitation of passes, imposition of curfews, and bans on the sale of alcohol.⁴⁴ Soon after the invasion, all brothels were declared off limits and were guarded by both military and French police.⁴⁵ It also became a punishable offense for a GI to conceal that he even *had* VD.⁴⁶

Despite SHAEF's vigilant planning, once the GIs landed on French soil, sex became a big problem. In September 1944, Chief Surgeon A. W. Kenner sent word to SHAEF headquarters that unless something was done quickly, there would be “a dangerously high incidence of venereal disease among our troops, entailing serious loss of fighting efficiency.”⁴⁷ Headquarters was receiving news from all over France that infection rates were reaching “unsatisfactory proportions.”⁴⁸ By November, Kenner was reporting rates as high as 221 cases per thousand among soldiers in the

³⁹ According to the Judge Advocate General Reports, during the years 1944–1946, 181 soldiers charged with raping French women were court-martialed; 139 of those accused were black, about 77 percent, despite the fact that fewer than 10 percent of the American soldiers in the European Theater of Operations (ETO) were black. *History Branch Office of the Judge Advocate General with the United States Forces European Theater* (St. Cloud, France, 1945), vol. 1: 18 July 1942–1 November 1945, 10. The subject of the “rape wave” in Normandy during the summer of 1944 is too complicated and important to be treated even briefly here. See Mary Louise Roberts, *Liberators and Intruders: The American Military Presence in France, 1944–1946* (in progress), chap. 7; Alice Kaplan, *The Interpreter* (New York, 2005); J. Robert Lilly, *Taken by Force: Rape and American GIs in Europe during World War II* (New York, 2007).

⁴⁰ NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated May 24, 1944. Army statistics on male sexual behavior estimated that 15 percent of the soldiers would choose continence, while another 15 percent would insist on having sex no matter what. The remaining 70 percent, for whom sexual promiscuity was believed to be a question of peer pressure, became the target of the army's sexual education efforts. See John Hinchman Stokes, “A Statement on Prostitution in Venereal Disease Control,” in Victor Robinson, ed., *Morals in Wartime* (New York, 1943), 155–156.

⁴¹ NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated May 4, 1944. For an analysis of this film literature, see Sun Yom, “Sex and the American Soldier,” 82–86; Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, 163; George H. Roeder, Jr., *The Censored War: American Visual Experience during World War II* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), 52–53.

⁴² Rose, “The ‘Sex Question,’” 901.

⁴³ Cosmas and Cowdrey, *The Medical Department*, 143–145; NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, ETOUSA Circular 49, dated May 2, 1944. In the autobiographical literature, see Raymond Gantter, *Roll Me Over: An Infantryman's World War II* (New York, 1997), 5.

⁴⁴ NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated June 5, 1944.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Entry 65, Box 7, letter dated September 15, 1944, from the French Minister of the Interior.

⁴⁶ Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 143.

⁴⁷ NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated September 9, 1944. See also *ibid.*, Entry 100, Special Staff, Headquarters Command, Decimal File, 1944–1945 [hereafter Entry 100], Box 41, memo dated March 11, 1945.

⁴⁸ NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memos dated September 9, 1944, and September 20, 1944.

Loire Base Section and 163 cases per thousand for soldiers in the Seine Base Section.⁴⁹ By December, the venereal rate among U.S. troops on the Continent was nearly 200 percent higher than it had been in September.⁵⁰ The soaring rate of infection signaled the army's incapacity at every level to regulate sexual relations between GIs and French women.⁵¹ This failure stands out as an exception in an army known for its strong leadership and discipline among the rank and file. It is hard to think of any other issue of command in the European theater where the military had its rules so widely ignored. Why was promiscuity so freely allowed, particularly when it was known to lead to disease?

In fact, the poor results should not have been surprising. Although SHAEF officers did not want to admit it, the overriding lesson of the Mediterranean campaigns was that sex was out of their control. One military study found that 50 percent of married soldiers and 80 percent of unmarried soldiers had had intercourse at some point during the war. As one humbled medical officer put it, "the sex act cannot be made unpopular."⁵² In addition, the specific circumstances of the Normandy campaign contributed to the dramatic growth of infection. First, prostitution in France was a legal business. Second, the rapid progression of the First and Third armies across northern France during the summer led to unsupervised contact between soldiers and civilians. Military police had no time in any one area to ban brothels or monitor the hygiene of individual French women.⁵³ Because supplies could not be well organized behind a quickly moving army, condoms were often nowhere to be found. Even sleeping accommodations were often improvised. Thus, the GIs had plenty of opportunity to get carnally acquainted with French women.

Furthermore, SHAEF's primary preventive measures proved difficult to implement. The army-issue condoms generated an endless stream of complaints. Predictably, the GIs considered them "too small." In addition, they were "so damn thick you can't enjoy yourself"; nevertheless, "half of them bust" or "came off during relations." For some reason, the GIs also disliked the fact that the closed end had a constriction about three centimeters back, so that the tip drooped at the front.⁵⁴ Many soldiers found the condoms more useful for covering their rifle barrels in order to keep mud out.⁵⁵ Some of the preservatives ended up in the hands of Norman children, who used them as balloons, mortifying their parents.⁵⁶ No more successful were the prophylactic stations where soldiers were to submit themselves to sanitary treatment after sex. Constructed in cities, camps, and Red Cross clubs, pro-stations

⁴⁹ Ibid., memo dated November 8, 1944. Both the Loire and Seine bases were near Paris.

⁵⁰ Ibid., memo dated December 13, 1944.

⁵¹ As for male homosexual sex, historian Allan Berube estimates that sex between men during war-time service was frequent because many GIs assumed that they could get venereal disease only from a woman. See *Coming Out under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York, 1990), 192; John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago, 1983), 31-32, 38.

⁵² Elizabeth Alice Clement, *Love for Sale: Courting, Treating, and Prostitution in New York City, 1900-1945* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006), 248.

⁵³ NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated September 13, 1944.

⁵⁴ Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 227. For the same complaint in Britain, see David Reynolds, *Rich Relations: The American Occupation of Britain, 1942-1945* (London, 1996), 207.

⁵⁵ John Costello, *Virtue under Fire: How World War II Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes* (Boston, 1985), 98-99.

⁵⁶ Elizabeth Coquart and Philippe Huet, *Le jour le plus fou: 6 juin 1944, les civils dans la tourmente* (Paris, 1994), 22.

were the object of particular loathing among GIs.⁵⁷ After urinating and washing himself with green soap, a soldier was to apply two handfuls of bichloride of mercury to his entire genital area. Then he injected Protargol, a disinfectant, into his urethra and held it there for five minutes. Finally, he covered his entire genital area again with mercurial ointment.⁵⁸ Murray Shapiro distinctly remembered his first self-treatment: "I followed directions precisely and wound up almost fainting on the floor. If this was the price to be paid for such an encounter, I could forego it, which I did from this point on."⁵⁹ Prophylaxis took the joy out of sex, and soldiers avoided it.

Finally, the army also tried—and failed—to trace sexual contacts. For every venereal case discovered, the unit surgeon was to fill out a report providing data on the woman involved.⁶⁰ The aim was to create a list of infected prostitutes who could then be apprehended. The Germans had successfully developed such a data bank during the Occupation, but that was when the legal brothel system was operating fairly well.⁶¹ By contrast, the U.S. Army faced a sex market composed of non-professional women. Particularly in Paris, where two out of three cases of VD were contracted, prostitutes were young and single, living in cheap hotels and operating under false names.⁶² Such circumstances crippled the tracking system. To make matters worse, soldiers were often drunk when they had sex. Often the best they could recall of their "significant sexual contact" was "Paris? Hotel?"⁶³

The liberation of Paris in August 1944 raised a host of new problems. The U.S. military again sought to segregate the brothels. On September 2, the provost marshal of the Seine Base Section (covering Paris and its suburbs) arrived in the city with the French police. Making the rounds, the men selected certain *maisons* for officers,

⁵⁷ Cosmas and Cowdrey, *The Medical Department*, 144–145.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ MHI, World War II Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, Murray Shapiro, "Memoirs of Murray Shapiro" (unpaginated). See also Robert Peters, *For You, Lili Marlene: A Memoir of World War II* (Madison, Wis., 1995), 60.

⁶⁰ See NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, ETOUSA Circular 49, dated May 2, 1944; Entry 100, Boxes 40 and 41. See also Cosmas and Cowdrey, *The Medical Department*, 173, 541.

⁶¹ Meinen, *Wehrmacht et prostitution*, 112, 142–148, 151. In cooperation with the French Bureau of Hygiene and Police, the German Sanitary Service largely succeeded in keeping a personnel file on every prostitute in France. Once a woman was declared infected, it was impossible for her to continue working. We do not know how many women were actually prosecuted because of a lack of archival evidence. Cyril Olivier argues that such regulations were put in place after an explosion of clandestine prostitution at the beginning of the war. Olivier, *Le vice ou la vertu: Vichy et les politiques de la sexualité* (Toulouse, 2005), 232.

⁶² Parisian women arrested as they emerged from hotels with GIs were usually between the ages of twenty and twenty-four, and almost never over thirty. See Archives de la Préfecture de la Police, Paris [hereafter APP], CB 10.43, 10ième Commissariat de Police des Enfants Rouges, June 1945–October 1945, and CB 39.98, 39ième Commissariat de Police du Quartier de la Porte Saint-Martin, October 31, 1944–October 22, 1945. Out of 146 dossiers in these records, 82.7 percent of the women arrested were twenty-nine or under. Only 15.8 percent were married, and 5.5 percent had children. Finally, only about 19 percent had been born in Paris and its immediate suburbs, 70.5 percent were born in the provinces, 1.4 percent were born in the colonies, and 4.1 percent were born outside of France. For another 4.8 percent, no information was given. The *registres d'écrou* at La Petite Roquette, a common prison for prostitutes, also suggest that single women predominated among prostitutes in Paris. Of fifty-one entries for prostitutes jailed in La Roquette, only one was married. See Archives de Paris [hereafter AP], 1443 W 45, no. 1-603, 1945 (January 30–April 18); 1433 W 46, no. 1-903, 1945 (April 18–July 31); 1443 W 47, no. 1-603, 1945 (July 31–September 15); 1443 W 48, no. 10600, 1945 (September 15–November 3). These figures roughly match Alfred Scheiber's profile of prostitutes before the war in *Un fléau social: Le problème médico-policier de la prostitution* (Paris, 1946), 27.

⁶³ NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Boxes 40 and 41.

white enlisted men, and “negroes.” Although the chief surgeon arrived three days later to declare brothels off limits, the “unofficial” policy prevailed, with brothels organized by race and rank.⁶⁴ The “silver foxhole,” as it was called, became a magnet for GIs on leave. Women from all over France flocked to the big city to offer themselves for sexual delectation.⁶⁵ One soldier wrote a paean to the city entitled “Parisianisation”: “A naughty little soldier / Who was sweating out rotation / Got a three-day pass to Paris / For some real recreation. / But after he was finished / And returned to his old station / He had to go on Sick call / For some rehabilitation.”⁶⁶ The soldiers considered fines for entering brothels (by one report, \$65) as nothing more than an amenity fee for sex.⁶⁷ In order to slip by the MPs stationed in front, they dressed in civilian clothes. Some pretended to speak only French.⁶⁸ Such efforts had the makings of a French farce, a fact not lost on the cartoonist Bill Maudlin, who authored a sketch for *Stars and Stripes* in which a GI tried to get around the rules by declaring “No parlay Eengleesh.”⁶⁹

The GIs were obviously a determined bunch. Infantrymen who faced death every day were not easily scared by the threat of a curable infection. But the problem of promiscuity went deeper than GI tenaciousness. At bottom it resulted from the army’s basic lack of will in carrying out the War Department’s repression of prostitution. Nowhere was the spineless nature of army policy more evident than in a key ETOUSA circular dated May 2, 1944, and used in subsequent months as a classic statement of War Department policies. It began by forbidding commanders from abetting prostitution in any way. However, it then ordered them to distribute condoms “to military personnel desiring them whenever such personnel leave the unit area on duties or on leave whenever they may be exposed to venereal infection.”⁷⁰ By insisting that soldiers be supplied with condoms “whenever they may be exposed to venereal infection,” the circular really meant “whenever they may be having sex.” But if officers were not supposed to encourage prostitution, why were they authorized to hand out condoms? Issuing free condoms, providing pro-stations, not penalizing diseased soldiers—such policies had the effect of normalizing the very sexual practices that the military was supposed to be suppressing.⁷¹ They thus sent a mixed message to unit commanders already comfortably noncompliant on the issue of sex.

In the absence of any structural controls, SHAEF was forced to leave the matter

⁶⁴ Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 246; Costello, *Virtue under Fire*, 247. Brothels were also segregated in Cherbourg and other minor French cities. See Archives Départementales de la Manche, St. Lô, France [hereafter ADM], Rapports Américains, 13 num 2521.

⁶⁵ Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 245.

⁶⁶ “Puptent Poets,” *Stars and Stripes*, March 6, 1945.

⁶⁷ Costello, *Virtue under Fire*, 95.

⁶⁸ APP, DB 409, “Le visage caché de la prostitution, IV, Les petits alliés de Rouen.”

⁶⁹ It is not clear from Maudlin’s cartoon whether this is a French bar or a brothel, both of which could have been off limits to Americans. (Many bars also served as brothels.) Besides the American MP, Maudlin portrays several members of the French FFI (Forces françaises de l’intérieur, or French Resistance) dressed in American uniforms.

⁷⁰ NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, ETOUSA Circular 49, dated May 2, 1944. For the importance of this circular, see Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 241.

⁷¹ Sonya Rose also notes the mixed messages given to soldiers in the ETO, although her focus is on American soldiers in the UK. See “The ‘Sex Question,’” 899–900.



"No parlay Eengleesh."

FIGURE 1: Bill Maudlin, "No parlay Eengleesh." *Stars and Stripes*, October 30, 1944. Used by permission of Stars and Stripes; © Stars and Stripes 1944, 2010.

of sex in the hands of the acting commanders.⁷² And that was a big mistake.⁷³ GI John Dunn remembered that the general commander of the 82nd and 101st Airborne units, “who was a very religious man by the way, not a bad person . . . really believed that one way to keep the animals quiet was to have a house of prostitution.” For this reason, according to Dunn, he made both prostitutes and a pro-station available to them.⁷⁴ In recalling his commander’s approach to sex, Dunn failed to distinguish between what was legal (pro-station) and illegal (prostitution). The contradictions at the heart of SHAEF instructions to commanders provided them just the loophole they needed in order to give the male libido free rein. According to one insider, the vast majority of officers believed the War Department policy to be “neither logical nor effective.” While “individually and privately” they favored prostitution, “collectively and officially” they had to call for its repression.⁷⁵ This double maneuvering doomed SHAEF’s efforts to curb venereal disease.

General Gerhardt’s efforts to start a brothel in Brittany provide an exceptionally detailed view of such double-dealing. When forced to face an investigator, Gerhardt insisted that the Corral “was not officially a house of prostitution of the 29th Division, I don’t believe—we will have to check on that,” and only eventually conceded that it was an attempt to “protect the health of the troops.”⁷⁶ The argument was dishonest, as the investigation went on to show that neither the general nor his staff had given the prostitutes adequate medical attention before opening the Corral.⁷⁷ In the official record, then, Gerhardt tried to squirm out of the charges by catering to military anxieties concerning VD. More private communications told another story. In a letter written to his commanding general, Omar Bradley (a letter that Gerhardt probably did not think would become part of the official record), he argued that his men were “preoccupied” with sex because they were “removed from feminine contact.” Furthermore, he was afraid that they would turn to homosexuality

⁷² As ETOUSA commander Jacob Devers had put it some months before, “Contraction of venereal disease is considered evidence of improper indoctrination of the individual which is an indication of poor leadership on the part of the unit commander.” NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated December 31, 1943.

⁷³ According to Heaton, there was an “almost universal lack of understanding of the problem” among line officers, at least in the North African theater. Because officers were often denied promotions if their units had a high VD rate, they concealed cases and distorted their reports. Much of the initial educational program in North Africa was directed toward command, where progress was considered slow. See Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 224.

⁷⁴ Transcript of an oral history interview with John W. Dunn, OH29, Veterans Memorial Library, Madison, Wis., 1994.

⁷⁵ Harry Benjamin, “Morals versus Morale in Wartime,” in Robinson, *Morals in Wartime*, 193. The same sort of ambiguity and double-dealing characterized the American military’s approach to sex in the occupation of Japan. See Sarah Kovner, “Prostitution in Postwar Japan: Sex Workers, Servicemen, and Social Activists, 1945–1956” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2004), 23–26, 67.

⁷⁶ NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, Lineman Report, 1–3, 5, 76, 90.

⁷⁷ Gerhardt did order the acting division surgeon, Major Gerald A. Logrippo, to examine the prostitutes on the morning the brothel opened. Logrippo discovered several problems. Two of the women had bad tonsils, one had a bad ovarian tube, and one had rales in the left chest (a sign of lung problems). In general, he concluded, the women were already physically stressed and in poor health. Moreover, as he later testified, “in no way could I rule out gonorrhea and syphilis,” as testing for these diseases could not be conclusive in such a short span of time. Logrippo testified that when Gerhardt came to inspect the house that day, he seemed to be in a hurry and did not even ask about the prostitutes’ medical condition. The physician did not get a chance to give him the bad medical news about the four women until later that afternoon. *Ibid.*, 55.

or bestiality in order to satisfy their desires.⁷⁸ Raising the specter of “perversion,” as he called it, was a strong argument in a rabidly homophobic army, but it never surfaced in the official report. Evidence suggests that Gerhardt was not alone in his concern that forced continence would lead to so-called perverse sexual behaviors. Contemporary medical literature related cases of men who turned to other men out of need, then grew “to like it,” becoming “fixed” homosexuals who never “reverted” back to “normal.”⁷⁹

The contrast between Gerhardt’s public testimony and his letter to Bradley can be explained by how the military handled male sexual desire: privately affirmed, officially denied. In private, Gerhardt naturalized the male libido as unstoppable, thus denying accountability for his actions. For the public record, he expressed the same arguments only obliquely. At one point he explained to the investigator that “this division has been overseas for two years, and that is quite a long time”—in other words, it was a long time to go without sex. It was common knowledge that GI promiscuity rates rose in proportion to length of time in combat.⁸⁰ At every turn, military policy on sex vacillated between official regulation and unofficial disregard. Brothels were “off limits” but segregated by race; sex was condemned, but condoms were made available; prostitution was banned but covertly organized; brothels were publicly denied but privately supported. Gerhardt’s fundamental motivation was that his men wanted sex and were not going to wait to get it, even if it meant having sex with each other. Furthermore, he and his officers seemed to feel that such behavior was only to be expected “in a place like France.” Trying to control the sexual behavior of a soldier who was “operating in a place like France” was tantamount to making him eat raw carrots in a steakhouse.⁸¹

FROM THE VERY BEGINNING of the campaign in northwest Europe, U.S. military officers blamed high rates of venereal infection on the fact that they were in a place already fixed in their minds as a “tremendous brothel,” to quote *Life* magazine’s Joe Weston. In fact, however, France was a nation struggling to recover from defeat, occupation, and war. In his war memoirs, Charles de Gaulle enumerates the many obstacles on the road to reconstruction: if the Germans had stripped the nation of

⁷⁸ NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, letter from Gerhardt to General Bradley. Gerhardt also had expressed his views on male sexuality to a group of assembled chaplains sometime during the late summer. Again on this occasion, he could not have known that his talk would eventually become public testimony. To this group, he again emphasized men’s sexual needs, claiming, “it is my business to not quarrel with life.” Ibid. Comments made by the Commanding General to Assembled Chaplains, 29th Infantry Division, October 1944. Gerhardt was joined in his views by Colonel Edward H. McDaniel, who called the brothel “a happy solution to a very delicate problem which has continuously existed since the formation of armor and will continue to exist,” and by Lieutenant Colonel Louis M. Gosom, who felt that “we should recognize the facts of life.” See *ibid.*, Lineman Report, 7, 50.

⁷⁹ See Benjamin, “Morals versus Morale,” 199. See also Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, 166. For an example of a soldier having sex with an animal, see Walter Brown, *Up Front with U.S.* ([Oakland, Maine], 1979), 130. For homosexuality in the military during the war, see Berube, *Coming Out under Fire*, 192; D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 31–32, 38; Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 72–77.

⁸⁰ NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, Lineman Report, 2. A survey conducted in the Mediterranean theater by the U.S. Army revealed a level of promiscuity that was much higher than expected. Three out of four men were having sex with Italian women, on average once or twice a month. A third of the men who had had sex were married. See Costello, *Virtue under Fire*, 97.

⁸¹ NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, Lineman Report, 5.

its riches, the Allies had destroyed its infrastructure. Ports, railway tracks, roads, factories—all had to be rebuilt for the economy and the state to function. The French people were ecstatic about the liberation but also troubled by political discord, labor tensions, and the ghosts of collaboration.⁸²

As a result of this economic and political disorder, the state's regulatory system of prostitution operated very badly.⁸³ During the war, the Germans had set up their own brothels, keeping prostitutes under strict medical supervision to ensure their venereal health. In the chaotic post-liberation months, the system floundered as the French scrambled to recruit the necessary medical and police authorities. Compliance was less than perfect. Prostitutes avoided the required medical exams by disappearing when medical personnel showed up at the *maisons* or by tinting their hair or becoming itinerant.⁸⁴ These women were not unwise to evade government medical care even if their health was at stake. The treatment awaiting them was at best ineffective, at worst physical torture. Examinations were given under poor lighting and in unsanitary conditions. Often no effort was made to wash the speculum in between exams, or for that matter to change the linen and the pot of vaseline.⁸⁵ The sickest of the women ended up in locked hospital wards, where nuns did their best to wage a battle against alcohol, bad language, and lesbian sex.⁸⁶ Even if women were healthy when released, they soon became ill again, either because they had been re-contaminated or because they could not afford medications to treat their illnesses.⁸⁷

SHAEF medical planners were made aware of the failings of this system, which in their minds reinforced prejudices about French sexual decadence. In a well-known 1941 polemic against brothels near U.S. army bases, two military doctors argued that “unless vigorous Federal action is initiated, we may sink to the level of France in our tolerance of prostitution.”⁸⁸ An army-issued guidebook titled *A Pocket Guide to France*, which warned GIs against winking at French women or slapping their back-sides, also cautioned the men not to trust the French regulatory system.⁸⁹ Commanders and soldiers found it particularly frustrating that French law forbade the

⁸² See *The Complete War Memoirs of Charles de Gaulle*, 669–677, 771–798. See also Antony Beevor and Artemis Cooper, *Paris after the Liberation, 1944–1949* (New York, 1995), 103–105; Raymond Ruffin, *La vie des français au jour le jour: De la libération à la victoire, 1944–1945* (Paris, 2004); Andrew Knapp, “Introduction: France's ‘Long’ Liberation, 1944–47,” in Knapp, ed. *The Uncertain Foundation: France at the Liberation, 1944–47* (New York, 2007), 9.

⁸³ NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 31, report sent by Lieutenant Colonel F. C. Corin to Colonel R. M. J. Martin, G-5 Division, January 25, 1945.

⁸⁴ APP, A-1946/8 (H.95.707), murder dossier of an individual, name withheld.

⁸⁵ Paul Reboux, *Le guide galant* (Paris, 1953), 67; Adolphe Pinard, “De la propagation des maladies,” in Henri Sellier, Dr. Marcel Pinard, and Paul Gemähling, *Les scandales de la prostitution réglementée* (Paris, 1946), 37.

⁸⁶ Marie-Thérèse, *Histoire d'une prostituée*, 84–85.

⁸⁷ See René Delpêche, *Les dessous de Paris: Souvenirs vécus par l'ex-inspecteur principal de la brigade mondaine Louis Métra* (Paris, 1955), 153; APP, DB 408, *Bulletin municipal officiel de la ville de Paris*, “Débats des assemblées de la ville de Paris et du département de la Seine, Conseil municipal de Paris, Séance du 17 Dec., 1945,” speech of Marthe Richards; NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 31, report sent by Lieutenant Colonel F. C. Corin to Colonel R. M. J. Martin, G-5 Division, January 25, 1945. These failures of the regulatory system also surfaced in England in debates concerning the Contagious Diseases Act during the 1860s and 1870s. See Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, 1982).

⁸⁸ Parran and Vonderlehr, *Plain Words about Venereal Disease*, 90.

⁸⁹ U.S. Army Service Forces, Army Info Branch, *A Pocket Guide to France* (Washington, D.C., 1944), 16.

incarceration of prostitutes if they were not infected.⁹⁰ At a public health meeting between French doctors and Allied medical officers in Rouen in September 1944, the Americans complained that a Bayeux prostitute known to be “infectious” had been arrested by the police, given a “cursory” medical inspection, and released, then subsequently infected five other men.⁹¹ While the Americans blamed the French for high VD levels, they refused to give them control over tracing prostitutes.⁹² In short, the French were given full responsibility and no power.

“Operating in a place like France” meant presuming control over the prostitute’s body while blaming the French for infection. One medical official described the spread of VD in this way: “Any prostitute may become *infectious* immediately after contact with a diseased patron and may transmit infection to an indeterminate number of subsequent visitors before the disease can be detected in her.”⁹³ This officer failed to acknowledge that a woman who has sexual contact with a diseased patron has to be *infected* before she becomes *infectious*. SHAEF’s perception that all French women who came in contact with the GIs were prostitutes only worsened the problem. In November, headquarters advised officers that troops in French cities should be “briefed as to the dangers of infection lurking in the ‘pick-up’ type of girl in those towns.”⁹⁴ According to U.S. public health reports, such “pick-up” girls had replaced prostitutes as the main source of contagion back in the States.⁹⁵ The military assumed that the situation would be the same in France. It was then only one step from blaming the “pick-up” girl to condemning the French as a whole. The fact that GIs had more contact with prostitutes than with French people from other walks of life amplified the political impact of their relations with them. After the front moved to Belgium, contact between GIs and French civilians centered in urban areas, particularly Paris, where soldiers took leaves. These cities developed elaborate red light districts where long lines of GIs snaked around the block. Army chaplain Renwick Kennedy witnessed Americans “judging whole populations by the few harlots, drunks and black marketeers they met.”⁹⁶ “It isn’t fair to judge a nation on the business principals [*sic*] and communicability of the world’s oldest profession,” commented GI David Ichelson, “but we saw more French whores than we did French statesmen.”⁹⁷

In both popular American culture and high diplomatic and military circles, the whore came to articulate “Frenchness” itself. According to historian Frank Costigliola, Americans consistently imagined French people during this period as “wayward”

⁹⁰ See the report filed by Chef Defrene in Service historique de la Gendarmerie nationale, Fort de Charenton, Maisons-Alfort, France [hereafter SHGN], 76E6, 200 Brigade Territoriale de Cany-Barville, Registres de correspondance courante au départ, September 5, 1945. Cany-Barville is a village sixty kilometers north and east of Le Havre.

⁹¹ NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, General Staff, G-5 Division, Information Branch, Historical Section, Numeric-Subject Operations File [hereafter Entry 54], Box 193, Minutes of Second Meeting on Public Health and Welfare.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated January 22, 1945; emphasis added.

⁹⁴ Ibid., memo dated November 17, 1944.

⁹⁵ Clement, *Love for Sale*, 245–246.

⁹⁶ Rose, *Myth and the Greatest Generation*, 36.

⁹⁷ MHI, World War II Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, David Ichelson, “I Was There,” 62.

women.⁹⁸ Lieutenant Colonel Chester Hansen, military aide to General Bradley, conjured this same image of the French in his journal after a visit to Paris in September 1944. He recalled the prostitutes he had met in the City of Light, and how, when he danced with one woman, she stunned him by asking, "You will sleep with me tonight, no?" From this encounter, he concluded that "French people have sold themselves to no one and no one is impressed by them."⁹⁹ In Hansen's mind, the prostitute's solicitation symbolized a larger French "bid" for recognition. His refusal of her became fused in his mind with his rejection of the French generally. SHAEF's frustration with French regulation and its inability to see French women as infected as well as infectious had a significant impact on Franco-American relations. Besides reinforcing American prejudices about France as decadent, the "problem" of VD inspired further condescension, invited American intervention into French affairs, and naturalized the army's "right" to manage the freedom of the civilian population. The supposedly "infectious" body of the prostitute became the site of a power struggle, but it operated at a more symbolic level as well. To the extent that the prostitute came to represent Frenchness, her sexual commerce signaled a broader French subservience to the whims of American money and power.

In 1945, CONFLICT OVER PROSTITUTION reached its most climactic battle in the Norman port city of Le Havre, where discretion about commercial sex became paramount to both the local mayor and the military commander. For the French, the spectacle of prostitution at the town center was intolerable not only because it was indecent, but also because the prostitute signified national humiliation. The Americans were equally focused on the issue of visibility, in this case on shielding sexual labor from the eyes of the American public. At the root of the struggle were once again the army's double-dealing concerning promiscuity and its inclination to both blame the French authorities and render them powerless.

By 1945, Le Havre was home to hundreds of prostitutes. Liberated by the Allies in September 1944, "the 16th Port," as Americans called it, became the gateway to the European theater. Between October 1944 and 1945, some 4 million soldiers embarked or disembarked there.¹⁰⁰ Large "cigarette camps" for GIs were constructed just north of the town. The prostitutes soon followed. With 85 percent of the city destroyed by bombardment, including the old *maisons closes*, the prostitutes settled for makeshift places to do business, including the forest north of town and damaged buildings in the city center.¹⁰¹ They gained the cooperation of less prin-

⁹⁸ Frank Costigliola, "The Nuclear Family: Tropes of Gender and Pathology in the Western Alliance," *Diplomatic History* 21, no. 2 (Spring 1997): 170.

⁹⁹ MHI, Chester B. Hansen Collection, Official Papers, Diary.

¹⁰⁰ For an account of the liberation of Le Havre, see Eddy Florentin, *Le Havre 44 à feu et à sang* (Paris, 1985); Georges Godefroy, *Le Havre sous l'occupation, 1940-1944* (Le Havre, 1965). See also Jean-Claude Marquis, *Les camps cigarette: Les américains en Haute Normandie à la libération* (Rouen, 1994). For more on Le Havre as a port of the ETO, see Valérie Moulin, Daniel Baccara, and Jean-Michel Harel, *Le Havre, 16th Port of Embarkation: Northern District Normandy Base Section* (Le Havre, 1997).

¹⁰¹ Jean Legoy et al., *Le Havre, 1517-1986: Du Havre d'autrefois à la métropole de la mer* (Rouen, 1987), 43, 44-53; Roger Gobled, *Voici Le Havre de 1944 à 1963: Recueil de documents écrits et photographiques* (Le Havre, 1963), 12-17. During the night of June 14-15, Allied bombs completely destroyed the six *maisons* in the red light district on the rue des Galions. On September 5, another bom-

cipled members of the community by sharing profits.¹⁰² In January, local officials obtained a legal *arrêt* to end the flow of women into town.¹⁰³ It did little good. Prostitutes arrived by train and fanned out into public spaces, only to be arrested, taken to the hospital, and treated—all at the expense of the municipality.

The prostitute was a difficult presence in Le Havre. The trade in sex was noisy, obtrusive, and linked to violence, and before long, the Havrais began to complain. Particularly outraged were those who lived near the camps and had to endure the daily sight of GIs having sex with French women.¹⁰⁴ “These things are happening in full daylight right in front of children or other people who happen to be near,” complained one civilian about the prostitutes plying their trade in a park.¹⁰⁵ “At certain times the American soldiers form a line down the staircase and into the corridor of the house,” another told the police. “They urinate along the walls and in the hallways, and they attack any woman who happens to live there.”¹⁰⁶ Still others protested the noise. Because brothels operated covertly, the GIs had to shout up at the windows to gain entrance. But because the brothels were not marked, men often knocked on several doors before finding the right house. Night after night, one local resident complained, soldiers came banging on his door shouting words that “left nothing to doubt” about the nature of their mission. The neighborhood, he lamented, “is becoming impossible for women and young girls.”¹⁰⁷ A local tanning company petitioned the mayor for greater security, claiming that the workers’ “wives and children are terrorized by the nearly daily crimes taking place near their homes.”¹⁰⁸ Still other townsfolk complained that the GIs had made two holes in the cemetery wall, one as an entrance, the other as an exit. As a supervisor noted, “both operated continually, day and night, compromising the morality of the cemetery.”¹⁰⁹

The Normans were painfully aware of the impression that prostitutes were making on the GIs. It began to dawn on them that the soldiers were not forming their view of France in the museum. The Americans “really scorned us,” Havrais René Loisel recalled. “The men were loafers, the children beggars, and the women all wh-res.”¹¹⁰ What a pity, wrote Jean Vanier of *Havre-Éclair*, that the Americans were not getting to see other images of the French people, such as “the mother of the family, tending to her children with great attentiveness,” and “the laughing, pretty young girl, always eager to help her mother.”¹¹¹ *Ouest-France* pleaded with its readers: “Let’s give them the impression of a disciplined people, disciplined on its own

bardment destroyed fourteen houses that had been authorized to receive registered prostitutes. Le Havre was left with only two such houses on the rue Haudry. AMH, FC H⁴ 15-6, Agressions, déprédations, méfaits, letter dated November 17, 1945; AMH, FC I¹ 49-2, Prostitution, letter dated November 7, 1944.

¹⁰² SHGN, 76E6, 200 Brigade Territoriale de Cany-Barville, report of October 5, 1945

¹⁰³ AMH, FC I¹ 49-2, Prostitution, letters dated January 30 and February 2, 1945.

¹⁰⁴ AMH, FC H⁴ 15-6, Agressions, déprédations, méfaits, letter dated September 4, 1945.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, letter dated June 13, 1945.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, letter dated October 9, 1945.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, letter dated December 6, 1944. For a similar complaint in the Cherbourg region, see ADM, Séries U, 3 U 2 766 1945, report dated January 24, 1945.

¹⁰⁸ AMH, FC H⁴ 15-6, Agressions, déprédations, méfaits, letter dated September 10, 1945.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, letter dated July 2, 1945.

¹¹⁰ René Loisel, “Des liens avec trois GI’s,” *Havre Libre*, August 13, 2003.

¹¹¹ Jean Vanier, “Aide toi toi-même,” *Havre-Éclair*, June 6, 1945. See also “L’attitude populaire,” *Journal de la Merne*, September 21, 1944.

accord, like they are themselves. And also of a people dignified and proud, conscious of their splendid past and the promise of the future.”¹¹² For the French as well as the Americans, then, female sexual behavior was pivotal in shaping France’s “reputation” beyond its borders.

The influx of prostitutes into Le Havre and other major cities presented the French with a spectacle of national humiliation and defeat. Concerns about prostitution and national reputation had their roots in the Occupation. In 1946, the French social reformer Alfred Scheiber recalled wartime prostitutes in Lyon steering German soldiers toward the *maisons*. “What shame we felt,” he remembered, “watching these women make their offer of service.”¹¹³ Wartime resisters dismissed prostitutes as *collaboratrices* who had relinquished the right to be French. As the historian K. H. Adler has put it, prostitution “became a metaphor for the uncertain status of national identity.”¹¹⁴ Particularly for French men who stood by as women sold themselves to the Germans, the prostitute came to symbolize their loss of pride as a nation. A large proportion of these women, it was rumored, were married to French male prisoners in German stalags. Desperate for money or companionship, they betrayed their husbands to sleep with the enemy.¹¹⁵ The myth of the prostitute-wife transformed sexually available women into targets of anger and shame. As a traditional symbol of moral depravity and a loss of self-respect, the prostitute conveyed mass humiliation. These feelings surfaced in violent form at the liberation when French resistance fighters disgraced thousands of women by shaving their heads in public.¹¹⁶ The prostitute as symbol of national disgrace became even more painful to the French after the liberation, when they were forced to confront their collaboration with the Nazis.¹¹⁷

But it was not just prostitutes who were the focus of French concern. Even “respectable” women who flirted with Americans and enjoyed their luxuries came to be seen as a symbol of subservience. In a diatribe against prostitution, Scheiber announced that women of all classes, seemingly undeterred by old prejudices, were prostituting themselves—and not strictly out of economic need.¹¹⁸ A woman who “shamelessly offered” herself to soldiers was dubbed a *boniche*, a slur for “maid,” which, like the Japanese *pan pan*, was born of the specific conditions of the postwar period.¹¹⁹ During the American occupation of Japan, prostitutes called *pan pans* were notorious for walking arm in arm with GIs. They openly prostituted themselves to the conquerors, in the process “unsettling” the Japanese, according to John

¹¹² “Les Américains et nous,” *Ouest-France*, August 9, 1944.

¹¹³ Scheiber, *Un fléau social*, 130–131.

¹¹⁴ Adler, “Reading National Identity,” 50, 52. See also K. H. Adler, *Jews and Gender in Liberation France* (Cambridge, 2003), 42–44. In *We Will Wait: Wives of French Prisoners of War* (New Haven, Conn., 1991), 47–50, Sarah Fishman argued that the high figures of married prostitutes named by French officials could have been a ploy to get better allocations for wives of French prisoners of war when they faced resistance from the minister of finances.

¹¹⁵ Scheiber, *Un fléau social*, 125.

¹¹⁶ The classic work on these incidents is Fabrice Virgili, *La France “virile”: Des femmes tondues à la Libération* (Paris, 2000).

¹¹⁷ According to Sarah Kovner, the Japanese suffered the same sort of political agony: the mere sight of a prostitute reminded them of their status as an occupied, conquered country. Kovner, “Prostitution in Postwar Japan,” 2.

¹¹⁸ Scheiber, *Un fléau social*, 195.

¹¹⁹ APP, DB 409, “Le 13 octobre la prostitution doit mourir,” *Qui? Police l’hebdomadaire des faits divers*, September 1946; and “Le visage caché de la prostitution III: Dans l’ombre,” *ibid.*, July 1947.

Dower, because they served as “striking symbols of the whole convoluted phenomenon of ‘Americanization’ in which everyone was in some way engaged.”¹²⁰ In the same way, many French people believed that the lure of American commodities was leading a new class of women into prostitution. “The arrival of the Americans, with their ‘Camels,’ their ‘chewing gum,’ and their chocolate, was a particular cause of this outbreak of uncontrolled prostitution,” noted a police newspaper.¹²¹ As anxiety about sexual promiscuity became more diffuse, the prostitute also came to stand for “Americanization” in general.

Because the prostitute/*boniche* took on such a heavy symbolic load in the French imagination, the spectacle of sex became difficult for the French at many different levels. Something had to be done. In Le Havre, the mayor, Pierre Voisin, responded vigorously to his constituents’ complaints.¹²² Although the city’s politics customarily veered toward socialism, Voisin, elected by popular vote in May 1945, was a right-leaning businessman with a reputation as an effective administrator. He dispatched the police to patrol key areas, sealed holes in the cemetery wall, and kept an eye on suspect houses.¹²³ Despite these efforts, however, there were insurmountable problems. The prostitutes were mobile and flush with cash. There were too many of them and not enough police or medical personnel to ensure the safety of the community. By the summer of 1945, the situation had become critical. The end of the war brought into town thousands of bored GIs waiting to go home. In addition, the warm weather facilitated outdoor sex. The entire town had become a red light district. Voisin began to step up his complaints to the American commander of Le Havre operations, Colonel T. J. Weed, with whom he had a cordial, mutually respectful relationship.¹²⁴ The mayor called a meeting with Weed on August 29 in order to discuss what could be done about prostitution.¹²⁵

Much of what happened at this meeting we know through Voisin’s hand, as he wrote Weed a letter the next day summarizing their discussion. He began by reviewing the problem. Citizens were witnessing scandalous scenes. The prostitutes risked contaminating large numbers of soldiers and civilians. Out of the seventy-five prostitutes arrested in August, he noted, thirty-three were infected.¹²⁶ The complete repression of prostitution was not feasible, because if the GIs did not find women to satisfy their desires, they would rape “honest” women.¹²⁷ Finally, attempts to put prostitutes on trains headed out of town had not worked. To solve the problem, then, Voisin proposed that the Americans create a restricted zone, forbidden to the public and “convenient” to the camps. Here tents would be set up where soldiers could visit prostitutes under the eyes of police and medical personnel. Voisin’s proposition was

¹²⁰ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 135–136. On the *pan pan*, see also Kovner, “Prostitution in Postwar Japan,” 71–82.

¹²¹ APP, DB 409, “Le visage caché de la prostitution III.”

¹²² See André Corvisier, *Histoire de Havre et de l’estuaire de la Seine* (Toulouse, 1983), 272.

¹²³ AMH, FC H⁴ 15-6, *Agressions, déprédations, méfaits*, letter dated July 4, 1945.

¹²⁴ This relationship lasted ten months. Voisin became mayor of Le Havre in May 1945; Colonel Weed left Le Havre in February 1946. For the warm relationship between the two men, see AMH, FC H⁴ 15-5, *Armée et autorités américains*, letter dated September 20, 1945. Weed was born in Texas in 1892, and had served in the army twenty-nine years at the time of his command of the Le Havre port.

¹²⁵ AMH, FC H⁴ 15-6, *Prostitution*, document dated August 29, 1945.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, letter dated August 30, 1945.

¹²⁷ SHGN, 76E6, 200 Brigade Territorial de Cany-Barville, report of October 5, 1945.

hardly revolutionary. He was suggesting that the Americans establish a system of prostitution similar to France's own (and not unlike the Blue and Gray Corral). By tradition, the French army had attached brothels to their regiments.¹²⁸ Nor was his proposal the first to be made to the Americans. In October 1944, after formal charges of rape were brought against scores of GIs in Cherbourg, the police in that city wrote the U.S. military urging them to establish a brothel for their soldiers.¹²⁹

Voisin was primarily interested in discretion: he wanted to remove GI sex from the public eye. Discretion was an unspoken rule in French sexual relations. Traditionally, a variety of sexual practices were tolerated as long as they were carried out privately. Concealment lay at the foundation of the French brothel system: the *maisons closes* were called that because the madams were to keep the shutters *closed*. Similarly, Voisin intended for the prostitutes to set up business adjacent to the camps north of town. This location may have been "convenient" for soldiers, but its real aim was to keep them away from residential neighborhoods and the town center. In short, the goal was to keep sex out of sight. In Voisin's words, "scenes contrary to decency take place day and night, not only in private homes, disturbing peace and quiet in various neighborhoods, but also in the squares, gardens, walkways, and ruins of damaged buildings. The fact that youthful eyes are exposed to such public spectacles is not only scandalous but intolerable."¹³⁰ The traditional French demand for discretion was heightened by the symbolic role played by the prostitute in the postwar era. If the whore had come to represent defeat and collaboration, she was best kept out of sight.

Voisin's proposal fell on deaf American ears. Weed's response, written the very next day, did not even engage the question of a sex zone. Instead, the commander presented the crisis as Voisin's alone. "This serious situation," he wrote, will affect "the morality and security of your young people and the health of the entire community." American soldiers appeared nowhere in Weed's scenario. Instead of taking responsibility, he flattered the mayor in a patronizing way: "The decision to curtail the prostitution which at present prevails in the port region will demand all the vision and delicate judgment which I know you have." Finally, he declared that the "formidable" task of ushering thousands of soldiers in and out of Le Havre demanded all his time. Not only was he not accountable for the problem, but he could not be pressed to fix it.¹³¹ Weed's letter suggests that he did not care about the American impact on the community of Le Havre. A few days later, a high-ranking French official, in touch with the U.S. provost marshal, confirmed for Voisin what he already knew: "the American authorities are hostile to the creation of what could be called 'regulated Army brothels.'" ¹³² The American military instead pledged to send forty doctors to treat women, and later to create a floating hospital on a ship anchored

¹²⁸ Rhodes, "No Safe Women," 10; Christelle Teraud, *La prostitution coloniale: Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc (1830–1962)* (Paris, 2003), 341–342. In the primary literature, see Scheiber, *Un fléau social*, 115. Normans had been astonished the summer before when the U.S. military failed to set up a brothel "to take care of the needs of the soldiers." See ADM, Rapports Américains, 13 num 3046.

¹²⁹ NARA, RG 498, Records of Headquarters, ETO, U.S. Army, 1942–1946, Adjutant General's Section Administrative Branch, General Correspondence (1944–1945), Box 27, 250.1 (Morale & Conduct), translation of letter from Central Commissaire de Police to Lieutenant Simms.

¹³⁰ AMH, FC H⁴ 15-6, Prostitution, letter dated August 30, 1945.

¹³¹ Ibid., letter dated September 1, 1945.

¹³² Ibid., letter dated September 10, 1945.

in the port.¹³³ Both of these promises addressed the same predicament: local venereal wards were overflowing. In Voisin's careful record of correspondence, however, no evidence exists that the Americans made good on either promise.¹³⁴

Since American authorities never engaged Voisin on the issue of the army brothels, we are left to speculate why they were so "hostile" to his proposal. Of course, the issue came down to following War Department rules. But as Gerhardt's case suggests, obedience was not paramount when it came to prostitution. Furthermore, regulated prostitution was already a reality in the Pacific theater, namely in Hawaii, where it was overseen by the military, local police, and government. Why, then, was it not established in France? The example of regulated brothels in Honolulu is instructive. "Hotel Street," as the district there was called, existed for many years prior to the war because of cooperation between the military, police, and government. Located near a large military base, it attracted 30,000 visitors a day at its peak of operation. The military was happy with Hotel Street because it kept VD rates low; the white elite favored it because it kept the seedy sorts out of their neighborhoods; and the police supported it because they thought that it prevented sexual violence. It also worked because representatives from each of the three groups—the military, the elites, and the police—knew each other, and they trusted each other to keep the arrangement working effectively. Nevertheless, Hotel Street was a delicate sexual ecosystem. Despite the fantastic wealth that some of the prostitutes accumulated, they were not allowed to enter certain elite neighborhoods of Honolulu. For this reason, they remained in the city only about six months. When the women began to rebel against these restrictions and buy property in wealthy areas, the brothels were closed down.¹³⁵

Circumstances in Honolulu differed sharply from those in France, and these contrasts are illuminating. One important difference concerns the matter of race. Was the American military command more tolerant of prostitution in a U.S. territory with a non-white population? While race undoubtedly played a part in the regulation of sex, the majority of prostitutes working on Hotel Street were white women from San Francisco.¹³⁶ In buying property, these women violated class as much as racial boundaries, as these regions were inhabited by an indigenous elite. Nevertheless, other circumstances worked in favor of tolerance in the Hawaii case, namely that it was a permanent arrangement with a history of cooperation between the military, police, pimps, and prostitutes. For example, the provost marshal knew all of the madams by name.¹³⁷ In France, by contrast, police and military officials did not even speak the same language. Nor did U.S. military officials respect local medical and police authorities. Bonds of trust might have been established over time, but conditions rendered that process impossible. Honolulu was a U.S. military base, but Weed had no incentive to do long-range planning. The war in Europe was over, the boys were

¹³³ Ibid., letters dated September 17, 1945, and January 4, 1945.

¹³⁴ While there is no evidence that the Americans supplied hospitals in Le Havre with penicillin, SHAEF did this elsewhere in France beginning in early 1945. See Schrijvers, *The Crash of Ruin*, 182.

¹³⁵ For the brothels in Hawaii, see Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii* (New York, 1992); Bailey and Farber, "Hotel Street: Prostitution and the Politics of War," *Radical History Review* 52 (1992): 54–77.

¹³⁶ Bailey and Farber, "Hotel Street," 58–59, 102. Not all of the women were white. Some were Hawaiian, Puerto Rican, and Japanese. Also, brothels were segregated.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 63.

going home, and, particularly after victory in Japan, the military had lost its motive for preventing venereal infection. Furthermore, unlike Hotel Street, where prostitutes received good medical attention, the French system was teetering on the brink of collapse. By the summer of 1945, medical planners had gotten a close look at state regulation and wanted no part of it.¹³⁸ In the meantime, penicillin began to be used widely in the European theater. The “magic bullet,” as it was called, reduced the number of days necessary to treat gonorrhea from twenty to five; 99.9 percent of infected soldiers now returned to duty after treatment. SHAEF headquarters did not consider the use of penicillin to be a decidedly good development, because it created a “false” sense of safety. Nevertheless, it was a turning point inasmuch as army doctors could cope with venereal infection without having to bother with the French at all.¹³⁹

Finally, American military commanders had one overriding incentive *not* to regulate. Like the French, they were supremely attentive to the issue of discretion. The military insisted on keeping sexual labor invisible, not only from War Department officials, but also, and even more importantly, from the American public back home. In a May 1945 memo to all commanding officers, Adjutant General R. B. Lovett argued that if the army was found guilty of condoning prostitution in overseas theaters, the War Department would “be open to the charge that it is supporting conditions inimical to the health and welfare of troops. The eventual result might be public scandal with families of military personnel charging the War Department with an unforgivable violation of trust in neglecting to care for the physical and moral well-being of its personnel.”¹⁴⁰ Fear of scandal lay at the heart of all the military double-talk about sex. As Sarah Kovner describes the military’s approach to sex work in postwar Japan, “policy back home and on the ground were two different things.”¹⁴¹ The official line had to be respected in order to “protect” the U.S. public. Photographs of the pro-stations that populated French cities and military camps were censored throughout the war.¹⁴² GI Murray Shapiro once observed that the MPs inspected the *maisons* at precisely scheduled times, allowing all parties to evacuate and avoid arrest. When he asked an officer why this “farce” went on, he was given this response: “American mothers and sweethearts are not wanting to hear of such activities being officially condoned.”¹⁴³ Forced to condemn what it could not condone, the U.S. military was also forced to condone what it could not control.

Given this dilemma, the issue was reduced to a matter of visibility. Because any institutionalized form of prostitution made sexual labor potentially observable to the American public, promiscuity had to take place covertly. The war had brought new sexual opportunities both back home and abroad by separating millions of youths from their families. Inevitably such developments generated anxiety concerning changing morals.¹⁴⁴ Beginning in the 1920s, “going all the way” had become increas-

¹³⁸ See Stokes, “A Statement on Prostitution,” 157.

¹³⁹ Cosmas and Cowdrey, *The Medical Department*, 542; NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated November 17, 1944.

¹⁴⁰ NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated May 16, 1945.

¹⁴¹ Kovner, “Prostitution in Postwar Japan,” 24–25.

¹⁴² Roeder, *The Censored War*, 114.

¹⁴³ MHI, World War II Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, Shapiro, “Memoirs,” n.p.

¹⁴⁴ See D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 257, 260.

ingly permissible, but Victorian morality did not entirely loosen its grip, particularly among the middle class. In fact, the divide between public condemnation and private acquiescence maintained by the U.S. military characterized much of American sexual life, with Americans condemning pre- or extramarital intercourse in public discourse even as they made it a norm in private.¹⁴⁵ Military officials' attempt to keep sexual labor invisible only reproduced this general divide. The policy of secrecy also allowed the army to maintain a myth of the GI as a traditional manly man, disciplined and self-controlled.¹⁴⁶ At the same time, however, the sex that had to remain hidden from Americans remained a rudely visible reality for the French. One fact seems to have escaped the concern of officers eager to maintain an unsullied image of American manhood: its cost to French civilians. In both large cities and small towns, French families could not take a stroll in the park or visit their mothers' graves without witnessing what Voisin tactfully called "scenes contrary to decency." According to a French policeman in one Norman town, "the healthy segment of the population is disgusted by such debauchery, which takes place even in front of children."¹⁴⁷

Le Havre was not alone in having to endure a promiscuous landscape. In the Marne region, where the GIs also had large base camps, "the eyes of a scandalized populace are subject to scenes of debauchery," according to local French government reports. In the spring and summer of 1945, "a crowd of prostitutes" had come into the town of Mourmelon, where for lack of hotels they set up business in fields and parks.¹⁴⁸ The cemetery had become a "theater of military debauchery."¹⁴⁹ In nearby Châlons-sur-Marne, break-ins, fights, thefts, and violent assaults, "all having either their origin or their end in prostitution," had made the summer a living hell for both civilians and policemen. The latter were "powerless because there were too few of them or they were not well enough protected" to maintain control.¹⁵⁰ In Reims, as well, the residents "were complaining of the spectacle to which their children were exposed."¹⁵¹ Here the local authorities proposed a number of plans to the Americans: providing them with 150 prostitutes, creating special brothels, and reopening the *maisons*, which had been declared officially off limits. They even promised to do so "as secretly as possible . . . in order not to rub up against the sensibilities of the Generals."¹⁵² It was all to no avail, although the Americans did help reinforce the local police with a brigade of MPs.¹⁵³

Nor did the trouble always disappear when the Americans left for home. In January 1946, Le Havre's Voisin reported to the *sous-préfet* that one thousand prosti-

¹⁴⁵ Clement, *Love for Sale*, 242.

¹⁴⁶ See Mary Louise Roberts, "Le mythe du G.I. viril: Genre et photojournalisme en France pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," *Le mouvement social* 217 (2007): 35–56.

¹⁴⁷ SHGN, 76E6, 200 Brigade Territoriale de Cany-Barville, report of October 5, 1945.

¹⁴⁸ Archives départementales de la Marne [hereafter ADMA], 162 W 355, Rapports journaliers des relations avec les troupes, report dated July 6, 1945.

¹⁴⁹ ADMA, 161 W 323, Incidents franco-américaines, Rapports, 1944–1946, report dated June 26, 1945.

¹⁵⁰ ADMA, 162 W 359, Rapports sur la prostitution, report dated July 2, 1945.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., report of October 13, 1945.

¹⁵² Ibid., reports dated April 21, 1945, and July 20, 1945; 161 W 323, Incidents franco-américaines, Rapports, 1944–1946, report dated June 26, 1945; 16 W 266, Relations avec les autorités alliées, Notes et correspondance, report of December 6, 1944, and letter dated December 11, 1944.

¹⁵³ ADMA, 16 W 268, Affaires réservées; incidents avec les troupes alliées.

tutes remained in Le Havre “servicing” Americans.¹⁵⁴ The women offering sex—farm girls from the area—were even more inexperienced than during the war. They had come to town in the hopes of finding an American husband, and ended up prostituting themselves after their “lovers” shipped out. Because such women were naïve about health matters, they did not take precautions, and as a result, a greater percentage of them were sick.¹⁵⁵ Venereal wards were overwhelmed: a ward meant for forty was forced to accommodate nearly two hundred.¹⁵⁶ “Permanent disorder” reigned in such wards, according to one French official. The women fought for the beds; they tried to escape through the windows using bed sheets; and they amused themselves by having sex with each other. To make matters worse, although the clinics were unsafe and ineffective, they were expensive. “The American authorities insist that the greatest possible number of these women be frequently hospitalized,” Voisin wrote, at a cost of about 8.5 million francs a month. At this rate, he argued, his budget for the year would be gone before March.¹⁵⁷ The mayor was writing his superior, hoping to get extra funds, so he probably exaggerated the problem. At the same time, it is impossible not to be struck by the unfairness of the situation. At one of the U.S. military’s two most important French ports (Marseille was the other), Voisin was trying to keep pace with extraordinary American demands for hygiene on a municipal budget.¹⁵⁸

The injustice of Voisin’s position—and the uniqueness of the French case—becomes clearer if we look at how the U.S. military dealt with sexual relations in other nations of the European theater. In Italy, relations with civilian women were complicated by military fears concerning the chaos of civil war and “fraternization” with the enemy. That was even more the case in Germany, where soldiers were warned that women were spies, and that the disease supposedly harbored by prostitutes was “Jerry’s deadliest V. weapon.”¹⁵⁹ To a great extent, dealing with the enemy in these countries justified military control of sexual relations. A stronger parallel to France is Great Britain. Like the French, the British were allies, and their nation was never legally occupied despite a huge American military presence there. As a result of that presence, VD reached alarming levels in Great Britain as well, particularly in London and its suburbs. The crisis produced a meeting in April 1943 between American, Canadian, and British military and health authorities. As it began, the chief American representative, Surgeon General Paul Hawley, advised all involved that the British could not be blamed for the situation: “There was no more moral laxity in this country than in the United States,” he argued. “The problem was one for the public health authorities.”¹⁶⁰ Following Hawley’s suggestion, a joint committee was estab-

¹⁵⁴ AMH, FC I¹ 49-2, Prostitution, report dated May 4, 1946.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ For the institution of venereal wards, see NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 28, Civil Affairs Summary No. 6, July 21, 1944.

¹⁵⁷ AMH, FC I¹ 49-2, Prostitution, letter dated January 31, 1946.

¹⁵⁸ Voisin’s last effort to relieve crowding at his hospital was to find a home for infected prostitutes at the Fort de Tourneville to the north of the town. Ironically, the fort had served as American headquarters during the war and so became available as the soldiers left town. But despite several letters to his superiors, his request was refused. See AMH, FC H⁴ 15-6, L’armée américaine au Havre, letter dated April 1, 1946; AMH, FC I¹ 49-2, L’armée américaine au Havre, letters dated April 3 and 16, 1946.

¹⁵⁹ *Stars and Stripes*, October 18, 1944, and also October 20, 1944; United States Army, Twelfth Army Group, *Report of Operations, Final After-Action Report*, 14 vols. (n.p., 1945), 10: 179–180.

¹⁶⁰ Quoted in Reynolds, *Rich Relations*, 206.

lished; it convened American, British, and Canadian health authorities to cooperate in solutions to the rising rates of VD.

One cannot imagine Hawley making such a statement about France, nor such a committee being set up to address venereal disease there. Entrenched stereotypes led U.S. military authorities to arrogate to themselves the management of the French female body when it served them, and to abandon such management when it no longer proved necessary. The American GI did not have to worry that his VD would go untreated or that his loved ones might witness “scenes contrary to decency.” The military approach to venereal disease in Le Havre registered a growing confidence on the part of the U.S. government to construct—whether consciously or through inaction—asymmetries of power in the transatlantic alliance: whose health was important and whose was not, whose family would be protected and whose would not.¹⁶¹ If the Americans did not worry about public prostitution in Le Havre, was it because they believed that the display of sex could not be disruptive in a society without morals? Or was it because the Havrais—as members of a community, as citizens of a sovereign nation—were simply invisible to the army?

In either case, French citizens paid the cost of American diffidence. In addition, by not taking more vigorous action to establish hygienic sex, the U.S. military protected the “virtuous” American woman back home at the expense of the French prostitute. (This asymmetry no doubt followed in some way the nineteenth-century class division between the chaste middle-class female and the working-class harlot.) Our last two glimpses of the prostitutes in Le Havre are images of defiance and subjection. Mayor Voisin wrote to his superior in 1946 that the prostitutes infected by American GIs “preferred to tear up their cash or throw it in the sewer rather than be forced to pay their bills.”¹⁶² By refusing to pay medical costs, the prostitutes were preventing a situation where their profits would be eaten up by medical expenses. In other words, they were preserving their business. But their refusal to pay also signaled their belief that illness was not their responsibility alone to bear. At the same time, they did forfeit their health and freedom. As the Americans bade “adieu” to France, government officials everywhere in Normandy faced the same problem: what to do with the sick prostitutes? The venereal wards were overwhelmed. French medical services in Cany-Barville transported the women in vans to Rouen, only to be turned back because there was no room at the hospital. They were then taken to Le Havre, only to be redirected back to Rouen by the authorities there for the same reason. Some women were then accepted at Rouen, but the majority were sent to Dieppe. There they were once again redirected to Le Havre. But when the women arrived in Le Havre, they were pointed yet again in the direction of Dieppe, only to be sent back from Dieppe to Le Havre.¹⁶³ An unwanted population of diseased

¹⁶¹ Note the parallels between how the Americans managed sexual commerce in France and how Linda Bryder describes colonial sexual management by the European powers: “In the colonies, the systems devised to regulate sex between European men and indigenous women were imposed by the imperial powers. It was assumed that men needed an outlet for their sexual energies and prostitution was the preferred one. There was little concern for the rights or health of the women involved, who were blamed for the spread of venereal disease.” Bryder, “Sex, Race, and Colonialism: An Historiographical Review,” *International History Review* 20, no. 4 (December 1998): 821.

¹⁶² AMH, FC I¹ 49-2, Prostitution, Report from the Commissaire Central.

¹⁶³ SHGN, 76E6, 200 Brigade Territoriale de Cany-Barville, report of October 5, 1945.

women being shuttled from town to town—these prostitutes compromise the legacy of the American military presence in Normandy.

AMERICAN HISTORIANS HAVE RIGHTLY celebrated the Normandy invasion as a great moment in the history of World War II. As it has been told by American historians, however, the story has focused too narrowly on military strategy and the day-to-day heroics of the American GI. In Stephen Ambrose's histories of the Normandy campaign, for example, French civilians appear only occasionally at the peripheries of the scene, in reduced roles as bystanders or celebrants of liberation.¹⁶⁴ While it would be impossible to understate the importance of the American military achievement in France, it is also crucial to widen our analytic lens enough to consider the impact of the army's presence on French society. As the new military history has demonstrated, wars cannot be separated from the values and preoccupations of the peoples who fight them. This broader view reveals how sexuality, far from being a minor issue, operated as a site of identity formation for both the Americans and the French at this crucial geopolitical moment. It also reveals the high price paid by the French for liberation, what William Hitchcock has called "the bitter road to freedom."¹⁶⁵ Finally, the U.S. Army's dealings in France reveal not only American moral assumptions about sexuality, but, more importantly, how Americans began to conceive and shape their dominance of Western Europe.

The U.S. insistence on either completely controlling or completely ignoring the effects of GI sexual activity cannot be dismissed in light of the more "primary" demands of the war effort. To do so would be tantamount to either naturalizing male sexual needs or ignoring the war's chronology. In "hotspots" such as Le Havre and the Marne, the troubles associated with prostitution reached their peak *after* the war was won. At bottom, the sexual exploitation of French women during the years 1944–1946 was about the exercise of sheer American power. No less than American victories on the battlefield, such regulation lay at the heart of what the war was all about—the struggle over people and territory. At stake in the control of the French prostitute's body was not only the health of the American GI but also the question of who would manage the mobility, health, and well-being of French civilians. Furthermore, the U.S. military's very visible violation of War Department rules was itself a display of power. French officials were painfully aware of the army's duplicity about sex as well as the fact that its prudery extended only as far as the public back home. By flaunting its disregard for its own sexual and social norms in France, the U.S. Army relayed a potent message concerning its opinion of the French people: that they were hardly worthy of good behavior on the part of the GIs. For their part, the French were all too aware of such moral contempt, and they returned the favor by

¹⁶⁴ Stephen E. Ambrose, *Citizen Soldiers: The U.S. Army from the Normandy Beaches to the Bulge to the Surrender of Germany, June 7, 1944–May 7, 1945* (New York, 1997), 50; Ambrose, *Band of Brothers: E Company, 506th Regiment, 101st Airborne from Normandy to Hitler's Eagle's Nest* (New York, 1992), 73. By contrast, see the more inclusive Olivier Wieviorka, *Histoire du débarquement en Normandie: Des origines à la libération de Paris, 1941–1944* (Paris, 2007); William I. Hitchcock, *The Bitter Road to Freedom: A New History of the Liberation of Europe* (New York, 2008); Hilary Footitt, *War and Liberation in France: Living with the Liberators* (New York, 2004).

¹⁶⁵ Hitchcock, *The Bitter Road to Freedom*.

branding Americans as loud and loutish. Finally, then, the Franco-American struggles over sex force us to dig deeper for the roots of postwar French anti-Americanism.¹⁶⁶ A decade before the 1950s “ugly American,” the salacious GI warranted French scorn for boorish indiscretion.

¹⁶⁶ For the anti-Americanism of the 1950s, see Harvey Levenstein, *We'll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France since 1930* (Chicago, 2004), chap. 8.

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Comrades in the Labor Room:
The Lamaze Method of Childbirth Preparation and
France's Cold War Home Front, 1951–1957

PAULA A. MICHAELS

IN JUNE 1951, SOVIET PROFESSOR A. P. Nikolaev traveled to Paris from Leningrad to participate in the International Congress of Obstetrics and Gynecology, where he gave a presentation on the work that he and others had been doing on the psychoprophylactic method (PPM) of childbirth. Departing from the Western trend toward obstetric anesthetics and analgesics, PPM sought to eliminate or alleviate the pain of childbirth through psychological conditioning, physical training, and education. PPM proponents believed the pain almost universally experienced in normal labor to be psychogenic in origin, the product of social conditioning that led women to anticipate and thereby preordain pain. Women studied patterned breathing techniques to conquer labor pain in two ways. First, building on six weeks of prior training, the use of patterned breathing at the onset of active labor triggered a conditional response of relaxation. Second, a focus on the breath occupied the laboring woman's attention, distracting her from pain and interfering with the reception and interpretation in the cerebral cortex of potentially painful sensations originating in the uterus. Expectant Soviet mothers mastered several breathing patterns, from slow and

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deep to quick and shallow, applicable during different stages of labor and birth. To alleviate anxiety and dispel the notion that pain was a natural and inescapable part of childbirth, in the weeks prior to labor women also received an education in the physiology of pregnancy and childbirth. Instructors supplemented this training with information about comfort measures, such as light massage, and reinforced these skills with the use of suggestion, insisting to their students that normal birth was painless and that Soviet science had now delivered women from this age-old curse.¹

In the audience that day sat Fernand Lamaze, a dapper, jovial, middle-aged Parisian obstetrician who ran a private practice and since 1947 had headed the maternity ward at the Metallurgists' Polyclinic, commonly known as Les Bluets.² Still tantalized by Nikolaev's talk, Lamaze was one of a dozen French doctors who took a three-week trip to the USSR in August 1951 to gain familiarity with advances in Soviet public health and medicine. Along with members of the National Commission of Communist Doctors, an affiliate of the French Communist Party (PCF), sympathetic but unaligned physicians such as Lamaze toured medical facilities in Moscow, Leningrad, and Georgia. Lamaze pressed for an opportunity to go off the official itinerary and witness a birth using psychoprophylaxis. Disappointed at not having seen this highly touted miracle of Soviet science for himself, he threatened to denounce it as a sham and the trip as political posturing. Soviet authorities relented, and two days before his return to France, at Nikolaev's clinic Lamaze witnessed a thirty-five-year-old typist giving birth to her first child, "without pain and with joy."³ In a 1953 interview, he reflected that the laboring woman's "uterine muscle seemed to work amid a body completely slack and relaxed, as if indifferent to the act of childbirth. There was not the least agony in her eyes, not one cry, not one drop of sweat beaded on her brow, not one grimace appeared on her face."⁴ This scene overturned everything he had known about childbirth.

Lamaze's experience in that Soviet maternity ward put him on the road to a medical and political controversy, as he sought to advance the method of childbirth

¹ On PPM, the foundational works are A. P. Nikolaev and I. Z. Vel'vovskii, *Psikhoprofilaktika bolei v rodakh* (Moscow, 1954), available in English as I. Velvovsky, K. Platonov, V. Ploticher, and E. Shugom, *Painless Childbirth through Psychoprophylaxis: Lectures for Obstetricians* (1960; repr., Honolulu, 2003); Fernand Lamaze, *Qu'est-ce que l'accouchement sans douleur?* (Paris, 1956), published in English as *Painless Childbirth: Psychoprophylactic Method* (Chicago, 1956).

² Fernand Lamaze, "Vérités sur l'accouchement sans douleur," *L'Humanité-Dimanche*, August 23, 1953, 6. See also Marianne Caron-Leulliez and Jocelyne George, *L'accouchement sans douleur: Histoire d'une révolution oubliée* (Paris, 2004), 32; Christiane Chotard, "La belle histoire du docteur Lamaze," *La revue des travailleuses* 1, no. 12 (June–July 1953): 15. Les Bluets gets its nickname from its location on rue des Bluets in Paris's eleventh arrondissement. On the history of Les Bluets, see Michel Dreyfus, *Une belle santé: Hôpital des Métallurgistes Pierre Rouquès, 50ème anniversaire de la maternité* (Paris, 1997). For Lamaze's biography, see Caroline Gutmann, *The Legacy of Dr. Lamaze: The Story of the Man Who Changed Childbirth* (New York, 2001).

³ Typescript translation of Fernand Lamaze article from *Les lettres françaises*, July 9–16, 1953, GC/106, Special Collections, Wellcome Library [hereafter cited as WL], London. On Lamaze's trip to the USSR, see also Lamaze, "Vérités sur l'accouchement sans douleur," 6; Fernand Lamaze and Pierre Vellay, "L'accouchement sans douleur," *La semaine médicale* 28, no. 1 (January 2, 1952): 304; "Tu enfanteras dans la joie," *Radar*, January 4, 1953, 10; Lamaze, unpublished typescript, December 19, 1952, Box G, Collection l'Accouchement sans douleur, Archives de l'Union fraternelle de la métallurgie, l'Institut d'histoire sociale CGT de la métallurgie [hereafter cited as UFM], Paris. A brief but detailed summary of Lamaze's trip can be found in Caron-Leulliez and George, *L'accouchement sans douleur*, 33–35.

⁴ Chotard, "La belle histoire du docteur Lamaze," 16.

preparation that would come to bear his name in the United States.⁵ Political considerations of the day, specifically tensions between the French Left and Right in the 1950s, impinged on the promotion of and debates surrounding PPM from Lamaze's return to France in 1951 to his death in 1957. Domestic and international conditions made France uniquely suited to the reception, institutionalization, and dissemination of the Lamaze method, which is today the most well-known and widely practiced childbirth preparation program in the world.⁶ Lamaze's own charismatic personality and sense of mission played a key role in the method's rapid rise, but early backing from Les Bluets's communist administrators and their comrades at the Metallurgical Workers' Union, who recognized the propaganda value of Soviet psychoprophylaxis, was a crucial component, as was grassroots organizing by women on the left. The French communists' embrace of PPM derived from an ideologically driven understanding of it as "a gift from the socialist fatherland, from Soviet science guided by Stalin's genius."⁷ The PCF's battle for French hearts and minds during the Cold War played a determinative role in the triumph of this approach to childbearing at this particular time and place.

International and domestic political rivalries found expression in popular and medical arguments over psychoprophylaxis. The popularity and influence of the PCF primed the French working class to welcome new ideas of Soviet origin, but communist promotion of the psychoprophylactic method did not go unanswered by anticommunists. Tensions between the French Communist Party and centrist and right-

⁵ For the sake of accuracy and simplicity, I have chosen to use the term "psychoprophylactic method" or PPM, the Anglicization of *la méthode psychoprophylactique* (MPP), throughout this text, despite the fact that in most French popular literature and in some medical writing in the 1950s the method was known as "*l'accouchement sans douleur* (l'ASD)," or "painless childbirth." "PPM" conveys none of the high expectations captured by "ASD." Although the term "psychoprophylaxis" was widely used in American medical circles, the approach was popularized in the United States as the "Lamaze method," a term never employed in France. American PPM advocates rechristened it the "Lamaze method" in order to mask the Soviet origins of this psychological approach to obstetric pain relief. Most recent French historiography on the subject, however, continues to use the term "ASD." The most comprehensive study is Caron-Leulliez and George, *L'accouchement sans douleur*. Sociologist Marilène Vuille and political scientist Sandra Fayolle offer particularly balanced and judicious studies that address the French history of PPM. See Vuille, *Accouchement et douleur: Une étude sociologique* (Lausanne, 1998); Vuille, "La naissance de l'accouchement sans douleur," *Revue médicale de la suisse romande* 120, no. 12 (2000): 991–998; Vuille, "Le militantisme en faveur de l'accouchement sans douleur," *Nouvelles questions féministes* 24, no. 3 (2005): 50–67; Fayolle, "L'Union des femmes françaises: Une organisation de masse du Parti communiste français (1945–1965)" (Ph.D. diss., Université Paris-I-Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2005), especially 333–340. For studies of the history of childbirth in France that contextualize PPM, see Yvonne Knibiehler, *La révolution maternelle depuis 1945: Femmes, maternité, citoyenneté* (Paris, 1997); Knibiehler, *Accoucher: Femmes, sage-femmes et médecins depuis le milieu du XXe siècle* (Rennes, 2007); Françoise Thébaud, *Quand nos grand-mères donnaient la vie: La maternité en France dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (Lyon, 1986).

⁶ Largely forgotten in his native France, the Lamaze name and method are well known in the United States. The book that sparked the American Lamaze movement is Marjorie Karmel, *Thank You, Dr. Lamaze: A Mother's Experiences in Painless Childbirth* (Philadelphia, 1959). Surprisingly little has been written about the history of the Lamaze method in the U.S., although broader studies of American childbirth address the subject. See, for example, Richard W. and Dorothy C. Wertz, *Lyng-In: A History of Childbirth in America*, expanded ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1989). On American responses to obstetric pain, see Donald Caton, *What a Blessing She Had Chloroform: The Medical and Social Response to the Pain of Childbirth from 1800 to the Present* (New Haven, Conn., 1999); Margaret Sandelowski, *Pain, Pleasure, and American Childbirth: From the Twilight Sleep to the Read Method, 1914–1960* (Westport, Conn., 1984); Jacqueline H. Wolf, *Deliver Me from Pain: Anesthesia and Birth in America* (Baltimore, 2009).

⁷ Léon Chertok, Isabelle Stengers, and Didier Gille, *Mémoires d'un hérétique* (Paris, 1990), 149.

wing political actors such as the Gaullist Rassemblement du peuple français (RPF) shaped arguments over PPM among medical professionals, journalists, and politicians. Physicians on the left and right debated PPM in ways driven by their respective political agendas. Politicians and the popular press marshaled these arguments to buttress their positions on the state's role in promoting and financing childbirth education as part of the expanding system of universal health care known as *Sécurité sociale*. It is no small irony that virtually all of the players in these heated debates were men.

This is not to say that women were without agency, tossed to and fro on the stormy seas of male-defined realms of politics and medicine. Women activists, particularly those affiliated with or sympathetic to the PCF, were in the vanguard in the promotion of PPM across France. Beginning with the clientele of Lamaze's maternity ward at Les Bluets, working-class women welcomed PPM with enthusiasm. Lamaze and his team turned to women as the foot soldiers in their battle to spread psychoprophylaxis, leaning in particular on the Union des femmes françaises (UFF), a women's organization allied with the PCF. Women spread interest in PPM through published testimonials in leftist organs and by word of mouth to neighbors, friends, and relatives.⁸ However, it was also a topic of discussion in male-dominated spaces: in the newspapers and journals where medical men and politicians hashed out these issues, and among male union and hospital administrators who made their views known in public lectures, private correspondence, and internal hospital memos and minutes.

The Cold War story of PPM in France must be anchored in broader national and international crosscurrents. Historians of Cold War-era gender and family politics elsewhere have highlighted a number of relevant social and political trends. Elaine Tyler May, for example, notes that in the immediate postwar United States, fears of communism found expression in pronatalist public discourse. Childbearing became a signifier of patriotism, as parents served as a bulwark against communism by rearing their children to support American values.⁹ As Robert Moeller points out, the reframing of the family as a battleground for Cold War confrontation was experienced even more acutely in West Germany. In the face of comparatively rapid population growth in communist lands to the east, West German authorities promoted fecundity and patriarchal authority within the family as a safeguard against

⁸ See Paula A. Michaels, "A Chapter from Lamaze History: Birth Stories and Authoritative Knowledge in France, 1951–1957," *Journal of Perinatal Education* 19, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 35–43. Caron-Leuliez and George present the Lamaze method as an expression of resistance to obstetric authority and a radical alternative to conventional birth practices. I argue that this characterization of PPM as a means of feminist empowerment has largely been overestimated, as does Barbara Katz Rothman when she states that the American Society for Psychoprophylaxis in Obstetrics (ASPO), today Lamaze International, "substituted psychological for pharmacological control of pain. While the difference between consciousness and unconsciousness may be all the difference in the world for the mother, from the point of view of the institution that single factor is relatively minor . . . [PPM] certainly poses no threat to the control of birth by obstetricians." Rothman, *In Labor: Women and Power in the Birthplace* (New York, 1982), 90. PPM's primary benefit arguably lay in the perceived restoration of dignity to childbearing, even if promises of a painless birth were often unmet. Historian Sylvie Chaperon observes that "descriptions of smiling and relaxed parturients were often too good to be true, but psychoprophylaxis took into consideration women's suffering and refused to accept it as inevitable. The laboring woman rediscovered her dignity." Chaperon, *Les années Beauvoir, 1945–1970* (Paris, 2000), 125.

⁹ Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, rev. ed. (New York, 2008), 130–142.



FIGURE 1: A couple practicing Lamaze techniques during childbirth preparation class, ca. 1970s. Courtesy of the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.

the red menace.¹⁰ The meaning of pronatalist and familialist measures in postwar France departed in significant ways from those of West Germany and the United States. Postwar French pronatalism and familialism had less to do with Cold War considerations than with longstanding French fears of depopulation, but the Cold War figured prominently in why, of all available paths to obstetric pain relief, PPM rose to prominence.

PSYCHOPROPHYLAXIS INITIALLY DEVELOPED in a postwar Soviet climate of material impoverishment and ideological restriction. While Soviet obstetricians were aware of and supported the use of modern pharmacological pain relief during labor and birth, the Soviet pharmaceutical industry lagged far behind the nation's needs, and in an atmosphere of fiscal constraint, there was no hope that the situation would improve in the near future. Success using hypnosis to alleviate labor pain had impressed psychologists and obstetricians, but personnel limitations, particularly in rural areas, made this option impractical on a mass scale. Working in the Ukrainian city of Kharkov (present-day Kharkiv), psychologist I. Z. Vel'vovskii developed psychoprophylaxis to address the problem of obstetric pain while circumventing the faltering Soviet pharmaceutical industry and the shortage of well-trained medical personnel. PPM was only one of several approaches to obstetric pain relief circulating in the USSR in the late 1940s. Overshadowing equally or more efficacious

¹⁰ Robert G. Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 76–108.



FIGURE 2: Photo of I. Z. Vel'vovskii, ca. 1946. Courtesy of Kharkovskaia meditsinskaia akademiia poslediplomnogo obrazovaniia (KhMAPO).

methods, including the pharmacological means that most obstetricians preferred, it became standard practice nationally in 1951 for two reasons. First, it could be disseminated without major investment in either the pharmaceutical industry or the medical educational system. Second, it found explanatory power in Ivan Pavlov's theory of conditional response. In the midst of the Cold War, when the Communist Party and Soviet state demanded uncompromising loyalty, Pavlov represented a homegrown Soviet alternative to anything linked to Western, capitalist medicine.¹¹

¹¹ On the development of Soviet psychoprophylaxis, see Paula A. Michaels, "Childbirth Pain Relief and the Soviet Origins of the Lamaze Method," NCEEER Working Paper, October 16, 2007, 1–31; John D. Bell, "Giving Birth to the New Soviet Man: Politics and Obstetrics in the USSR," *Slavic Review* 40, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 1–16. On Pavlovian dogmatism, see Ethan Pollock, *Stalin and the Soviet Science Wars* (Princeton, N.J., 2006), 136–167.

The mid-century French context in which psychoprophylaxis developed differed markedly from the Soviet setting in terms of fiscal, personnel, and political considerations. Although pharmacological pain relief was less widely used than in Anglo-American obstetric practice, it was known and on the rise in urban postwar France. French women utilized a variety of anesthetics and analgesics administered by injection, inhalation, or suppository and selected on the basis of the obstetrician's personal preference and experience. French women and their obstetricians rarely resorted to twilight sleep, induced by an amnesic cocktail of scopolamine and morphine and widely used among middle- and upper-class white American women. From the 1930s, France moved increasingly toward "managed labor" (*l'accouchement dirigé*), which endorsed obstetric intervention to promote the progress of labor and to control the parturient's experience of pain. However, the prevalence of obstetric anesthetics and analgesics should not be overstated. In contrast to Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, anesthesiology remained an underdeveloped part of the medical curriculum in France and a rare specialty among French doctors, even as a wide range of drugs and techniques for their administration were available.¹² Beyond its limited use, two factors dimmed celebration of French women's liberation from labor pain. First, all available drugs carried potentially hazardous side effects, including anoxia, a reduction of oxygen to the fetus. Second, when women were unconscious or numbed, they were less able to participate actively in the births of their children, and they were increasingly dissatisfied with their childbirth experiences. A dramatic decline in maternal and infant mortality freed the medical community to turn a new level of attention to the question of obstetric pain, while the baby boom imparted a sense of urgency to this problem.¹³ The drawbacks of available pharmacopeia combined with growing maternal dissatisfaction to elevate interest in new means of childbirth pain management among obstetricians, Dr. Lamaze included.

France's longstanding concern with mind-body medicine contributed to the medical community's and the nation's readiness to accept the efficacy of a psychological approach to labor pain management. Mind-body medicine encompassed a range of theories about and approaches to the interaction of psychological phenomena and bodily functions, in France most famously investigated by Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893).¹⁴ Lamaze himself expressed an early interest in mind-body medicine

¹² See Jules Regnault, *Maternité sans douleur: Comment accoucher normalement sans douleur* (Paris, 1945), 171–224; Thébaud, *Quand nos grand-mères donnaient la vie*, 249–275. No cumulative interwar statistics quantify the extent of drug use for obstetric pain relief, which Thébaud suggests hints at its infrequent application. *Ibid.*, 262.

¹³ Writing in 1954, Dr. Marc Rivière and Dr. Léo Chastrusse observed that with the sharp decline of maternal mortality in the postwar years, "contemporary doctors seek to alleviate the last burden that weighs on childbirth. Making it painless becomes a legitimate and pressing objective." Rivière and Chastrusse, "La douleur en obstétrique," *Revue française de gynécologie et d'obstétrique* 49, nos. 9–10 (September–October 1954): 267. The decline in French maternal mortality began well before the development of antibiotics, with greater attention to asepsis and the segregation of maternity patients from the general hospital population. Mary Lynn Stewart, *For Health and Beauty: Physical Culture for Frenchwomen, 1880s–1930s* (Baltimore, 2001), 128–129.

¹⁴ One sees evidence of the attraction to and interest in mind-body medicine in, for example, the French medical community's and general public's early and strong fascination with hypnotism. See Anne Harrington, *The Cure Within: A History of Mind-Body Medicine* (New York, 2008), 53–62. For background on the precursors to hypnosis in France, see also John Warne Monroe, *Laboratories of Faith: Mesmerism, Spiritualism, and Occultism in Modern France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2008). Nineteenth-century

through his studies of hypnotism and suggestion with Charcot's rival Hippolyte Bernheim (1840–1919).¹⁵ Broadly speaking, twentieth-century thinking on questions of mind-body medicine developed in two directions. Stressing the role of the neurological system in human behavior, one school of thought derived from the work of Pavlov. A second school emerged around Sigmund Freud's understanding of the psyche. Pavlov's investigations into conditional and unconditional response were well-known and well-respected in France, and complemented the work of his French contemporary Charles Richet (1850–1935).¹⁶ With its emphasis on the role of the central nervous system, this materialist approach to human behavior became orthodoxy in Joseph Stalin's USSR, and French communist psychiatrists in the early years of the Cold War were enthusiastic in support of their ideological mentors.¹⁷ Simultaneously, French interest in psychoanalysis grew as Freud built on and popularized the theories of native son Pierre Janet (1859–1947).¹⁸ Feuds and organizational fragmentation wracked French psychoanalytic circles even as the field's reputation and reach expanded after World War II.¹⁹ With its epicenter in the United

French interest in the mind-body connection, particularly with respect to women, is also evident in the fact that more than 20 percent of psychiatric dissertations in France explored the question of "hysteria." See Mark S. Micale, "On the 'Disappearance' of Hysteria: A Study in the Clinical Deconstruction of a Diagnosis," *Isis* 84, no. 3 (September 1993): 497.

¹⁵ Gutmann, *The Legacy of Dr. Lamaze*, 29. On Bernheim and the Nancy School, see Leon Chertok and Raymond de Saussure, *The Therapeutic Revolution: From Mesmer to Freud*, trans. R. H. Ahrenfeldt (New York, 1979), 36–49.

¹⁶ On Richet, see Stewart Wolf, *Brain, Mind, and Medicine: Charles Richet and the Origins of Physiological Psychology* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1993). Indicative of French admiration for Pavlov's work, the Sorbonne awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1925. G. I. Liubina, "Osnovnye napravleniia sotrudnichestva sovetsskikh i frantsuzskikh uchenykh v 20–30 gg. XX v.," *Voprosy istorii estestvoznaniia i tekhniki* 5, no. 3 (1985): 125.

¹⁷ On Freudianism's fate in Russia and the USSR, see Martin A. Miller, *Freud and the Bolsheviks: Psychoanalysis in Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union* (New Haven, Conn., 1998); Alexander Etkind, *Eros of the Impossible: History of Psychoanalysis in Russia* (Boulder, Colo., 1997). For a comprehensive survey, see David Joravsky, *Russian Psychology: A Critical History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). For a useful discussion of Freudian and Pavlovian strains of psychosomatic medicine on both sides of the Iron Curtain, see L. Chertok, "Psychoprophylaxie ou psychothérapie obstétricale: Évolution des théories sur l'accouchement sans douleur," *Revue de médecine psychosomatique* 3, no. 4 (1961): 5–15; Chertok, "Psychosomatic Medicine in the West and in Eastern European Countries," *Psychosomatic Medicine* 31, no. 6 (November–December 1969): 510–521.

¹⁸ Before World War II, France's resistance to ideas generated beyond its borders left Freudianism underdeveloped compared to the rest of Western Europe. In 1914, Freud commented that "among European countries France has hitherto shown itself the least disposed to welcome psychoanalysis." Sigmund Freud, "On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement," in James Strachey, general ed., *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, 24 vols. (London, 1975), 14: 32, quoted in Marion Michel Olinier, *Cultivating Freud's Garden in France* (Northvale, N.J., 1988), 21. In addition to Olinier, on the early history of French psychology, see Chertok and de Saussure, *The Therapeutic Revolution*. For a concise history of French psychoanalysis, see Alain de Mijolla, "La psychoanalyse en France (1893–1965)," in R. Jaccard, ed., *Histoire de la psychoanalyse*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1982), 2: 9–105. Translated by Ruth Hoffman in an abbreviated version as "France (1893–1965)," in Peter Kutter, ed., *Psychoanalysis International*, vol. 1: *Europe* (Stuttgart, 1992), 66–113.

¹⁹ The intellectual and cultural reach of Jacques Lacan (1901–1981) speaks to the vitality of postwar French psychoanalysis, but its clinical practice developed amid a theoretical and methodological pluralism uncharacteristic of the relatively more uniform British and U.S. professional communities. Testimony to the cumulative and enduring impact of Janet, Freud, and Lacan, France at the end of the twentieth century had more psychoanalysts per capita than any other country in the world. Elisabeth Roudinesco, "Psychoanalysis," in Lawrence D. Kritzman, Brian J. Reilly, and M. B. DeBevoise, eds., *The Columbia History of Twentieth-Century French Thought*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (New York, 2006), 100–101.

States, psychosomatic medicine married Freudian psychoanalytic concepts to the diagnosis and treatment of physical ailments, an approach that made modest inroads in France over the course of the 1950s but gained significant ground only at the decade's end. In fact, clinical practice and theoretical work on mind-body dynamics were far messier than the clear categories presented here would suggest. Pavlov and Freud themselves recognized mutual points of agreement, though their followers at times distorted their contributions with excessive dogmatism.²⁰

PPM became the most popular psychological method of obstetric pain relief, but it was not the first to arrive on French soil. The Soviet psychoprophylactic approach endorsed by Lamaze bore a striking resemblance to Natural Childbirth (NC), or the Read method, developed in the 1930s and 1940s by British obstetrician Grantly Dick-Read.²¹ To anyone not invested in the promotion of one or the other method, they appeared almost indistinguishable, as both emphasized measured breathing and preparatory education to dispel what Dick-Read famously termed the "fear-tension-pain cycle." Both Dick-Read and Vel'vovskii asserted that pain during a normal labor was entirely psychogenic in origin. PPM training placed greater stress on conditioned muscular relaxation, while the Read method accentuated the impact of didactic preparation to eliminate fear, and light exercise to condition the body for the rigors of labor. Dick-Read's work had been known in France since he gave a lecture in Paris in 1938, and his method had been practiced in a few Parisian maternity wards since 1949. For Lamaze, who was familiar with NC, knowledge of Dick-Read's work may have contributed to his openness to a psychological approach to labor pain management, even though he had remained skeptical about NC's efficacy.²² Differences in tone may have been one reason why Dick-Read's method failed to win more adherents, despite its arrival in France prior to Soviet psychoprophylaxis. His work never displayed the scientific trappings that his colleagues expected from medical research. He grounded his claims in little more than anecdotal evidence and his Christian worldview, which left Lamaze and other French obstetricians unconvinced.²³ By contrast, PPM's French and Soviet promoters made their ideas more

²⁰ For an excellent summary of the points of agreement between Pavlov and Freud and some possible ideological sources for emphasizing the differences, see Lawrence S. Kubie, "Pavlov, Freud, and Soviet Psychiatry," *Behavioral Science* 4, no. 1 (January 1959): 29–34. During his residency in the U.S., French psychoanalyst Léon Chertok worked with Lawrence Kubie, whose effort to reconcile Pavlovian psychophysiology with Freudian psychoanalysis is evident in Chertok's critiques of the mechanical application of Pavlovian concepts to legitimate PPM and in his effort to reframe psychoprophylaxis in terms of psychosomatic medicine. See Chertok, *Psychosomatic Methods in Painless Childbirth: History, Theory and Practice*, trans. Denis Leigh (New York, 1959); Chertok, *Motherhood and Personality: Psychosomatic Aspects of Childbirth*, trans. D. Graham (London, 1969).

²¹ Dick-Read's classic text is *Childbirth without Fear: The Principles and Practice of Natural Childbirth* (London, 1943). The 1943 book expanded on ideas initially laid out in Grantly Dick-Read, *Natural Childbirth* (London, 1933). For a hagiographic work on Dick-Read, see A. Noyes Thomas, *Doctor Courageous: The Story of Dr. Grantly Dick-Read* (New York, 1957). See also Mary Thomas, *Post-War Mothers: Childbirth Letters to Grantly Dick-Read, 1946–1956* (Rochester, N.Y., 1997); Sandelowski, *Pain, Pleasure, and American Childbirth*, 85–138.

²² Chotard, "La belle histoire du docteur Lamaze," 16; Colette Jeanson, *Principes et pratique de l'accouchement sans douleur* (Paris, 1954), 22; F. Lamaze, "L'accouchement sans douleur par la méthode psycho-prophylactique," January 1955, Box J-2, UFM.

²³ For example, in the author's note to the 1953 French translation of *Childbirth without Fear*, Dick-Read romanticizes how "the calm strength and indomitable determination of the natural forces of reproduction" have the potential "to lead the human spirit toward fundamental truth and a greater understanding of the omnipotent but invisible forces of the Universe." Grantly Dick-Read, *L'accouchement*

palatable by couching their findings in the widely respected theories of Pavlov and presenting their results in the form that medical men had come to expect and respect: statistics laid out in tables, charts, and graphs.

France's preoccupation with its declining birth rate also worked to ready the medical community, politicians, and the general public to receive the PPM approach. As Susan Weiner notes, "pronatalism had been a lynchpin of every [French] government from the post-World War I period on, whatever the ideological differences were in other areas," but its roots can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century.²⁴ Anxiety over the precipitously declining birth rate came to the political foreground after defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) and remained a cause of concern throughout the Third Republic (1870–1940). With wary eyes cast eastward, the French fretted over the connection between military strength and population growth.²⁵ Devastating demographic losses during World War I exacerbated French fear of the dropping birth rate and a perceived degeneration of the population's quality. Like other European states during the interwar era, France enacted a range of legislative measures intended to encourage women to have larger families and become stay-at-home mothers. Beginning in 1920, the French government attempted to elevate the social status of mothers of large families by awarding medals for their patriotic service. Over the next two decades, punishments for abortion intensified, contraception was banned, and the state began to fund monetary subsidies to workers with children.²⁶ After France's swift fall to Nazi Germany, Vichy leader Marshal Pétain drove home his understanding of the link between national defense and population decline, famously attributing the loss to "too few children."²⁷ In 1945, Charles de Gaulle echoed Pétain when he called for French women to serve their country by bearing 12 million babies within a decade. A postwar baby boom did nothing to alleviate French fears of depopulation, and benefits for stay-at-home mothers and

sans douleurs: *Les principes et la pratique de l'accouchement naturel*, trans. Jean-Marc Vaillant (Paris, 1953), viii.

²⁴ Susan Weiner, *Enfants Terribles: Youth and Femininity in the Mass Media in France, 1945–1968* (Baltimore, 2001), 23.

²⁵ The literature on French pronatalism and familialism is vast, but for a brief, excellent study that explains well the varied strains of thinking on the subject, see Karen Offen, "Depopulation, Nationalism, and Feminism in Fin-de-Siècle France," *American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (June 1984): 648–676. See also William H. Schneider, *Quality and Quantity: The Quest for Biological Regeneration in Twentieth-Century France* (Cambridge, 2002).

²⁶ Karen Offen, "Body Politics: Women, Work and the Politics of Motherhood in France, 1920–1950," in Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, eds., *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s–1950s* (London, 1991), 138–159; Antoine Prost, "L'évolution de la politique familiale en France de 1938 à 1981," *Le Mouvement social* 129 (October–December 1984): 7–28; Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago, 1994), especially 89–147; Cheryl A. Koos, "Gender, Anti-Individualism, and Nationalism: The Alliance Nationale and the Pronatalist Backlash against the Femme Moderne, 1933–1940," *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 699–723; Knibiehler, *La révolution maternelle depuis 1945*, 26–29.

²⁷ H. P. Pétain, "Appel du 20 juin" (1940), in Pétain, *Le Maréchal vous parle . . . : Recueil des discours et allocutions prononcés par le maréchal Pétain, chef de l'état du 16 juin au 31 décembre 1940* (Le Mans, 1941), unpaginated, cited in Offen, "Body Politics," 154 n. 6. During World War II, racist and eugenicist ideas that had long circulated in France gained new prominence in debates over demographic revival, but Vichy's fall, Germany's defeat, and revelations of Nazi atrocities largely discredited such thinking. Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France* (Chicago, 1998); Francine Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine: A Contribution to a Political Sociology of Gender*, trans. Kathleen A. Johnson (Durham, N.C., 2001).

those with large families grew during the Fourth Republic (1946–1958).²⁸ Only in the 1960s and 1970s, when birth control and abortion became legal, did the national consensus on pronatalism give way to women's right to control their own bodies.²⁹

Political and economic pressures from both the East and West fed demographic anxiety and sparked French security concerns in the postwar era. In the U.S. and West Germany, pronatalist and familialist policies came bundled with anticommunist rhetoric, but in France these efforts transcended Cold War ideological boundaries. To much of the French public and political leadership in the 1950s, American military, economic, and cultural might appeared a far more imminent threat than Soviet invasion. Even conservative elements of French society worried about succumbing to U.S. economic and cultural domination, or coca-colonization.³⁰ Fears of a blooming trade deficit with the U.S., the English bastardization of the French language, and the penetration of American consumerism caused alarm. For the Right, bearing more children and raising them in ways that sustained national pride and a distinct national identity became a means of staving off this American economic and cultural threat.

Leftist intellectuals and PCF loyalists shared the Right's antipathy toward the U.S., while their political concerns about U.S. militarism and virulent anticommunism compounded these cultural and economic worries. No less than the Right, the French Left embraced postwar pronatalist and familialist policies, which they endorsed as an antidote to neo-Malthusian fears of overpopulation among the poor and working class.³¹ Such notions had a long history in France, and the perception of them as Anglo-American imports, like Freudian psychosomatic medicine and Dick-Read's *Natural Childbirth*, did little to endear them to those on either the left or the right. The PCF objected to neo-Malthusianism as a tactic to undermine the numerical strength and political power of the working class. Rather than curb population growth among workers, the PCF advocated "the right to motherhood," guaranteed through the state's provision of social and financial resources to enable women of all classes to have as many children as they desired.³² It was in this at-

²⁸ Claire Duchen, *Women's Rights and Women's Lives in France, 1944–1968* (London, 1994), 103; Prost, "L'évolution de la politique familiale." On more recent French incarnations of pronatalism, see Leslie King, "'France Needs Children': Pronatalism, Nationalism, and Women's Equality," *Sociological Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 33–52, which examines this question in France in the 1980s.

²⁹ A 1967 law gave women the right to contraception, and in 1975 abortion became legal in France. See Marie-Françoise Lévy, "Le mouvement français pour le planning familial et les jeunes," *Histoire des femmes, histoire des genres*, Special Issue, *Vingtième siècle: Revue d'histoire*, no. 75 (July–September 2002): 75–84; Claire Duchen, *Feminism in France: From May '68 to Mitterrand* (London, 1986), 49–66.

³⁰ See Richard F. Kuisel, *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), especially 52–69.

³¹ The Left had a history of resistance to neo-Malthusianism in the interwar era. See Offen, "Body Politics."

³² Knibiehler, *La révolution maternelle depuis 1945*, 131; Prost, "L'évolution de la politique familiale," 10–15. Only a small number of vocal opponents on the left, most notably through the organization Happy Motherhood (*Heureuse maternité*), broke with the French consensus on pronatalism and familialism in the 1950s. Dr. Marie-Andrée Lagroua Weill-Hallé, who happened to have been among the communist doctors and fellow travelers who, along with Dr. Lamaze, went to the USSR in 1951, led Happy Motherhood in its opposition to the PCF's position against birth control. According to Fayolle, the UFF remained silent in the 1950s on the question of birth control and abortion, perhaps in an effort to avoid a split within the organization between proponents and opponents. Fayolle, "L'Union des femmes françaises," 251–353; Chaperon, *Les années Beauvoir*, 247–252; Duchen, *Women's Rights and Women's Lives*, 109–110, 119–127.

mosphere that PPM arrived on the scene. A baby boom, a national obsession with demographic decline, dissatisfaction with available obstetric pharmacopeia, and openness to psychological approaches to pain management all served to make France circa 1951 the right place and time to receive a new psychological approach to pain relief in childbirth. The PCF's close contacts with the Soviet Union provided the opportunity for the transmission of ideas, while the desire to showcase the achievements of the Soviet workers' state played a decisive role in leading French communists to promote this particular method.

WHEN LAMAZE RETURNED TO FRANCE from his 1951 Soviet sojourn, he came back with a convert's zeal to spread the word about psychoprophylaxis. He reported at Les Bluets that what would come to be widely known as *l'accouchement sans douleur* (ASD) in France and the Lamaze method in the U.S. had "drastically changed the conditions of childbirth in the Soviet Union." Trumpeting Soviet success at significantly reducing pain for between 86 and 92 percent of parturients, he stressed that "there is nothing specifically Russian about this method. It . . . could be applied everywhere . . . Childbirth will be only a source of happiness and joy when all the world's women know the enviable lot of their Soviet sisters."³³ He echoed leftist internationalism, emphasizing the method's universality and simultaneously making his case for its relevance for the French. Lamaze initially recruited fellow obstetrician Pierre Vellay and kinesiologist André Bourrel to establish a psychoprophylactic obstetric practice at Les Bluets. In February 1952, Les Bluets became the first maternity ward in the West to utilize this Soviet approach to childbirth preparation and birth.³⁴

The immediate financial and organizational support that Lamaze received for PPM makes sense only in the context of where and with whom he worked. The Union of Metallurgical Workers' Syndicates of the Paris Region (USTMRP, or simply USTM), a constituent member of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), supported the Metallurgists' Polyclinic. PCF members ran the USTM and made up much of its rank and file. The PCF was the party of France's working class in the 1950s, and although it was not as powerful as it had been in the immediate wake of World War II, it remained an influential player in French politics and in the union movement. Never a PCF member, Lamaze had worked with communists in the Resistance. After the war, he was sympathetic to their cause, but to call him a fellow traveler would be to overstate his loyalties. As his granddaughter later wrote, "he felt out of place with the Communists, though he worked with them."³⁵ Irrespective of the depth of Lamaze's political allegiance, communist administrators at Les Bluets embraced his turn toward PPM with enthusiasm, touting the USSR as a beacon of

³³ "Déclaration du docteur Lamaze à son retour d'un voyage d'études médicales en URSS," 1951, Box H, UFM.

³⁴ Caron-Leulliez and George, *L'accouchement sans douleur*, 50–53.

³⁵ Gutmann, *The Legacy of Dr. Lamaze*, 187. PCF colleagues at Les Bluets considered him "not only a man of rare honesty and dedication, but a Communist who lacks only the [membership] card." Lacour, Lefebvre, Bourgon, and Devoret to "Dear Comrade," undated [early 1953] letter, Box B, UFM. Caron-Leulliez and George date this letter to February or March 1953; *L'accouchement sans douleur*, 125. Despite a paucity of evidence, they emphasize Lamaze's links to and sympathy with the PCF; *ibid.*, 28.



FIGURE 3: Les Bluets, a.k.a. Pierre Rouquès Metallurgists' Polyclinic, home to Lamaze's maternity ward. Courtesy of Archives de l'Union fraternelle de la métallurgie, l'Institut d'histoire sociale CGT de la métallurgie.

progressive, humane medical advances and rallying support among working-class women.

PPM linked communist doctors, hospital administrators, and union officials with a worldwide movement for psychoprophylaxis that had its capital in Moscow. Communication and an exchange of medical knowledge flowed between the maternity

staff at Les Bluets and obstetricians working on psychoprophylaxis in Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, and elsewhere in Eastern Europe during the mid-1950s.³⁶ Such professional connections would have been all but unthinkable for an American doctor at the time. In 1955, in the wake of France's defeat in the French Indochina War (1946–1954), Les Bluets's director and PCF member François Le Guay traveled to Vietnam as part of a Mouvement de la Paix delegation.³⁷ While there he spoke to physicians about psychoprophylaxis, and following his visit he had Lamaze send a copy of a PPM educational film, as well as instructional materials and copies of his most recent article.³⁸ For the USSR, the method's homeland, PPM supported the message that the Soviet Union was a world leader in medical innovation and the proponent of a more just form of medicine than the United States offered. France's communist physicians sought to do their part to spread this narrative of Soviet benevolence both at home and abroad.

In order to promote professional knowledge of the Left's progressive medical and public health agenda and new Soviet medical practices, a group of communist doctors launched the journal *Revue de la nouvelle médecine*, which ran from 1953 to 1957. Much of the first issue was devoted to the discussion of psychoprophylaxis, including an article by Lamaze and Vellay.³⁹ However, a piece on Pavlov's work most vividly captures the ways that ideological and political considerations informed medical discourse on PPM.⁴⁰ For French psychiatrists on the left, the method's legitimation on the grounds of Pavlovian psychophysiology dovetailed with an anti-Freudian, pro-Pavlovian perspective inspired by ideological sympathy with the USSR. As Elisabeth Roudinesco puts it, French communist psychiatrists sought to "kill two birds with a single stone, refuting simultaneously Vienna and Coca-Cola" with their advocacy of Pavlov over Freud.⁴¹

At issue in the article penned by PCF member and Les Bluets neuropsychiatrist René Angelergues is the antagonism between Pavlov's psychophysiology and Freudian psychosomatic medicine. Angelergues links Stalinist denunciations of Freudianism as a tool of American exploitation to advocacy of Soviet psychoprophylaxis.⁴² He opposes Pavlov's materialist emphasis on the role of the neurological system to intangible "psychoanalytic myths," such as "the psyche" and "the personality."⁴³ He asserts that, built on the foundation of Freudian psychoanalysis, psychosomatic medicine is "dictated by political necessities and part of the ideological struggle of imperialism; cloaked in apparent science, it . . . justifies and allows [human] oppression."⁴⁴ "An instrument of political imperialism," psychosomatic medicine was

³⁶ See correspondence, Box J-2, UFM.

³⁷ Le Mouvement de la Paix is a French pacifist organization founded in 1948 and allied with the PCF.

³⁸ F. Lamaze to Ho Dac Di, Doyen, Faculté de Médecine, Hanoi, April 26, 1955, Box J-1, UFM.

³⁹ F. Lamaze and P. Vellay, "Considérations sur l'accouchement sans douleur par la méthode psycho-physique: Travail de la maternité de la Polyclinique des métallurgistes," *Revue de la nouvelle médecine* 1, no. 1 (June 1953): 71–77.

⁴⁰ René Angelergues, "Introduction à l'étude de Pavlov: L'activité nerveuse supérieure base de la pathologie cortico-viscérale," *Revue de la nouvelle médecine* 1, no. 1 (June 1953): 33–60.

⁴¹ Elisabeth Roudinesco, *Jacques Lacan & Co.: A History of Psychoanalysis in France, 1925–1985*, trans. Jeffrey Mehlman (Chicago, 1990), 180.

⁴² On the rejection of Freud by French communist psychiatrists, see *ibid.*, 180–185.

⁴³ Angelergues, "Introduction à l'étude de Pavlov," 35, 36.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

promoted first and foremost, and not coincidentally, by American psychoanalysts.⁴⁵ By contrast, Soviet Pavlovian psychophysiology lent itself not only to individual therapeutic work, but to application in the kind of concerted state-sponsored social engineering endorsed and practiced by the Soviet regime.

The dogmatic Pavlovianism evident in communist medical journals extended on occasion to clinical practice. In January 1953, Victor Lafitte, the neuropsychiatrist on Lamaze's team, accused Lamaze of erring in his application of Pavlovian principles in PPM training. Lafitte asserted that under Lamaze's supervision, kinesiologist Bourrel devoted too much attention to physical, rather than psychological, conditioning. Perhaps Lafitte offered this particular critique as an oblique denunciation of Bourrel's approach as leaning uncomfortably close to Dick-Read's *Natural Childbirth*. Les Bluets's chief of staff and others countered that Lafitte's charges consisted of only bold but vague and unsubstantiated accusations.⁴⁶ Lafitte's ostentatious devotion to Pavlovianism and his excessive interest in Lamaze's faithful and mechanical adherence to his Soviet mentors failed to win the day.⁴⁷ He remained at Les Bluets, but was removed from Lamaze's team and replaced by Angelergues.

Beyond doctrinal struggles within leftist medical circles, the communist popular press sparked interest in psychoprophylaxis among the general public and linked the method with a broader political agenda. No organization proved more useful in this task than the UFF, with its weekly organ *Femmes françaises* and the monthly magazine *Heures claires des femmes françaises* acting as the primary means by which Les Bluets communicated the development of PPM in France to women on the left. A flurry of articles on PPM appeared, especially from 1954 to 1956, next to the kinds of homemaking tips, recipes, and sewing patterns one might find in any women's magazine of the day. A mere month after Lamaze's return from the USSR, his experience was the cover story in *Femmes françaises*.⁴⁸ Working closely with representatives of Les Bluets and the Metallurgical Workers' Union, the UFF launched a grassroots campaign for PPM.⁴⁹ Lamaze himself described the UFF's role as "primary in the battle that we are engaged in" to promote psychoprophylaxis.⁵⁰

The collaboration between Lamaze and the UFF at times proved uneasy. In the fall of 1954, the UFF published a series of nine articles that chronicled the story of Les Bluets patient Isabelle Barontini's journey from her first childbirth preparation class to her baby's birth using PPM.⁵¹ In letters to *Femmes françaises*, the UFF, and

⁴⁵ Ibid., 39.

⁴⁶ Lacour, Lefebvre, Bourgon, and Devoret to "Dear Comrade," Box B, UFM. The incident with Lafitte is well summarized in Caron-Leulliez and George, *L'accouchement sans douleur*, 114.

⁴⁷ On Lafitte's vocal criticism of Freudianism and faith in Pavlovian psychoneurology, see Roudinesco, *Jacques Lacan & Co.*, 187.

⁴⁸ A banner across the cover announced the first interview with Dr. Lamaze with the words "In the Soviet Union: I Saw a Woman Give Birth without Pain," no doubt an eye-catching lead story for the magazine's female readership. In his interview with *Femmes françaises* editor and UFF activist Jeannette Coutant, Lamaze recounts his trip to the USSR, explains the basic principles of psychoprophylaxis, describes the training schedule and maternity facilities in the Soviet Union, and lays out his aspirations for the widespread application of the method in France. Coutant, "J'ai vu une femme accoucher sans douleur," *Femmes françaises*, October 13, 1951, 12–13.

⁴⁹ "Orientation de l'action des femmes pour la diffusion de l'accouchement sans douleur," memo to USTM Secretariat, n.d. [1953 or 1954], Box B, UFM.

⁵⁰ F. Lamaze to Raymond Guyot, Fédération de Paris du Parti communiste français, October 23, 1954, Box B, UFM.

⁵¹ Isabelle Barontini, "Le journal d'une accouchée sans douleur," *Femmes françaises*, October 2,



FIGURE 4: Cover of *Heures claires* magazine, March 9, 1957.

the PCF, Lamaze criticized the articles for misinforming readers about both the process of labor and the psychoprophylactic technique. Railing against the imprecision of the fourth installment, he estimated the errors to be so egregious as to necessitate a complete rewrite. Lamaze expressed deep disappointment with Barontini and her editors, writing, "I am shocked to encounter such unwillingness from friends to comply with demands [for accuracy] that we have no trouble imposing on publications far from our ideas."⁵² Lamaze expected the leftist political orientation of the UFF and its organ to translate into particularly sympathetic and faithful reporting on psychoprophylaxis. He went on to assert that accuracy was essential, not only to convey information properly to the general public, but to deny opponents within the medical community the grounds to critique PPM. He insisted that *Femmes françaises* publish a statement that would make it clear that Les Bluets did not endorse these articles and that Bourrel's May 1954 article in *Revue de la nouvelle médecine* constituted the only accurate published summary of PPM preparatory courses.⁵³ Women's birth stories were useful tools of persuasion, but when Barontini went off script, her testimony was no longer welcome. In redirecting *Femmes françaises* readers away from her testimonial to Bourrel's article, Lamaze tried to trump the experience of women as medical consumers with the professional authority of medical men.

Lamaze's effort to put the UFF women in their place fell flat. The editors of *Femmes françaises* did not comply with any part of his demands, despite the fact that he had attempted to pressure them by bringing the dispute to the attention of the secretary-general of the PCF's Paris section.⁵⁴ In a letter to Lamaze, UFF general secretary Claudine Chomat expressed her shock at the tone and content of his letter and took issue with his accusations of enmity on the part of the union. Chomat seems subtly to threaten him, saying, "it would be a pity if a democratic organization such as the UFF, which encompasses 200,000 women, were not active in the cause of PPM, about which women are passionate."⁵⁵ Her assertive yet conciliatory tone by and large placated Lamaze's concerns. She suggested that UFF representatives meet with him at the Metallurgical Workers' Union headquarters, and he expressed his agreement.⁵⁶ The continued appearance of pro-PPM articles in UFF publications indicates that Lamaze and the UFF set aside their differences in recognition of the mutual benefit of their collaboration.

The UFF in the mid-1950s went beyond the pages of its publications to stir interest in PPM at the provincial level and accelerate the method's expansion. Reports came in from every corner of France of women gathering in groups of from ten or twenty to several hundred to discuss the method and ways to promote it locally.⁵⁷

1954, 8–9; October 9, 1954, 16–17; October 16, 1954, 6–7; October 23, 1954, 12–13; October 30, 1954, 19; November 6, 1954, 16; November 13, 1954, 8; November 20, 1954, 7; November 27, 1954, 7.

⁵² F. Lamaze to Director, *Femmes françaises*, Paris, October 22, 1954, Box B, UFM.

⁵³ Ibid. The article to which Lamaze referred is A. Bourrel, "Les cours préparatoires," *Revue de la nouvelle médecine* 1, no. 3 (May 1954): 33–62.

⁵⁴ F. Lamaze to R. Guyot, October 23, 1954, Box B, UFM.

⁵⁵ C. Chomat to F. Lamaze, October 27, 1954, *ibid.*

⁵⁶ F. Lamaze to R. Guyot, October 29, 1954, *ibid.* On conflict between Lamaze and Chomat, see Caron-Leulliez and George, *L'accouchement sans douleur*, 115.

⁵⁷ "Accoucher sans douleur," *Femmes françaises*, May 27, 1954, 19; "Pour qu'ils naissent dans la soie

UFF chapters circulated letters and petitions demanding the release of funds to support PPM instruction, while at the same time pressing midwives and obstetricians to offer preparatory courses.⁵⁸ In 1955, the UFF sponsored a national Day of Psychoprophylaxis, with local chapters organizing educational events across France, while in Paris it held a conference that brought together physicians, midwives, and new mothers trained in PPM. Events were held in fifty-seven of the ninety-five departments in metropolitan France. The union also published a sixty-three-page inexpensive, accessibly written PPM brochure that its activists sold at local events organized to raise awareness of and increase knowledge about the method.⁵⁹ The effort of UFF activists was vital to overcoming what Le Guay characterized as “the hostility of those who refused to accept the social and humanitarian progress [embodied in psychoprophylaxis] because it came from a socialist country.”⁶⁰

LACKING THE KIND OF NATIONAL NETWORK of activists and media resources that the UFF provided Lamaze, Dick-Read and his French supporters labored under a significant disadvantage compared to French PPM advocates. He nonetheless had his partisans, particularly among those who were reluctant to embrace a method so tightly linked to the Soviet Union. French psychoanalyst Léon Chertok described the debates between PPM and NC advocates as the source of “passionate controversies” in Europe for the first decade after Lamaze’s Soviet trip.⁶¹ Given the similarities of the methods, it is difficult to attribute the intensity of the conflict to anything other than PPM’s linkage to the Soviet cause. In his endorsement of Natural Childbirth, Dr. Pierre Theil emphasized its shared foundation with the psychoprophylactic method in Pavlov’s theory of conditional response, but derided PPM as derivative. For Theil, PPM was distinguished from NC only in putting less emphasis on building a woman’s “personal confidence,” perhaps suggesting that Soviet ideology undervalued women’s individual needs and personalities.⁶² Lamaze himself also deemphasized differences between psychoprophylaxis and Natural Childbirth, like Theil underscoring instead the shared use of Pavlov’s theories to explain how these psy-

... à travers nos départements,” *Femmes françaises*, November 20, 1954, 7; “Toutes les femmes veulent et peuvent accoucher sans douleur,” *Femmes françaises*, April 24, 1954, 9; “Bilan de l’activité connue des départements et fonctionnement des commissions, Commission nationale de l’enfance et des activités sociales de l’UFF,” November 1954–February 1955, February 10–28, 1955, March 1–31, 1955, Box I, UFM.

⁵⁸ “Il existe maintenant de nombreuses villes de France où des médecins pratiquent l’accouchement sans douleur,” *Femmes françaises*, October 16, 1954, 7.

⁵⁹ Commission nationale de l’enfance et des activités sociales de l’Union des femmes françaises, *Comment nous préparer à accoucher sans douleur par la méthode psycho-prophylactique* (Paris, 1955); “Demain sera dans toute la France la journée de l’accouchement sans douleur,” *L’Humanité*, May 17, 1955, 2; Bilan de l’activité, March 1–31, 1955, April 1–May 31, 1955, Box I, UFM; “Comment nous préparer à accoucher sans douleur,” *Femmes françaises*, April 9, 1955, 8; “Des victoires dont nous sommes fiers,” *Femmes françaises*, March 3, 1956, 18.

⁶⁰ François Le Guay, “Une réalisation dont nous sommes fiers,” *La revue des travailleuses* 1, no. 12 (June–July 1953): 32.

⁶¹ L. Chertok, “Reply to the Foregoing: Editor,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 120, no. 6 (December 1963): 606.

⁶² Pierre Theil, “Préface,” in Dick-Read, *L’accouchement sans douleurs*, iv–v.

chological and didactic approaches to childbirth preparation worked.⁶³ But for Lamaze and other French PPM activists, psychoprophylaxis promised greater efficacy with a similar method, implicitly rendering Dick-Read's approach obsolete.⁶⁴

For obvious reasons, Dick-Read fought Lamaze's efforts to fold Natural Childbirth into the growing PPM movement, even as he benefited from the interest it brought to his work. When PPM first appeared in the West, he reached out to Soviet researchers. In 1952, hoping that Soviet scholars would acknowledge the similarity between their work and his own earlier contribution, he sent copies of his book to Soviet obstetrician and PPM advocate A. Iu. Lur'e.⁶⁵ As the years passed and recognition was not forthcoming, he became increasingly emphatic that there was nothing original in the Soviet method. In the introduction to the 1953 edition of his book, Dick-Read attacked psychoprophylaxis as unnatural, affirming that "materialism and atheism are not included in the make-up of motherhood."⁶⁶ He went so far as to state at a 1959 meeting of the National Childbirth Trust of Great Britain that "there was no Lamaze method . . . It was only a political method of converting women [to communism] using [my] own ideas." Even his loyal followers bristled at these comments, believing that "the time has not yet come when we must look for red devils under the accouchement couch."⁶⁷ Soviet and French PPM advocates countered Dick-Read's attacks by rejecting the evidentiary base of his claims to efficacy, by criticizing certain elements of his method, and by countering his declaration of chronological primacy with the disingenuous assertion that PPM practice dated from the 1930s. Whatever the merits of their other charges, the historical record indisputably indicates that Natural Childbirth emerged before PPM, which developed independently fifteen years later.⁶⁸

Dick-Read and his supporters played on the confusion and conflation surrounding the distinction between PPM and NC to their own advantage. In 1953, the first French translation appeared of Dick-Read's *Childbirth without Fear*, and given that the book had been in wide circulation in the Anglophone world for a decade, the timing seems unquestionably linked to the growing interest in psychoprophylaxis.⁶⁹

⁶³ Lamaze's closest collaborator, Pierre Vellay, distinguished PPM from Natural Childbirth, observing that it had "an undeniable value" but was "a necessary, intermediate step that gradually led obstetrics to psychoprophylaxis." Vellay, "Préface," in *L'accouchement sans douleur: Un guide indispensable* (Paris, 1957), 4.

⁶⁴ Dick-Read claimed that Natural Childbirth enjoyed a success rate of approximately 80 percent. Although an impressive figure, it lagged roughly ten percentage points behind the success rate of Vel'vovskii's psychoprophylaxis. Theil, "Préface," vi; "Déclaration du docteur Lamaze," 1951, Box H, UFM; Velvovsky et al., *Painless Childbirth through Psychoprophylaxis*, 343.

⁶⁵ Dick-Read to Prof. [A. Iu.] Lurye [Lur'e], February 26, 1952, PP/GDR/D218/Box 55, Grantly Dick-Read Collection, WL.

⁶⁶ Grantly Dick-Read, *Childbirth without Fear: The Principles and Practice of Natural Childbirth*, 2nd rev. ed. (1953; repr., New York, 1959), xvii. These remarks do not appear in the 1953 French translation, which was based on the 1943 edition of *Childbirth without Fear*.

⁶⁷ Natural Childbirth Trust of Great Britain, meeting minutes, May 7, 1959, PP/GDR/D249/Box 57, Grantly Dick-Read Collection, WL.

⁶⁸ In a brief explanatory preface, the French translation of an article by Nikolaev dates Vel'vovskii's "first attempts" to 1931. It is unclear whether Nikolaev, his French translator, or the editor added this clarification. This misleading claim is true only in the sense that Vel'vovskii was working at that time on the question of the psychological inhibition of labor pain, but his efforts in the 1930s were confined to hypnosis. A. P. Nikolaev, "Psychoprophylaxie de la douleur de l'accouchement," *Cahiers de médecine soviétique* 3, no. 2 (June 1956): 127.

⁶⁹ Dick-Read, *L'accouchement sans douleurs*.

Unfortunately for advocates of PPM, Dick-Read (or his publisher) translated the title as *L'accouchement sans douleur* (childbirth without pain) rather than *L'accouchement sans crainte* (childbirth without fear). The latter phrase would have been an accurate translation of Dick-Read's title, while the former was the popular French term for psychoprophylaxis. The clarifying phrase *l'accouchement naturel* appeared only in the subtitle. Dick-Read also published a series of articles in *Votre santé* using the title "L'accouchement sans douleur."⁷⁰ These choices opened the floodgates to both deliberate and inadvertent confusion of the two approaches in publications other than those controlled by the UFF, PCF, and CGT.⁷¹ In medical journals and popular women's magazines, one sees the line between PPM and Natural Childbirth perpetually blurred. Whether the conflation of the two methods outside leftist publications was purposeful or not, it had a cumulative effect in blunting the pro-Soviet propaganda value of the term *accouchement sans douleur* for the PCF, a fact that exasperated PPM advocates.⁷² Driven to extremes, Lamaze's colleague and PCF member Roger Hersilie insisted in a 1956 *Heures claires* article that Natural Childbirth "has nothing in common with the Pavlovian method. It is not just a semantic squabble or a question of terminology . . . Some think and say that these are just linguistic subtleties and byzantine quarrels. Nothing could be less true."⁷³ Hersilie's emphatic remarks point to a collective frustration on the left over the confusion between NC and PPM and the political stakes intertwined with these debates.

⁷⁰ Grantly Dick-Read, "L'accouchement sans douleur," *Votre santé*, April 15, 1954, May 15, 1954, June 1, 1954, press clippings, Box E, UFM. The Dick-Read method was also associated in France with a variety of phrases, including "accouchement sans crainte" and "accouchement peu douloureux." A. Economides, "État actuel de la pratique de l'accouchement sans douleur en France," *Revue de la nouvelle médecine* 2, no. 6 (January 1956): 72. The team at Les Bluets saw Dick-Read's rising profile as a testament to the growing recognition of their own method. F. Lamaze, P. Vellay, and H. Hersilie, "Essai d'interprétations des causes d'échec," *Revue de la nouvelle médecine* 1, no. 3 (May 1954): 129. In the United States during the early 1970s, PPM and NC became largely hybridized, and the two terms were virtually synonymous, at least in popular discourse. Expressing her desire for a truce between NC and PPM, one American Lamaze activist wrote, "I, for one, am sick of hearing Dick-Read pitted against Lamaze . . . and others." Sunnye Strickland to Board of Directors, American Society for Psychoprophylaxis in Obstetrics, September 20, 1972, 2000-M58, Carton 2, Lamaze International Records, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. For a discussion of both the Read and Lamaze methods as practiced in the U.S., where they were often conflated under the term "natural childbirth," see Wolf, *Deliver Me from Pain*, 151–167.

⁷¹ Other books and articles soon followed from Dick-Read's supporters in France and elsewhere on the Continent, adding to the sudden and confusing barrage of childbirth preparation information to which expectant mothers in France were exposed in the popular press. For example, Renée Girod and Monica Jaquet, *Je vais être maman: Grossesse, accouchement, gymnastique prénatale* (Zurich, 1954); "La nouvelle méthode d'accouchement sans douleur," *Bonnes soirées*, January 30, 1955, 63; F. LePage and G. Langevin-Droguet, *La préparation à l'accouchement sans crainte* (1958; repr., Paris, 1965). Léon Chertok captures well the terminological confusion, stating that "passionate doctrinal arguments reign in lieu of [a solid theoretical foundation], which explains the diversity of names given to [non-pharmacological methods of obstetric pain relief]: psychoprophylactic, psycho-physical, neuro-physical, childbirth without anxiety, without fear, without suffering, without agony, without apprehension, eased pain, etc.;" Chertok, "Étude de la psychoprophylaxie des douleurs de l'accouchement," *La semaine des hôpitaux* 32, nos. 48–49 (August 1956): 2619.

⁷² Rivière and Chastrusse, "La douleur en obstétrique," 260–261; Prof. Vermelin, "L'accouchement sans douleur," *La sage-femme française*, January 1955, 3; Jeanson, *Principes et pratique de l'accouchement sans douleur*, 195–196; R. V., "Catherine est née 'sans douleur' grâce à l'accouchement naturel," *Elle*, April 22, 1955, 28; Pierre Joffroy, "Nathalie née sans douleur," *Paris Match*, April 2, 1955, 80; "Sept futures mamans sur dix sont encore contre l'accouchement sans douleur," *France Soir*, January 11, 1956, 6.

⁷³ Roger Hersilie, "Voici ce que les femmes ont gagné," *Heures claires*, October 1956, 4.

The ideological motivations of those writing in support of NC are not as transparent as those of PPM's leftist supporters, who linked praise for psychoprophylaxis to its Soviet origins. Beyond Dick-Read's own vocal anticommunism, NC advocates offered no direct testimony that connected their preference for the Dick-Read method with an explicit political agenda. The ties, however, can be inferred in two ways. First, not just Dick-Read's anticommunist rhetoric, but his emphasis on Christian spirituality positioned his approach in opposition to communism. To endorse the Read method was by definition to take a stance against the Soviet Union's antireligious agenda. Second, confronted with the rapidly ascending reputation of PPM and an avalanche of press coverage on the subject, advocacy of NC as an alternative appeared to be a conspicuous choice. For the contemporary audience, the reasons to support NC need not have been spelled out when the communists had tied themselves so tightly to the cause of PPM.

Neither of these factors explains the limits of Dick-Read popularity in France. His work had been known in medical circles since the 1930s, and in 1951, prior to Lamaze's trip to the USSR, a book on Natural Childbirth had been published in French and enjoyed considerable commercial success.⁷⁴ Why, then, did his method fare poorly relative to psychoprophylaxis despite their similarities? As noted earlier, Dick-Read's Christian mysticism and his unsystematic research no doubt left some members of the medical community uncomfortable and unconvinced. Lamaze and his supporters had a clear advantage with their ability to tap into grassroots UFF and PCF networks. Fears of American domination may also have worked against acceptance of the Dick-Read method. The strength of the Anglo-American alliance may have linked the Brit implicitly to the U.S., about which so many French in the 1950s had mixed feelings. At a time when the French were beginning to look for a path between the American and Soviet camps, Dick-Read's virulent anticommunist rhetoric and high praise for his American followers not only inflamed opponents on the left, but may also have alienated potential adherents of a more centrist or apolitical orientation.

The Catholic Church expressed its clear preference for Natural Childbirth even as it officially endorsed both PPM and NC when Pope Pius XII issued a proclamation to that effect in January 1956. At first glance, it would seem that the Church's pronatalist stance would make it an unqualified supporter of psychoprophylaxis, and proponents of PPM found allies among progressive French Catholics.⁷⁵ Catholic advocates of psychological and pharmacological methods of obstetric pain relief, however, faced questions about whether the alleviation of childbirth pain squared with God's proclamation to Eve that "in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children"

⁷⁴ Fernande Harlin, *Préparez-vous à une heureuse maternité* (Paris, 1951).

⁷⁵ A detailed examination of French Catholic reception of and support for psychoprophylaxis, particularly among progressives, awaits further research. The method was known among and promoted by progressive Catholics, as evidenced by several articles published in an issue of the Catholic newspaper *La Quinzaine*. See "Une interview du Dr. Lamaze," *La Quinzaine*, December 1, 1953, 12; Geneviève Clairbois, "Oui, il est possible d'accoucher sans douleur," *ibid.*, 12–14; G. C., "N'est-il pas interdit, pour des raisons religieuses, d'accoucher sans douleur?" *ibid.*, 13. On the Catholic Left and its relationship to the PCF in this era, see Yvon Tranvouez, *Catholiques et communistes: La crise du progressisme chrétien, 1950–1955* (Paris, 2000). On the French Catholic pronatalist agenda, see Antoine Prost, "Catholic Conservatives, Population, and the Family in Twentieth Century France," *Population and Development Review* 14 (1988): 147–164.

(Genesis 3:16). Pius XII stated unequivocally that the Church had no objection to either PPM or NC. He contrasted these approaches to hypnosis and twilight sleep, which stripped women of their ability to birth actively and in full consciousness. Methods such as PPM and NC “strictly utilize the mother’s natural strengths.”⁷⁶ Although he endorsed both Natural Childbirth and psychoprophylaxis, the pope’s preference for Dick-Read’s method was unmistakable. He asserted that psychological means of obstetric pain relief were “frequently presented in a philosophical and cultural materialist context, in opposition to the holy scripture and Christianity . . . The ideology of a researcher and scientist is not itself proven by the truth and value of his discoveries.”⁷⁷ In other words, PPM may work, but that fact does not validate Marxist materialism.

The tension between NC and PPM played out in legislative battles to secure funding for childbirth education through *Sécurité sociale*. In March 1953, a group of communists in the National Assembly proposed a new law to support the “teaching and development of the method of painless childbirth by psychoprophylaxis.”⁷⁸ The proposal’s sponsors emphasized the method’s Soviet origins, the Soviet government’s support of this method as national policy, and the linkage to Pavlov’s work. Communists in the National Assembly met with less success than the Paris municipal government, which authorized reimbursement to expectant mothers for childbirth education classes beginning in December 1953.⁷⁹ Angelergues asserted that neither human nor financial resources really stood in the way of national funding; the obstacle, rather, was ideological opposition among politicians in the National Assembly “less concerned with the well-being of women than with their class objectives, seeing in [PPM] a dangerous penetration of the ‘red peril.’”⁸⁰ In 1955, Deputy Jean Frugier, a member of the Gaullist Rassemblement du peuple français, attempted to revamp the PCF’s proposal in a way that disentangled advocacy of childbirth preparation from the communist cause.⁸¹ After a lengthy discussion of Natural Childbirth and Dick-Read, his report proposed that “the National Assembly invite the government to take all steps to develop and disseminate the teaching and practice of *psychosomatic methods*.”⁸² Frugier’s choice of terminology deserves attention. He em-

⁷⁶ “L’accouchement sans douleur: Discours du Souverain pontife Pie XII,” January 8, 1956, http://docs.leforumcatholique.org/src/pdf/PieXII_accouchementsansdouleur.pdf (accessed February 24, 2009), 1.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 4.

⁷⁸ Assemblée nationale, Proposition no. 5868, Loi tendant à l’enseignement et au développement de la méthode d’accouchement sans douleur par psychothérapie, March 13, 1953, Box L, UFM.

⁷⁹ Ibid.; “Résolution tendant à l’expérimentation dans quelques maternités de l’assistance publique des méthodes d’accouchement sans douleur,” *Bulletin municipal officiel de la ville de Paris: Débats des assemblées de la ville de Paris et du département de la Seine* 74, no. 28 (January 26, 1954): 1113–1114; “Le Conseil municipal de Paris: 15 millions pour développer l’accouchement sans douleur,” *France-URSS*, March 1954, 15; “Le Conseil municipal de Paris et l’accouchement ‘sans douleur,’” *Médecine et hygiène*, April 30, 1954, press clipping, Box L, UFM; “Accouchement sans douleur: Des hôpitaux parisiens vont être équipés,” *L’Humanité*, February 3, 1954, 1; F. Le Guay, “Conditions pratiques de réalisation de l’accouchement sans douleur à la Maternité des métallurgistes,” *Revue de la nouvelle médecine* 1, no. 3 (May 1954): 145; “Au Conseil municipal de Paris: L’accouchement sans douleur,” *L’Humanité*, November 30, 1954, 5.

⁸⁰ René Angelergues, “‘L’opération Read’ et la vérité sur l’accouchement sans douleur,” *L’Humanité*, June 15, 1954, 2.

⁸¹ On the RPF, see Jean Charlot, *De Gaulle et le Rassemblement du peuple français, 1947–1955* (Paris, 1998); Richard Vinen, *Bourgeois Politics in France, 1945–1951* (New York, 1995), 216–233.

⁸² Rapport no. 10558, Assemblée nationale, March 30, 1955, Box L, UFM; emphasis added.

braced the very term “psychosomatic,” which Angelergues denounced as an anti-materialist American weapon of class warfare. Glossing the distinction between Dick-Read’s method and the Soviet approach promoted in France by Lamaze, Frugier hijacked the PCF’s proposal, severed the linkage between childbirth preparation and the Left’s agenda, and recast childbirth preparation in a way that signaled, albeit obliquely, a turn to the American sphere of influence.⁸³ His proposal failed, but on July 11, 1956, the National Assembly adopted a new PCF proposal to reimburse PPM preparatory courses through *Sécurité sociale*.⁸⁴ That decision marked the dawn of a new era for psychoprophylaxis in France, an epoch of accelerated integration into mainstream medical practice.

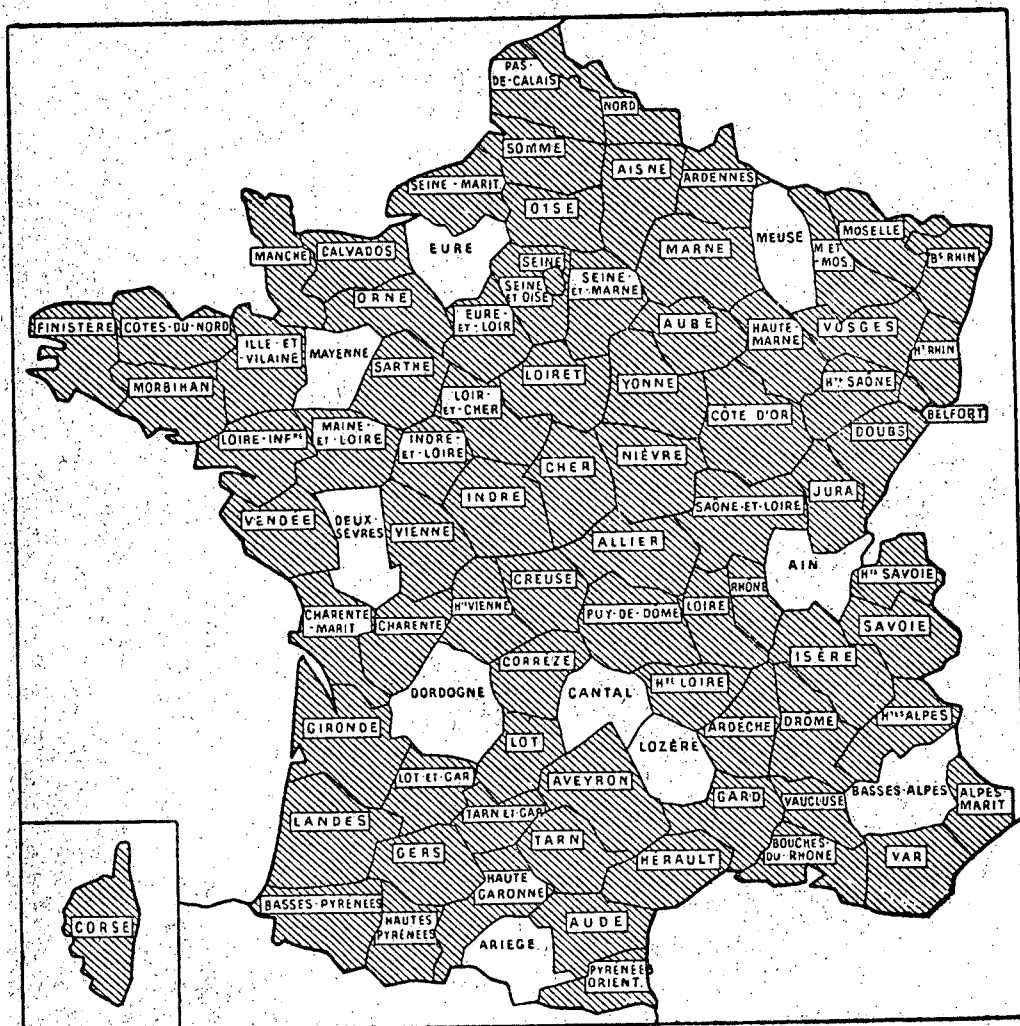
DRAMATIC CHANGES IN THE USSR reverberated in France, coinciding with and shaping the rapid expansion of French PPM practice. Following Stalin’s death in March 1953, the Soviet Union moved almost immediately, if tentatively, away from the political violence and ideological rigidity that had characterized the previous quarter-century. Political changes during what came to be known as the Thaw meant the retreat of ideology’s role in scientific and medical inquiry. The All-Union Conference on Psychoprophylaxis, held in Kiev two weeks before Khrushchev delivered his Secret Speech at the Twentieth Party Congress in February 1956, demonstrated well the implications of destalinization for the field of medicine. Although the participants paid homage to Pavlov, gone was the need to invoke him and his contribution at every turn. Rather than merely sing the praises of Soviet science, many criticized the psychoprophylactic method, and rigorous debate ensued. Participants discussed who on the medical team was best suited to lead PPM training, argued over how many lessons were necessary for a positive outcome, quarreled over the sources of labor pain, and even assessed how Lamaze had influenced the practice of PPM by expanding the number of preparatory sessions at his French clinic. V. I. Konstantinov, deputy director for research at the Kharkov Institute for the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood, praised the ability of PPM to discipline the parturient to maternity ward routines, but denounced it as often ineffective in suppressing labor pain. He spoke for the majority when advocating its continued use in combination with pharmacological pain remedies. Conference attendees signaled their consensus over PPM’s limitations by officially changing the method’s name from “psychoprophylaxis of labor pain” to “psychoprophylactic preparation of expectant mothers for childbirth.” PPM would no longer be portrayed in the USSR as a panacea to obstetric pain. Five years after its introduction as national policy in the USSR, PPM’s star fell rapidly.⁸⁵

⁸³ On Proposition no. 5868, see also “Une interview du Dr. Lamaze”; Proposition de loi no. 884 tendant à l’enseignement et au développement de la méthode d’accouchement sans douleur par psychoprophylaxie, Assemblée nationale, February 29, 1956, Box L, UFM; Rapport no. 2190 au nom de la Commission de la famille, de la population et de la santé publique sur la proposition de loi (no. 884) de Mme Rabaté e plusieurs de ses collègues tendant à l’enseignement et au développement de la méthode d’accouchement sans douleur par psychoprophylaxie, Box L, UFM; Caron-Leulliez and George, *L’accouchement sans douleur*, 74, 105.

⁸⁴ Laurence Lentin, “Vous y croyez vous?” *Heures claires*, March 9, 1957, 26.

⁸⁵ For the conference transcript, see Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Public Health,

L'ACCOUCHEMENT SANS DOULEUR EN FRANCE



En hachuré, départements métropolitains d'où des médecins et sages-femmes sont venus à la Maternité du Métallurgiste, étudier les méthodes psycho-prophylactiques d'accouchement sans douleur (à la date de mars 1956).

FIGURE 5: Map of PPM practice in France, March 1956. Shaded areas connote regions in metropolitan France from which "doctors and midwives have come to the maternity ward of the Metallurgists' Polyclinic to study the psychoprophylactic method of painless childbirth." From Fernand Lamaze, *Qu'est-ce que l'accouchement sans douleur?* (Paris, 1956), 92.

French opponents of the psychoprophylactic method saw in the Soviet Union's backpedaling an opportunity to promote what some presented as an alternative, homegrown French approach to childbirth preparation. Nationalism clearly lay at the root of an effort to promote kinesiologist Fernande Harlin's 1951 book *Préparez-vous à une heureuse maternité* as an original, domestic contribution to the practice of childbirth preparation. Her instructions on "how to give birth without fear, in a minimum of time, with a minimum of pain, and quickly to find strength and beauty in the most modern of methods" clearly derived from Dick-Read's work.⁸⁶ Harlin's approach differs from Dick-Read's only in terms of inflection, with an emphasis on physical conditioning that outstrips even Dick-Read's. One Ch. Devemy wrote to Les Bluets's maternity ward in May 1957 to draw the staff's "attention to *the French psychosomatic method of childbirth preparation* . . . It is unnecessary to try to apply in our country foreign methods that are recognized as incomplete in comparison to those *developed in France*."⁸⁷ The author enclosed a summary of the published proceedings from the 1956 Kiev conference on psychoprophylaxis, including remarks about PPM as an often ineffective treatment for labor pain.⁸⁸ Given the limitations of PPM now acknowledged by Soviet researchers themselves, Devemy argued that there was no reason to endorse it over an equally effective method of French origin, even if the authenticity of that genealogy was suspect. For Devemy, neither British Natural Childbirth nor Soviet psychoprophylaxis could answer the needs of French women.

Devemy's nationalistic promotion of Harlin never gained traction. Dick-Read supporters' similar efforts to exploit reversals in Soviet attitudes toward PPM after the 1956 Kiev conference also failed.⁸⁹ By contrast, Lamaze's untimely death in March 1957 sent shockwaves through the PPM movement. Two versions of the events surrounding his death came to light in subsequent weeks. According to the USTM, the Metallurgical Workers' Union that funded Les Bluets, the maternity ward's cost overruns needed to be addressed. USTM leaders reasoned that now that psychoprophylaxis had begun to gain momentum in France and was receiving state support through *Sécurité sociale*, Les Bluets's maternity ward could pull back from its leading role in the promotion of PPM. Specifically, to balance the budget, the USTM proposed an end to internships for doctors and midwives to train in PPM, as well as a range of personnel changes to cut expenses. The most significant proposed change to staff included letting go of kinesiologist André Bourrel, who had worked on Lamaze's PPM team from the beginning, and shifting responsibility for instructing expectant mothers in PPM to the midwives.⁹⁰ Les Bluets's administration

f. 342, op. 15, spr. 4267, Central State Archive of Ukraine (TsDAVO), Kyiv. Select papers were published in *Akusherstvo i ginekologiya* 32, no. 3 (May–June 1956), summarized in Chertok, "Étude de la psychoprophylaxie des douleurs de l'accouchement," 2619–2626.

⁸⁶ Harlin, *Préparez-vous à une heureuse maternité*, front cover.

⁸⁷ Ch. Devemy to unspecified recipient, May 20, 1957, Box E, UFM; emphasis added. On Harlin, see Caron-Leulliez and George, *L'accouchement sans douleur*, 31.

⁸⁸ Chertok, "Étude de la psycho-prophylaxie des douleurs de l'accouchement," 2619–2626.

⁸⁹ Lepage and Langevin-Droguet, *La préparation à l'accouchement sans crainte*, 7.

⁹⁰ Untitled summary of a USTM report by G. Fuzet [1957], Box A, UFM; "Propositions relatives au fonctionnement de la maternité et à la poursuite de notre combat pour l'accouchement sans douleur" [1957], *ibid.*; F. Le Guay, "Rapport sur la maison de santé maternité" [1957], *ibid.*; "Rapport de l'équipe d'A.S.D. sur les propositions de l'USTM," March 29, 1957, *ibid.* USTM leaders may here have been

and staff resisted the USTM recommendations and resented union interference with matters of patient care. Director Le Guay countered the proposal with the suggestion that the remainder of the polyclinic's services simply subsidize the work of the maternity ward, which had brought Les Bluets international renown.⁹¹

Lamaze had in Le Guay an advocate for Les Bluets's PPM program, but their combined efforts to sway the USTM proved inadequate. USTM officials rejected Le Guay's proposal, and instead proceeded to impose their plan on Les Bluets despite the lack of support from the polyclinic's staff and administration. As Pierre Vellay later described it, "on the evening of March 5, 1957, Lamaze was called into a meeting with the metal workers. This was a pure formality. The decision had already been made to order a restructuring of the hospital staff and to dismiss most of [Lamaze's] closest colleagues."⁹² Among the casualties that evening was not only Bourrel, but Le Guay himself, who was forced to tender his resignation. Lamaze left the meeting distraught and defeated. Early the next morning, he suffered a fatal heart attack.

For many of Lamaze's supporters, the upheaval immediately preceding his death contributed directly to his demise. Le Guay, Vellay, and others laid responsibility for Lamaze's heart attack at the doorstep of the USTM and, indirectly, the PCF. In a letter to USTM head André Lunet, Lamaze's longtime friend, Vellay's father-in-law, and lifelong PCF member Dr. Jean Dalsace suggested that the fact that Lamaze died just hours after a confrontation with the USTM "speaks to the responsibility that you have in his death . . . I consider it my duty as a man, a friend, and a Communist to lay this before your conscience."⁹³ Writing on behalf of Lamaze's widow, Vellay asked the USTM not to hold any kind of memorial service on Lamaze's behalf, "considering that the events of recent weeks are not without influence on the tragic death of her husband."⁹⁴

As the story of Lamaze's death and accusations about the USTM's role in precipitating his heart attack made their way into the press, a more complicated picture of the union's motivations to shore up Les Bluets's finances began to take shape. The PCF organ *L'Humanité* published a front-page notice of Lamaze's death and a lengthy tribute to his work on page 2, accompanied by a statement from the PCF's Central Committee.⁹⁵ The following day, however, the weekly magazine *L'Express*

following the lead of Soviet administrators, who had begun to shift PPM training to midwives beginning in 1954. A. Iu. Lur'e, "Opyt raboty po psikhoprofilakticheskoi podgotovke beremennykh k rodam," All-Union Conference on Psychoprophylaxis, February 10, 1956, f. 342, op. 15, spr. 4267, ark. 147, TsDAVO, Kyiv.

⁹¹ F. Le Guay, "Rapport sur la maison de santé maternité" [1957], Box A, UFM.

⁹² Quoted in Gutmann, *The Legacy of Dr. Lamaze*, 183.

⁹³ Jean Dalsace to André Lunet, March 6, 1957, Box A, UFM. The letter is reprinted and translated, in a version slightly different from mine here, in full in Gutmann, *The Legacy of Dr. Lamaze*, 197. For a discussion of Dalsace's life and work, see R. Palmer, "Jean Dalsace, 1893–1970," *Gynécologie et obstétrique* 70, no. 1 (January–February 1971): 7–14.

⁹⁴ Pierre Vellay to USTM, March 6, 1957, Box A, UFM. The Medical Commission at Les Bluets repeated these accusations in a letter to the polyclinic's administration, March 8, 1957, Box A, UFM. Of course, Lunet rejected the accusation that somehow he and other USTM representatives had Lamaze's blood on their hands, and they expressed to Lamaze's widow and the Les Bluets community in general their sorrow at his death. For Lunet's defense of his relationship with Lamaze, see his letter to Madame Lamaze, n.d., Box A, UFM.

⁹⁵ "Le docteur Lamaze est mort," *L'Humanité*, March 7, 1957, 1; "Le docteur Lamaze et l'accouchement sans douleur," *ibid.*, 2; "L'hommage du Comité central du Parti communiste français,"

told a different story of Lamaze's death when it published a short obituary asserting that not only was the maternity ward's budget the source of a heated argument between Lamaze and union officials on the eve of his death, but the USTM "had violently attacked the methods of Dr. Lamaze." The notice closed with the suggestion that Lamaze and Le Guay had fallen out of favor with the USTM's communist leadership for taking a public stand against the Soviet invasion of Hungary in the fall of 1956.⁹⁶ Silent on the accusation in *L'Express*, *L'Humanité* continued its tribute to Lamaze on March 9 with remembrances from both feature film and documentary directors who had collaborated with him in recent years, and with coverage of Les Bluets's memorial service.⁹⁷ On March 11, the conservative *Le Figaro* fired back with an article on Lamaze's death titled "Communist Indecency," decrying that Lamaze and his colleagues had been "under the most virulent attack from union representatives" for budgetary overruns. The article repeated the suggestion that the true motives lay with Le Guay's open denunciation of the Hungarian invasion.⁹⁸ Accusations in *L'Express* and *Le Figaro* themselves became news, reported on March 12 in *Le Monde*.⁹⁹ Despite his forced resignation, Le Guay publicly fell on his sword. He defended the USTM with letters to *Le Figaro* and *L'Express* insisting that Stalinist discipline had played no role in his dismissal and rejecting the characterization of Lamaze as a victim of PCF politics.¹⁰⁰ Le Guay had no stomach for making budgetary matters, ideological conflicts, or personnel decisions fodder for scandal in the centrist and right wing press. By contrast, Dalsace quit the Communist Party in public disgust.¹⁰¹ While no extant archival documentation supports their view, many close to Lamaze clung to the belief that budgetary considerations served merely as a pretext for the union's heavy-handed intervention in the maternity ward's operation.

Even if they bore no real liability for Lamaze's death, USTM leaders found that it provided an opportune moment for staff changes at Les Bluets, and Lamaze's PPM team rapidly disbanded. The naming of PCF loyalist Roger Hersilie, not Vellay, to head the maternity ward triggered a rash of departures, including that of Vellay himself.¹⁰² In her resignation letter, midwife R. Rouat, herself a PCF member and

ibid. Letters of condolence arrived the next day from across Europe, including from the Moscow Institute of Obstetrics. "Hommage au docteur Lamaze," *L'Humanité*, March 8, 1957, 2.

⁹⁶ "Fernand Lamaze," *L'Express*, March 8, 1957, 23.

⁹⁷ "Quatre vedettes mondiales incarnent les pionniers de l'accouchement sans douleur," *L'Humanité*, March 9, 1957, 2; "Les métallurgistes ont rendu hommage au docteur Lamaze sur les lieux de son travail," ibid.

⁹⁸ "Indécence communiste," *Le Figaro*, March 11, 1957, 14.

⁹⁹ "Après la mort du docteur Lamaze," *Le Monde*, March 12, 1957, 7.

¹⁰⁰ François Le Guay, "Un profond dégoût," *L'Express*, March 22, 1957, 35. See also Le Guay, "Une lettre de l'Union des métallurgistes (C.G.T.)," *Le Figaro*, March 25, 1957, 11; La Commission médicale du Centre de santé Docteur-P.-Rouquès, "Pas de désaccord," *L'Express*, March 22, 1957, 35.

¹⁰¹ Gutmann, *The Legacy of Dr. Lamaze*, 200. While she does not adopt their argument that the union contributed to Lamaze's death, Gutmann rightly points out the hypocrisy of those in the press and other public venues who claimed to take pride in Lamaze's work and to support his campaign for PPM after having just tried to slash his budget and end his efforts to train doctors and midwives in psychoprophylaxis.

¹⁰² As already noted, Le Guay resigned, and Fuzet's original plan for budgetary reductions went forward. Albert Carn replaced Le Guay as director of Les Bluets and oversaw the restructuring of the maternity ward. André Bourrel and the three most senior midwives on the PPM team all quit with Vellay. Angelergues transferred from the maternity ward to the psychiatric clinic before leaving Les Bluets entirely. Caron-Leulliez and George, *L'accouchement sans douleur*, 123.

a longtime colleague of Lamaze, cited among her reasons for quitting the selection of Hersilie over Vellay as Lamaze's replacement. She characterized Hersilie as "professionally divisive" and his appointment as "the usurpation of a post that rightfully belongs to Dr. Vellay," who was universally seen among the staff as Lamaze's heir apparent.¹⁰³ Amid the USTM's belt-tightening measures, Lamaze's collaborators fled an atmosphere that obstetric intern Claude Bazin characterized as one of "mistrust and insecurity, creating a moral climate that had quickly become intolerable."¹⁰⁴ Bazin's and Rouat's comments point to the dramatic and deep rift between staff and administration at Les Bluets's maternity ward, and between Les Bluets and its USTM patrons after Lamaze's death.

Les Bluets's maternity ward continued to provide psychoprophylactic training for expectant mothers, but as the 1950s ended, it became only one of many French institutions, most with no ties to the PCF or CGT, that utilized PPM. The Left fragmented in the wake of growing disillusionment with the USSR, and the linkage between psychoprophylaxis and a single clear political agenda began to fray. Fleeing Stalinist diehards among the USTM leadership and Les Bluets's hospital administration, members of Lamaze's former team left not just the institution, but the communist ideological fold. Even Angelergues, the articulate French interpreter of Pavlovian psychophysiology as applied to PPM, backed off from his rigid anti-Freudianism and began to incorporate psychoanalytic perspectives into his understanding of psychoprophylaxis.¹⁰⁵

Despite the disorder and tensions at Les Bluets and on the left, PPM's popularity continued to grow apace throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s.¹⁰⁶ By 1961, a remarkable 30 percent of French women chose to use psychoprophylaxis during labor.¹⁰⁷ Lamaze's ambition to spread PPM across France and around the globe was realized. The USTM's own disruptive decisions regarding Les Bluets's personnel and administration perhaps slowed the spread of PPM, pointing to the role played in the trajectory of psychoprophylaxis in France not only by Left-Right tensions but also by communist infighting. Further, although the PCF leadership had been pleased enough to hold PPM up as a symbol of progressive Soviet science, it had left the method's promotion to its UFF allies. Beyond rhetoric, the PCF itself had made

¹⁰³ Madame Rouat to André Lunet, July 10, 1957, Box A, UFM.

¹⁰⁴ Claude Bazin to André Lunet, August 16, 1957, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Drs. Angelergues, Vermorel, and Vellay, "Évolution de la méthode psycho-prophylactique," *Bulletin officiel de la Société internationale de psycho-prophylaxie obstétricale* 2, no. 2-4 (April-December 1960): 115-133. On the turn among PPM advocates toward psychoanalysis in France, see L. Chertok, "Theories of Psychoprophylaxis in Obstetrics (Prophylaxis or Therapy)," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 119, no. 12 (June 1963): 1154-1159. Angelergues's move to a more ecumenical approach to psychology followed the course of some of his Soviet colleagues amid and in the wake of destalinization. See Léon Chertok, "Reinstatement of the Concept of the Unconscious in the Soviet Union," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 138, no. 5 (May 1981): 575-583; F. V. Bassine, Léon Chertok, et al., *Dialogue franco-soviétique sur la psychanalyse* (Toulouse, 1984).

¹⁰⁶ The decline of PPM in the 1970s and 1980s lies beyond the scope of this article. The rise of alternative non-pharmacological methods, such as those of Michel Odent and Frederick Leboyer, contributed to the reduced use of psychoprophylaxis. In stark contrast to the experience of the U.S., where feminists supported Natural Childbirth and PPM, a French feminist backlash protested these psychological approaches and pushed for greater pharmacological obstetric pain management. Caron-Leulliez and George, *L'accouchement sans douleur*, 175-228. For a representative scathing critique of PPM, see Marie-José Jaubert, *Les Bateleurs du mal-joli: Le mythe de l'accouchement sans douleur* (Paris, 1979).

¹⁰⁷ Caron-Leulliez and George, "L'accouchement sans douleur," 85. Chertok claims that this figure approached 50 percent by 1963; Chertok, "Reply to the Foregoing," 607.

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FIGURE 6: Invitation from the American Society for Psychoprophylaxis in Obstetrics to Pierre Vellay's talk and book signing in 1963. Courtesy of the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.

fairly little investment of its own to expand the method's reach; the party's fiscal priorities clearly lay elsewhere. These shortcomings aside, the PCF had thrown its political weight behind PPM to secure the central government's budgetary support for childbirth preparation courses.

Analysis of the party's and UFF's role in PPM's dissemination and expansion refines our understanding of knowledge transfer across the Iron Curtain and highlights France's unique international position during the Cold War. Communist sympathy for the Soviet Union, the frequency of French-Soviet scientific contact, and the general public's positive perception of the PCF and the USSR provided the motives, means, and opportunity for psychoprophylaxis to pass to and flourish in France during the 1950s. By contrast, when PPM took root in the United States in the 1960s, it had to be stripped of its Soviet ties in order to make it palatable to the American public. As Elisabeth Bing, a founder of the American Society for Psychoprophylaxis in Obstetrics (ASPO), now Lamaze International, noted, touting the method's Soviet origins "was not a very good public relations move, given how Americans were feeling about Russians in the late '50s."¹⁰⁸ Quite the opposite was true for the French.

The dissimilarity between the French and American experiences suggests the historically contingent ways that social, political, and economic contexts shape universal physical and biological realities. The physiological mechanics of childbirth

¹⁰⁸ Elisabeth Bing, *My Life in Birth: The Memoirs of Elisabeth Bing* (Washington, D.C., 2000), 88.

know no national boundaries, but the social environments in which birth takes place vary over time and space. In the USSR, the state endorsed and promoted PPM to accommodate its fiscal limitations and to suit its political agenda. In France, organizational support from the well-established and popular UFF made it possible for PPM rapidly to put down roots. Lamaze's fierce advocacy and leadership also contributed to the rise of PPM, as did the postwar baby boom, dissatisfaction among medical consumers with the status quo, and state-sponsored pronatalism. No objective (and dubious) superiority explains the method's meteoric rise in France, or its subsequent global dissemination. At the nexus of politics, medicine, and gender, this story unfolds along one specific path because of a constellation of historically contingent variables both driven and hemmed in by the domestic and international Cold War considerations of the day.

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AHR Forum
Sex, Love, and Letters:
Writing Simone de Beauvoir, 1949–1963

JUDITH G. COFFIN

What I love is this counterpoint that runs through your whole book—this sara-band of desires that are never satisfied.

THE SECOND SEX (1949) IS A BIG BOOK, but it was a small part of Simone de Beauvoir's intellectual production. Beauvoir wrote essays and fiction; she kept notebooks and diaries that she revised (significantly) for volumes of memoirs; she sent thousands of letters to her friends, lovers, and fellow intellectuals.¹ She wrote to place her life in history and, in classic existentialist fashion, to find meaning in her everyday encounters and relationships. She wrote tirelessly—creating, presenting, and reworking her self.² It was a high-profile act, and, her critics notwithstanding, an enormously

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¹ See her letters to Jean-Paul Sartre in Simone de Beauvoir, *Lettres à Sartre*, vol. 1: 1930–1939; vol. 2: 1940–1963 (Paris, 1990); to Jacques-Laurent Bost, Sartre's student and her lover, in Simone de Beauvoir, *Correspondance croisée, 1937–1940* (Paris, 2004); and to Nelson Algren in Simone de Beauvoir, *A Transatlantic Love Affair: Letters to Nelson Algren* (New York, 1998).

² One historian of memoir calls Beauvoir's exceptional autobiographical output "a veritable course in writing about oneself." Jean-Louis Jeannelle, *Écrire ses mémoires au XX^e siècle: Déclin et renouveau* (Paris, 2008), 171. In the vast literature on Beauvoir, the following studies are the most historical: Sylvie Chaperon, *Les années Beauvoir, 1945–1970* (Paris, 2000); Christine Delphy and Sylvie Chaperon, eds., *Cinquante ans de la deuxième sexe: Colloque international Simone de Beauvoir* (Paris, 2001); Edward Fullbrook, *Sex and Philosophy: Rethinking de Beauvoir and Sartre* (London, 2008); Ingrid Galster, *Beauvoir dans tous ses états* (Paris, 2008); Galster, ed., *Le deuxième sexe de Simone de Beauvoir* (Paris, 2004), a collection of French reviews of *The Second Sex*; Galster, ed., *Simone de Beauvoir, Le deuxième sexe: Le livre fondateur du féminisme moderne en situation* (Paris, 2004), with a historical essay on each chapter of *The Second Sex*; Toril Moi, *Simone de Beauvoir: The Making of an Intellectual Woman* (Oxford, 1994); Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), chap. 6; Margaret A. Simons, *Beauvoir and "The Second Sex": Feminism, Race, and the Origins*

popular one. Beauvoir received thousands of letters from her readers, now gathered in a rich but virtually unexplored collection at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.³ The archive takes us well beyond Beauvoir, to the public, to ordinary lives in the 1950s, and to the history of the relationship between author and audience. The letters suggest how Beauvoir was understood, but more important, they testify to how readers read, to readers' preoccupations and purposes, and to their own efforts to explain and present themselves, which sometimes mirrored Beauvoir's. This group of letters may be too personal and idiosyncratic to provide a platform for broad-gauged social history. That very singularity, however, opens onto what French historian Judith Lyon-Caen calls a history "attentive to individuals and to ways in which the self is constructed."⁴

The letters to Beauvoir offer rare close-up views of women and men in the 1950s struggling to write about a range of difficult subjects: work, the travails of a writer, marriages gone bad, unwanted pregnancies and unwanted children, frustrated or confusing desires and feelings, including homosexuality, childhood experiences, and so on. The letter writers' ability to broach these topics was often limited by ignorance or isolation, by their having no language that seemed appropriate, and indeed by a sense of themselves as ordinary.⁵ What unlocked their inhibitions and prompted them to write to a philosopher? The answer involves several elements. Beauvoir raised topics made timely by France's economic and cultural postwar transformation.⁶ More important, she invited readers to identify with her and engage her directly, through her memoirs and, though less directly, in *The Second Sex*—in a language that was at once shocking or disconcerting and also resonant. At the same time, highbrow intellectual production in postwar France became enmeshed in a rapidly growing mass culture, from radio and television to the mass-circulation weekly and monthly magazines. This media culture was not merely French: publications such as *Paris Match*, *L'Express*, and *Elle* circulated well beyond the hexagon; Canadian radio featured interviews with Beauvoir and other existentialists; so did *Time* magazine and German and Colombian newspapers.⁷ Beauvoir's own writing combined with her construction as a media celebrity to make her, as one letter writer put it, "approachable."⁸ Such familiarity could breed contempt, especially when, as

of *Existentialism* (Lanham, Md., 1999); Simons's introduction to Simone de Beauvoir, *Wartime Diary* (Urbana, Ill., 2008); and Susan Rubin Suleiman, *Crises of Memory and the Second World War* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).

³ Simone de Beauvoir, lettres reçues, Manuscrits, Occident, Bibliothèque nationale de France. Mauricette Berne, "Elles écrivent," in Delphy and Chaperon, *Cinquantenaire du deuxième sexe*, 392–394; Anne-Claire Rebreyend, "Sur les traces des pratiques sexuelles des individus 'ordinaires': France, 1920–1970," *Le mouvement social* 207 (2004): 57–74; and Rebreyend, *Intimités amoureuses: France, 1920–1975* (Toulouse, 2008).

⁴ Judith Lyon-Caen, *La lecture et la vie: Les usages du roman au temps de Balzac* (Paris, 2006). On French social history, the self, and the senses, see also Alain Corbin, *Time, Desire, and Horror: Toward a History of the Senses*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1995); and Corbin, *Historien du sensible: Entretiens avec Gilles Heuré* (Paris, 2000).

⁵ Rebreyend, "Sur les traces," 61.

⁶ The classic account is Jean Fourastié, *Les trente glorieuses, ou la révolution invisible de 1946 à 1975* (Paris, 1979); and the most recent, which covers Europe in general as well as France, is Tony Judt's brilliant *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York, 2006).

⁷ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, November 23, 1959, May 7, 1960. The archive requires that the letter writers remain anonymous.

⁸ *Ibid.*, July 7, 1957.



FIGURE 1: Elliott Erwitt, Simone de Beauvoir (1949). Reproduced by permission of Magnum Photos.

in this case, the author's work included detailed treatments of female sexual experience. It is well known that *The Second Sex* ran into a thicket of critical disdain and misogyny, exemplified by the French conservative critic François Mauriac's remark to one of Beauvoir's colleagues at *Les temps modernes* that he "had learned everything about the vagina and clitoris of your boss."⁹ The archive of readers' letters, however, shows another side of the story: sympathetic readers appreciated the very aspects of Beauvoir's work that repelled Mauriac, and they welcomed the forms of intimacy and self-disclosure that they believed her to be not only offering to but also eliciting from them. They did so in a moment, the 1950s, when the same mass culture that produced Beauvoir's celebrity also offered a steady stream of feature stories about the lives and loves of ordinary people, letters to advice columns, opinion polls, questionnaires about personality, and so on. The popular psychology of the press offered some readers a primer for the more challenging forms of self-scrutiny and self-knowledge that Beauvoir called for, and for her sharper language of the frustration and fulfillment of desire. Mass culture, in other words, encouraged some of these letter writers to embark on their particular forms of active engagement with mandarin culture.

The most interesting letters in the archive are from the first decade and a half, the time *before* "the condition of women," "feminism," and "sexuality" congealed into set topics on which one adopted familiar positions, and about which it was appropriate to write to Simone de Beauvoir.¹⁰ From the mid-1960s on, letters poured in from activists organizing meetings and from journalists and scholars writing articles or asking Beauvoir to speak at conferences about women; a movement was in the process of making her its icon. In the earlier period, however, her correspondents were more varied, and they engaged her in interestingly unpredictable ways. The letters from that time are fresher and less formulaic, wrestling with topics that were not only taboo but also ill-defined. Whether or not they point toward the feminist horizon of the later 1960s and 1970s is an important question, but one not easily answered. The passage from the personal to the political, in the famous shorthand of second wave feminism, was far from self-evident.¹¹ Moreover, Beauvoir's work, with its emphasis on individual ethics, did not necessarily light the way. Her ambivalence about women's movements and *The Second Sex's* stance on feminism as, alternately, a movement whose time had passed ("perhaps we should say no more about it") and an impossibility ("women do not say we") remain part of her paradoxical legacy.¹² The diversity of the readers who wrote to Beauvoir testifies to a wide

⁹ See Galster, *Le deuxième sexe de Simone de Beauvoir*, 22, 294–296.

¹⁰ The archive holds around 2,500 letters for 1942–1975 and roughly 250–300 for the years considered here. "The condition of women" had emerged as a topic by the 1950s, but one framed in terms of the modernization of French women and what could be done *about* their alleged political isolation and economic marginality, not what women might do by and for themselves. Chaperon, *Les années Beauvoir*, provides a good survey of the development of a range of women's and feminist issues in the 1950s and 1960s.

¹¹ The letters as I read them confirm Joan Scott's characteristically clear and forceful argument *against* equating the personal and the political or seeing the "lived experience of women . . . directly leading to resistance to oppression, that is, to feminism." Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17, no. 4 (Summer 1991): 786–787.

¹² Simone de Beauvoir, *Le deuxième sexe*, 2 vols. (1949; repr., Paris, 1976), 1: 13, 21. The first English-language version of *The Second Sex* was translated and edited by H. M. Parshley for Alfred A. Knopf (1952; repr., New York, 1993). The recent translation by Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chev-

interest in the topics she raised, but that same diversity cautions against mustering the letter writers into the ranks of proto-second wave feminists. The letters do show women and men in the 1950s and early 1960s finding the wherewithal to face both internal and external obstacles in ways that prefigured feminist politics in the years that followed. A few mark different routes to what is plainly feminist consciousness. The issues these readers raised—as well as those they avoided—underscore some of the complexities of second wave feminism, which historians continue to explore in different national contexts.¹³ Above all, the letters constitute a remarkable archive of interior lives during the 1950s, testifying to the persistence of a nineteenth-century regime of pain, confusion, and ignorance in the sexual lives of many, to the fresh blasts of air of a changing cultural climate, and to the efforts—some stammering, some clear and unabashed—to speak about sexual feeling—or in more modern terms, to acknowledge desire.

allier (London, 2009) has raised a commotion. Toril Moi, the leading critic of Parshley's translation, has also pummeled the new one. See Moi, "While We Wait: The English Translation of *The Second Sex*," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 27, no. 4 (2002): 1005–1035; Moi, "The Adulteress Wife," *London Review of Books* 32, no. 3 (2010): 3–6; and Carlin Romano, "The Second 'Second Sex,'" *Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 20, 2010. Why the translation should be so difficult is an interesting question. Beauvoir's philosophical terms were indeed multivalent and difficult, as Judith Butler shows in her brilliant parsing of "become" in "Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*," *Yale Journal of French Studies* 72 (1986): 35–49. In certain places, Parshley completely obscured Beauvoir's philosophical premises; for instance, he translated the phenomenological "expérience vécue" ("lived experience") as "woman's life today." Yet Parshley's interest in and support for Beauvoir's philosophy and her feminism comes through clearly in his correspondence with his impatient and skeptical editor at Knopf. See Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., Records, Series III, Blanche W. Knopf, 1918–1966, bulk 1940–66, folder 689.13, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin. The ongoing disputes about the translation have everything to do with the dilemmas of feminist politics and paradoxes of feminist discourse, for they bring to the surface both symptomatic problems with "woman" or "women" and disagreements about the importance of culture, psyche, embodiment, and so on in the formation of gender—a term that, to make things more difficult, Beauvoir did not use. See among others Denise Riley, "Am I That Name?" *Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History* (London, 1988); and Joan W. Scott, "Unanswered Questions," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (December 2008): 1422–1429. Fortunately, the vast majority of letter writers considered in this essay read Beauvoir in French.

¹³ Dagmar Herzog's reviews of the recent literature on sexuality and its politics are also an excellent guide to feminism across Europe and the United States. See Herzog, "Sexuality in the Postwar West," *Journal of Modern History* 78 (March 2006): 144–171; Herzog, "Syncopated Sex: Transforming European Sexual Cultures," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 5 (December 2009): 1287–1308, as well as her *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, N.J., 2005). On France, the most directly relevant studies include Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer*; Julian Bourg, *From Revolution to Ethics: May 1968 and Contemporary French Thought* (Montreal, 2007); Christine Bard, *Les filles de Marianne: Histoire des féminismes, 1914–1940* (Paris, 1995); Sylvie Chaperon, "La radicalisation des mouvements féminins français de 1960 à 1970," *Vingtième siècle: Revue d'histoire* 48 (October–December 1995): 61–74; Chaperon, *Les années Beauvoir*; Anne-Marie Sohn, *Chrysalides: Femmes dans la vie privée (XIXe–XXe siècles)* (Paris, 1996); Michelle Zancarini-Fournel et al., eds., *Les années 68: Le temps de la contestation* (Paris, 2000); Julian Jackson, *Living in Arcadia: Homosexuality, Politics, and Morality in France from the Liberation to AIDS* (Chicago, 2009); and the literature on Beauvoir cited above. The literature on the United States is enormous; see among others Beth Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Mary Jo Buhle, *Feminism and Its Discontents: A Century of Struggle with Psychoanalysis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media* (New York, 1995); Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York, 1979); Jane Gerhard, *Desiring Revolution: Second-Wave Feminism and the Rewriting of American Sexual Thought, 1920 to 1982* (New York, 2001); Joanne Meyerowitz, *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945–1960* (Philadelphia, 1994); Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York, 2001); Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York, 2001); and Stansell, *The Feminist Promise: 1792 to the Present* (New York, 2010).

The archive presents the kinds of interpretive problems and riches encountered by any historian who works with letters. It is incomplete. Beauvoir's heirs removed letters from well-known friends; Beauvoir herself threw away letters and haphazardly stashed those she saved in bags and boxes. She discarded the envelopes, complicating the process of dating and cataloguing that continues at the Bibliothèque nationale. In her memoirs, Beauvoir reported that *The Second Sex* elicited a spate of ugly and insulting letters. Only a few such letters are in the archive.¹⁴ *The Second Sex* did indeed create a scandal, but scandal is not the story to emerge from this collection. The letter-writing readers are not necessarily representative of the reading public, or even of Beauvoir's followers. They are, however, a varied and intriguing group: writers and aspiring writers, teachers, clerical workers, women at home, schoolgirls, university students, factory workers, doctors, psychologists and psychoanalysts, and childhood friends. They are male (about one-third) as well as female, for Beauvoir's subjects mattered to both men and women. The letters testify to the wide reach of postwar French culture; they are datelined Tunis, Rio, Jerusalem, Lausanne, Warsaw, New York, Mexico City, Bogotá, and Zagreb as well as provincial France. Their materiality captures very different moments and feelings, educations and social standings. Readers sent postcards, holiday greetings, professional business cards, clippings of reviews, and pictures (a few of which are in the archive). Most wrote by hand, which was considered more formal and polite than typing. Some did so fluidly and at great length, others with obvious difficulty, crossing out words and phrases. One letter makes it easy to envision how it—and others—had actually lain on Beauvoir's desk. On the back someone wrote a shopping list for a gathering, apparently hosted by Beauvoir, for eight friends: "1 bottle vodka, 3 bottles whiskey, 1 foie gras for 8, 3 bottles of champagne; 1 bottle of Bourgogne (Bost), caviar, and petits pains."¹⁵

Did Beauvoir answer the letters? She marked a few "Replied." Many of the writers thanked her for responding to them. In a handful of cases, such as that of a young man who was starting his military service in 1957 and asked her to be his "war godmother," they corresponded for many years.¹⁶ She declined to answer love letters and marriage proposals, but seems to have treated many of her correspondents with respect.¹⁷ But more significant, many of the people who wrote to Beauvoir were not content to remain simply readers, hanging on her every word. Some cast themselves as critics in their own right, and as a group they may have pushed her toward a more feminist reading of her own work than she first conceived.

The letters, of course, show these readers at their best: demonstrating their attentiveness and intelligence, eager to explain that they had read her exactly as she

¹⁴ See, for instance, letters of July 21, 1949, and January 19, 1950. On the immediate reception, see Beauvoir's own account in *La force des choses*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1963), 1: 257–268; Chaperon, *Les années Beauvoir*, chap. 9; Galster, *Beauvoir dans tous ses états*; and Judith G. Coffin, "Historicizing *The Second Sex*," *French Politics, Culture and Society* 25, no. 3 (2007): 123–148.

¹⁵ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, October 19, 1950. "Bost" is Jacques-Laurent Bost; see fn. 1.

¹⁶ Ibid., July 7, 1957. War godmothers supported soldiers by writing letters. The practice began during World War I. See also January 30, 1959. The archive does not hold copies of any of her answers, nor have Beauvoir's correspondents contributed their letters from her.

¹⁷ She wrote to Algren about letters she received from readers. Beauvoir, *A Transatlantic Love Affair*, 289, 296, 305. See also Beauvoir, lettres reçues, September 13, 1958.

FIGURE 2: Beauvoir's signature. Many readers thanked her for replying to them.

would have wanted them to, or modeling themselves on her characters.¹⁸ As Lyon-Caen says in her excellent study of letters from readers to Honoré de Balzac and Eugène Sue, “Readers’ letters never tell the real experiences of reading.”¹⁹ Nor did the writers recount their “real” life stories.²⁰ Bound up in an intense and vividly imagined relationship with the author, they sought to distinguish themselves from other readers and to tell their stories in eye-catching ways. In the process they may have disguised as much as they revealed. Author, reader, and their relationship are all idealized or stylized, though they are no less significant for that.

This archive marks a mid-twentieth-century moment in a long tradition of correspondence with authors, a tradition of applauding, arguing, and explaining how the author’s work has helped decipher an “opaque” society, recognize a “problematic sexuality,” or retrieve an important memory—an epistolary tradition central to the history of social and self-knowledge.²¹ The letters offer a case study in reading, writing, and the relationship of both to self-reflection. They capture a turning point in the history of sexual discourse and feeling. Above all, they sketch a partial but unusually intimate portrait of the 1950s.

“MADAME DE BEAUVOIR, I HAVE the pleasure of being among the most ardent admirers of your work and personality!!”²² So wrote a reader in 1958, capturing Beauvoir’s literary stardom and the way in which celebrity fused her writing to her persona. Like the other celebrity existentialists, Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, Beauvoir presented her ideas in challenging forms, notably *The Second Sex* (1949), and more accessible ones, such as *America Day by Day* (1948), which offered an easy read on a popular postwar topic. *The Mandarins* (1954) won many readers and brought a blizzard of publicity even before it was tapped for the Goncourt Prize in

¹⁸ See, for instance, Beauvoir, lettres reçues, November 12, 1954, March 6, 1956.

¹⁹ Lyon-Caen, *La lecture et la vie*, 120 and chaps. 2 and 4 for historical approaches to letters. See also Judith Lyon-Caen and Dinah Ribard, *L'historien et la littérature* (Paris, 2010); Roger Chartier, “Lecteurs dans la longue durée: Du codex à l'écran,” *Revue des sciences morale et politiques* 2 (1993): 295–309; Chartier, ed., *Pratiques de la lecture* (Paris, 1985), including a bibliographic guide, 295–308; Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1985); Rebecca Earle, ed., *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600–1945* (Ashgate, 1999); Gérard Mauger, Claude F. Poliak, and Bernard Pudal, eds., *Histoires de lecteurs* (Paris, 1999); and Anne-Marie Sohn, “Pour une histoire de la société au regard des médias,” *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 44, no. 2 (1997): 287–306.

²⁰ See Scott, “The Evidence of Experience,” on how “experience” is articulated and produced, as well as Philippe Lejeune’s work on self-construction: *Le pacte autobiographique* (Paris, 1975), 326, and “L'autobiographie et l'aveu sexuel,” *Revue de littérature comparée* 325, no. 1 (2008): 37–51.

²¹ Lyon-Caen, *La lecture et la vie*, 192; Harry Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago, 2000).

²² Beauvoir, lettres reçues, September 13, 1958.

1954.²³ That success paved the way for the even more popular *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter* (*Mémoires d'une jeune fille rangée*, 1958), *The Prime of Life* (*La force de l'âge*, 1960), and *The Force of Circumstance* (*La force des choses*, 1963). "I have just finished your book *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter*, and I want to tell you how it swept me off my feet," wrote a reader in 1958 who, like many others, had gone on to "devour" all of Beauvoir's work, including *The Second Sex*.²⁴ Readers spelled out the connections they saw between the different works, calling *The Mandarins* "a victory of your ideas" and "a delightful and warm complement to the sweeping objective and scientific overview of the woman in *the Second Sex*."²⁵ Beauvoir's life, enthusiastic readers believed, buttressed her arguments: "It is good that this book was written by you, a person who embodies the very qualities one refuses to ascribe to a woman."²⁶

Readers skipped from one of Beauvoir's books to another; they read articles in *Elle* magazine, excerpts and reviews in *Le Figaro*, *France Soir*, and *L'Express*; they saw her profiled in *Match*, interviewed in *L'Humanité*, and photographed in *Jours de France*. Some were appalled by the press's fascination with her. One woman angrily asked why *Elle* had published a story about such an "egotistical and cerebral monster." She was grateful that the magazine had countered its report on Beauvoir's view of marriage as an "alienation of liberty" with a feature story on the opposite page about two happy girls and their mother.²⁷ In this case and others, reading meant reading *about*—and even that needs to be understood in the largest sense. While the *Elle* subscriber had reconstructed a debate from the pages of the magazine, another letter writer cheerfully acknowledged that she had studied only Beauvoir's horoscope.²⁸

The distinctive literary culture of postwar France burnished intellectual prestige with a combination of moral seriousness and glamour, investing literature and philosophy with what were surely outsized hopes for restoring the nation's status in the world.²⁹ Intellectuals such as Beauvoir and Sartre peopled the pages of glossy postwar weeklies featuring personalities, fashion, world events, sports, and splashy visuals. The republic of letters found new outlets in magazines and journals, radio programming, and, to a lesser extent, television. Writers' images and arguments were refracted through the kaleidoscope of this new medium, with its faster pace, greater commercial pressures, and larger and more demanding audiences.³⁰ Beauvoir's

²³ Björn Larsson, *La réception des Mandarins: Le roman de Simone de Beauvoir face à la critique littéraire en France* (Lund, 1998). On celebrity, see Lenard Berlanstein, "Historicizing and Gendering Celebrity Culture: Famous Women in Nineteenth-Century France," *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 4 (2004): 65–91; Edgar Morin, *Les stars*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1972); Vanessa R. Schwartz, *It's So French! Hollywood, Paris, and the Making of Cosmopolitan Film Culture* (Chicago, 2007); Tamara Chaplin, *Turning On the Mind: French Philosophers on Television* (Chicago, 2007); George Cotkin, *Existential America* (Baltimore, 2003). By 1959, Beauvoir was theorizing stardom as well as enacting it. Simone de Beauvoir, "Brigitte Bardot and the Lolita Syndrome," *Esquire*, August 1959, 2–38.

²⁴ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, October 29, 1958.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, December 8, 1954; *ibid.*, September 21, 1956.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, January 13, 1960.

²⁷ She sent a copy of the letter to *Elle*. *Ibid.*, September 24, 1960. *Elle* was covering *The Prime of Life*. See another reader's response to the *Elle* feature, dated September 26, 1960.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, n.d., in dossier January–June 1957.

²⁹ On these hopes as well as these intellectuals' political, ethical, and philosophical failures, see Tony Judt, *Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals, 1944–1956* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

³⁰ On the press and the public, see the works in fn. 23 and Edgar Morin, *L'esprit du temps: Essai*

agents pleaded for pictures and quotes that they might provide to reporters. Nescafé asked Beauvoir, as a celebrated café-goer, to endorse their coffee.³¹ Letter writers requested autographs and photographs, the better to visualize her life and person. “I have often seen your name, and I see excerpts and photos of you in the papers. That is why, I think, that I am writing to you,” wrote one for whom names, books, and photos apparently did not suffice: “There aren’t any records with your voice, are there?”³² For some—usually men—her reputation made her familiar and more approachable: “In a recent photo you seemed less distant, and I dared to write to you,” wrote one.³³ “A one martini girl!” joked another, alluding to *Time* magazine’s coverage of Beauvoir’s memoir. “I do not hold the cafés against you, you know,” he added. “This is why one can write to you easily, as one would to an ordinary person.”³⁴ “Simone de Beauvoir, you belong to all of us; that is why I do not call you Madame”: the phrase captured the new expectations of a more democratic mass culture.³⁵

Most correspondents, though, did not believe that Beauvoir was “just anyone.” To the contrary, they were acutely self-conscious about their distance from her.³⁶ They apologized for their inability to write, for being “lyrical” or “childish” (*puerile*)—in other words, seeking advice and intimacy from a powerful person as if she were a parent, and unable to recognize, as an adult surely would, the gulf that separated them from a philosopher-writer.³⁷ A woman who loved *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter* said that she could not “resist the slightly childish desire to respond to you”—as if Beauvoir had written to her first.³⁸ Another correspondent captured the difficulty of striking the right tone and noted the self-expressive traps into which one could easily tumble. She had started her letter to Beauvoir three times: “To reduce the distance between the ‘woman of letters’—the famous writer whom I imagined—and the anonymous student, all too aware of my limits and my unpromising future, I put on the grand style and rhetoric—so much so that my starchy prose kept me from getting to the point for several pages.”³⁹ Her evocation of the distance between the woman of letters and the anonymous reader highlights the challenge of this kind of letter.

The intensity of feeling and self-dramatization in these letters is striking. A great

sur la culture de masse (Paris, 1962); Menie Grégoire, “La presse féminine, la femme et l’amour,” *Esprit*, July–August 1959, 17–34; Marc Martin, *Medias et journalistes de la république* (Paris, 1997); Alice Kaplan, *The Collaborator: The Trial and Execution of Robert Brasillach* (Chicago, 2000); and Claude Bellanger, ed., *Histoire générale de la presse française*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1976), 5: 423–426.

³¹ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, January 14, 1955. The documents in folder 1954 offer a glimpse of the campaign for the Goncourt Prize, including the publisher’s efforts to solicit reader responses, which many readers answered. See October 22, 1954, November 12, 1954, and November 15, 1954, and many readers’ letters in 1955.

³² *Ibid.*, February 14, 1960.

³³ *Ibid.*, July 7, 1957.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, March 16, 1960. This letter is filed in the dossier January–June 1957.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, December 26, 1958.

³⁶ See Lyon-Caen’s discussion of Balzac’s readers in *La lecture et la vie*, 247.

³⁷ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, January 27, 1961.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, February 13, 1959. See also May 11, 1957.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Paris, February 11, 1961. Beauvoir herself used “starchy” in *Mémoires d’une jeune fille rangée* (Paris, 1958), 302. On self-expressive traps, see also Beauvoir, lettres reçues, June 12, 1960, September 8, 1960, and May 26, 1961.

many readers opened their letters by saying that they had not wanted to write, or that they had resisted the impulse to do so but had been unable to help themselves. That opening gesture partly paid tribute to the author, whose work had touched them powerfully enough to sweep away their hesitation and, in the process, to make them characters she might admire: willing to rise above their insignificance, take risks, or put "honesty ahead of pride."⁴⁰ Through this gesture, the letter writers thus also paid tribute to themselves. Their phrases echoed Beauvoir's own tropes; *The Second Sex* opened with "I have long hesitated to write a book on women," and she prefaced *The Prime of Life* with remarks on the "imprudent adventure" of writing about oneself. In addition, the people who wrote were not sure that they understood their contradictory feelings or that the subjects they wanted to raise were appropriate. Whatever the different motives and meanings, the effect is one of inner turmoil, or an excess of feeling that needs to be released. (The word *épancher*, "to pour out," recurs throughout the letters.) And this rhetorical effect calls forth another, of intimacy and trust.

The surprisingly intimate tone of the letters was also a response to Beauvoir's self-presentation. Beauvoir was never far from the center of her work. *The Second Sex* began as an experiment in existentialist autobiography and emphasized "lived experience." She denied that the Parisian intellectuals in *The Mandarins* were actually her circle of friends, but this only encouraged readers to try to identify the characters, especially Beauvoir herself. "I feel as if I've known you for two years, and all thanks to a book. Could you tell me how much of yourself you have put in *The Mandarins*?"⁴¹ "I think you must resemble Anne: How I would like to meet you!!"⁴² They described the act of reading in intimate terms: "I have just spent two days in bed with, as a wonderful companion, your latest book."⁴³ "I want to thank you for this passion that I could feel while reading this book [*The Mandarins*]. For an entire night, I lived among the Dubreuilh."⁴⁴ Readers wrote that they now knew Beauvoir; she was down to earth, with a "wide angle of vision," and able to understand everything.⁴⁵ "Your intelligence intimidates me but at the same time it inspires trust, because you are very understanding."⁴⁶ They wanted to move from text to author, as one revealingly put it, "to know the real face of the person toward whom I have projected myself so entirely in the imagination, and to listen to her voice."⁴⁷

Projection, identification, and longing for attachment escalated sharply after 1958 with the publication of Beauvoir's memoirs. "I didn't have to read your memoirs to admire you, but they permitted me to love you."⁴⁸ Professions of recognition and self-recognition poured into her mailbox. Letter writers explained that they had been born in the same year as Beauvoir or into the same kind of household, that, like her, they had broken with the Catholic Church, that they wanted to write, or that they were "free." Some wrote that they had been stunned to find on her pages exactly what

⁴⁰ Ibid., January 27, 1961. See also October 27, 1954, and November 30, 1954.

⁴¹ Ibid., 1957, n.d. Larsson, *La réception des Mandarins*, 30.

⁴² Beauvoir, lettres reçues, 1957, n.d.

⁴³ Ibid., January 14, 1959. See also November 30, 1954.

⁴⁴ Ibid., May 11, 1957. See also postcard, March 4, 1955.

⁴⁵ Ibid., December 28, 1957.

⁴⁶ Ibid., January 1, 1955.

⁴⁷ Ibid., February 11, 1961.

⁴⁸ Ibid., February 25, 1959. See also December 13, 1958.

they had written in their own diaries.⁴⁹ As several correspondents remarked, Beauvoir offered them a flattering mirror. If so many rushed to recognize themselves in her, it was with a swell of pride, or because she offered them a better version of themselves: "Everything you say in your memoirs I have felt; I would have liked to be able to say it, but I explain myself very poorly."⁵⁰ "I was a girl like you, a young woman like you! This is what thousands of women surely think—with pride—when they read you."⁵¹

The Beauvoir letters aptly illustrate literary scholar Nancy K. Miller's point that reading memoir is a process of "interactive remembering." As Miller puts it, "You follow the threads that take you back, even if then there was no story, just the loose threads you see now woven into a readable fabric, material for another story: your own."⁵² The letters make vivid the forms that "interactive remembering" could take: painful, nostalgic, passive, energetic, and defiant. A young woman in Germany who had never read a word of Beauvoir but had learned about *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter* in a Catholic newspaper asked, "Would you like to write the history of MY life?"⁵³ This was perhaps the most lopsided engagement with the book, but a revealing extreme: the reader-author bond ranged from recognition (I know you!) to affinity and shared experiences (I am like you!) to something more passive and trusting (Tell my story!). Most of the letter writers believed Beauvoir to be uniquely well-qualified to interpret their feelings, understand their families, bring them out of their isolation, and give public significance to their lives. The young German woman simply turned over her biography; others used Beauvoir's "understanding" to reconsider and to rewrite their own.

Projection, identification, and imagined intimacy, however, ran both ways. Beauvoir actively elicited her readers' responses. In an eye-catching passage from *The Prime of Life* that set out her goal as a writer, she imagined her voice reaching readers almost unmediated, entering their hearts, and in the process attaining literary (and not only literary) immortality.

What I wanted was to penetrate so deeply into the lives of others that when they heard my voice they would have the impression they were speaking to themselves. If my voice were multiplied through thousands of human hearts, it seemed to me that my existence, reshaped and transfigured, would still, in a manner of speaking, be saved.⁵⁴

This was strong stuff, melding religious and psychological imagery. Beauvoir's use of the word "penetrate" (*pénétrer*) bespeaks a willful entry into intimate connection.

⁴⁹ Ibid., November 17, 1958. See also September 23, 1952, February 13, 1959, May 9, 1960, May 15, 1960, and November 26, 1960. One asked whether Beauvoir would read one or two volumes of *her* diaries. Ibid., June 19, 1960.

⁵⁰ Ibid., May 3, 1959.

⁵¹ Ibid., January 27, 1961.

⁵² Nancy K. Miller, "But enough about me, what do you think of my memoir?" *Yale Journal of Criticism* 13, no. 2 (2000): 421–436. *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter* brought in scores of letters on childhood; *The Prime of Life* and then *The Force of Circumstance* brought in many on World War II and its aftermath, about which memories were even more painful and complex. For example, November 15, 1960, December 15, 1960, December 27, 1960, January 21, 1964, and January 30, 1964. These letters are beyond the scope of this article but figure in my work in progress.

⁵³ Beauvoir, *lettres reçues*, 1958, n.d.

⁵⁴ Beauvoir, *La force de l'âge* (Paris, 1960), 644; my translation. *La force des choses* made even more dramatic gestures toward readers, to which many responded; see the letters from 1964.

It is not surprising to find that many readers cited the phrase to her—or that the desired response got out of hand. One of several readers wrote that her feelings were running amok and the author was to blame:

I would like to retreat behind a dignified reserve . . . But I do not know how to wait: I never knew how . . . I have participated in so many moments of your life, this book [*The Prime of Life*] has clarified so many things that have been blurry to me, that I am even more disappointed to be without news from you.

You speak of “penetrating into the lives of others.” You have reached this goal, and it gives you responsibilities, and speaking for myself, I can no longer consider you a stranger.

To such an extent that when I read your name in magazines about things of which I’m unaware, I’m so angry not to be up to date—it’s as though I had rights over you.

There: reactions like these are probably unpleasant, and you had not envisioned them. But I do not feel responsible.⁵⁵

This epistolary relationship recalls the relationship between Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his readers, memorably analyzed by Robert Darnton.⁵⁶ Beauvoir’s readers, like Rousseau’s, were drawn into felt intimacy and the effusion of emotion, including love and jealousy. The requests for photographs, for more “news,” and for more intimate details, however, arise from distinctively twentieth-century forms of culture and celebrity. The author-reader relationship in the 1950s was built not only on texts, but also on news coverage, profiles, candid photos, and interviews on radio and television. It was enmeshed in the web of “mediations, communications, and contacts” that the brilliant French sociologist Edgar Morin considered constitutive of mass culture in his time.⁵⁷ Some of the letters to Beauvoir plainly resemble letters to movie stars, with their over-identification and “fetishistic” search for information. “Every news item whispers a little secret, one that allows the reader to possess a little intimacy with a star,” Morin wrote.⁵⁸ Not all of the correspondents were starstruck; many read carefully and critically, and none necessarily lacked resources, ideas, or ambition. Even so, the broader cultural production of intimacy with celebrities seems to have eased the letter writers’ way. Moreover, there is a striking affinity between the way mass culture in the 1950s proffered doses of intimacy with famous persons (interviews that focused on their personal lives, reports about their everyday routines, and furtively snapped photographs) and Beauvoir’s insistently intimate self-presentation and her expectation that readers would hear her “voice” as their own. The female press, in particular, fetishized—to use Morin’s term—not only intimacy with celebrities, but also intimacies among readers themselves, nurturing a sense of belonging, and of sharing concerns, experiences, and outlooks in a way that rendered seemingly mundane matters relevant and meaningful. Beauvoir complained that the culture of “publicity” in 1950s France “disfigured” intellectual work.⁵⁹ What Lauren Berlant has influentially called the “intimate public” of mass culture, however, may well have helped Beauvoir’s words “penetrate the lives of others.”⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, November 30, 1960. See also April 19, 1960.

⁵⁶ Darnton, “Readers Respond to Rousseau: The Fabrication of Romantic Sensitivity,” in Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, 215–255.

⁵⁷ Morin, *L’esprit du temps*, 136.

⁵⁸ Morin, *Les stars*, 83.

⁵⁹ Cited in Chaplin, *Turning On the Mind*, 38.

⁶⁰ Lauren Gail Berlant, *The Female Complaint: The Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American*

SEXUALITY WAS NOT THE ONLY or even the primary concern of Beauvoir's different correspondents, but it occasioned some of the most unexpected and interesting letters, largely because the language in which to discuss it was not ready to hand.⁶¹ Letters that broached sexuality provide an excellent example of how Beauvoir's work "landed," and how readers might respond to topics that she raised while ignoring or misunderstanding her arguments. They dramatize some of the changes (discursive, political, and social) under way in the 1950s. They illustrate, too, the unevenness of those changes, for the letter writers testify to a strikingly diverse set of experiences of and perspectives on sexuality. They raised issues that ranged from contraception, which was relatively straightforward, to sexual pleasure, desire, and pain, which were confusing and pushed many to the limits of their ability to express themselves.

One of the earliest letters came in 1950 from a woman pharmacist, whose profession put her on the front line of private struggles over sexuality, reproduction, and health. Beauvoir had observed that women had two confessors, the priest and the doctor. But in women's everyday lives, the letter writer added, neighborhood pharmacists mattered even more; they were trained in medicine and more accessible than doctors, for their counsel was free and readily available in the course of women's daily errands. As a pharmacist, she was besieged by women's "confessions" and requests for information and help.⁶² Women asked her general questions about their own and their families' health, and more specific ones about sexuality, frigidity (her term), unwanted pregnancies, and abortion. The pharmacist had observed firsthand how often women induced early abortions with quinine or uterine injections that escaped detection by doctors or hospitals—and criminal inquiries from the state. Beauvoir's discussion of abortion had become one of the most incendiary parts of *The Second Sex*. The pharmacist contended that the abortion rate was even higher than Beauvoir had suggested, and the crisis even graver. Laws banning contraception, in place since 1920, in her view had led to catastrophic consequences: they made sexual pleasure impossible, ruined marriages, and turned French women old before their time.⁶³ The pharmacist cited a conversation with one of her customers, a twen-

Culture (Durham, N.C., 2008); Niklas Luhmann, *Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986); and Anthony Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love, and Eroticism in Modern Societies* (Stanford, Calif., 1992).

⁶¹ Correspondents wrote about work, domestic and international politics, and, frequently, their own struggles with writing. Authorship was a point of identification, a shared passion, a source of prestige in postwar France, and so a way for readers to project themselves into what, as we have seen, appeared to be a charmed circle of public intellectuals. On writing, see Berne, "Elles écrivent."

⁶² Beauvoir, lettres reçues, March 20, 1950. This letter is marked "repondu."

⁶³ The law criminalized contraception and all "anti-conceptual propaganda," which meant describing or offering to divulge "procedures that would prevent pregnancy or facilitating the use of these procedures." In the early 1950s, France was on the cusp of changes that would roll back these restrictions. By the early 1960s, the Movement for Family Planning was trying not only to revise the law but also to circumvent it, with centers that provided contraceptive information to members and by working with gynecologists to win acceptance for the birth control pill. Contraception was legalized in 1967, and abortion in 1975. Marie-Françoise Lévy, "Le mouvement français pour le planning familial et les jeunes," *Vingtième siècle: Revue d'histoire*, July–September 2002, 75–84; Melanie Latham, *Regulating Reproduction: A Century of Conflict in Britain and France* (Manchester, 2002); *Le planning familial: Histoire et mémoire, 1956–2006* (Rennes, 2006); and Janine Mossuz-Lavau, *Les lois de l'amour: Les politiques de la sexualité en France de 1950 à nos jours* (Paris, 1991). The most comprehensive social histories of sexuality, including contraception, are Sohn, *Chrysalides*, which is abridged as Anne-Marie Sohn, *Du premier baiser à l'alcôve: La sexualité des français au quotidien, 1850–1950* (Paris, 1996); and Martine

ty-nine-year-old woman who reportedly had had four children, ten miscarriages, and “no pleasure, ever.” Her husband’s days off were “torture,” the woman had said. “I know that I must do my duty and besides, my husband is young, but I am afraid.” As the pharmacist grimly observed, the husband was young at age twenty-nine—his wife was not.

The pharmacist wrote to report, not to speak of herself. She likened her customers, alone with her at the pharmacy counter, to “beasts caught in a trap.” “They do not dare demand in public what they weep for in private,” she wrote, not very sympathetically. “Is there a minority that dares? I would like to know.” She argued that fatalism, passivity, and notions of virtuous maternal suffering muffled protest. To those who touted the heroism of French motherhood, she retorted harshly, with tellingly postwar language: “Just because one gets through the ordeal of childbirth ‘honorably’ does not mean that one can claim to be some kind of heroine. When one has given birth, one may have learned to suffer, but the Inquisition, or the Gestapo . . . that is another thing, and very different.”⁶⁴ The pharmacist’s impatience with the rhetoric of maternalism was shared by many French journalists, writers, and intellectuals during the 1950s. Traditional ideologies had been discredited by Vichy and by a humiliating occupation; France had to be able to stand up to a changed world, and resignation and passivity—easily associated, wrongly or not, with women’s traditionalism and Catholic positions on maternal virtue and sexuality—sapped the nation’s ability to do so. For those reasons, education, knowledge, and self-mastery (in sexual matters, among others) belonged to the project of modernizing postwar France.⁶⁵

Women and medical experts were not the only ones who wrote to Beauvoir about contraception. One extraordinary letter came in 1957 from a man, married for six years, already the father of three (with a fourth on the way), and intent on learning what Beauvoir knew about birth control. The letter is detailed, matter-of-fact, at once well-informed and revealing about the human costs of ordinary ignorance. The author, too, is an interesting character: while he adopts a peremptory tone vis-à-vis Beauvoir, he sympathizes with his wife’s confusion and, as he says, her sense of being dominated by bewildering biological facts:

Madame, what I want to ask you is very simple: you speak on several occasions of a “blocked woman” or a plug that seems to protect the woman.⁶⁶ Here is my question: where can I obtain such protection?

Perhaps I should explain myself. Married in [19]51, I’m expecting my fourth child next January. The first one was from our marriage, the second was from carelessness, but the third

Sevegrand, *Les enfants du bon Dieu: Les catholiques français et la procréation au XX siècle* (Paris, 1995). Beauvoir estimated between 500,000 to 1 million abortions annually. *Le deuxième sexe*, 2: chap. 6, 330. Sohn considers 200,000 a more plausible figure, but agrees that abortion rates rose dramatically in both the inter- and postwar periods. Sohn, *Chrysalides*, 2: 905–907.

⁶⁴ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, March 20, 1950.

⁶⁵ For instance, Geneviève Gennari, *Simone de Beauvoir* (Paris, 1959); Françoise Giroud, *Leçons particulières* (Paris, 1990); Grégoire, “La presse féminine, la femme et l’amour.” On sex education and its larger meanings, see Tamara Chaplin, “Émile pervers? Ou ‘Comment se font les enfants’: Deux siècles d’éducation sexuelle en France,” in Régis Revenin et al., *Les jeunes et la sexualité: Initiations, interdits, identités (XIXe–XXI^e siècle)* (Paris, 2010), 22–36.

⁶⁶ The author refers to a diaphragm, which was available only in England, Switzerland, and the U.S.

one was conceived two days after the end of [my wife's] period, and the fourth when the flow had not yet ended. As you can imagine, my wife is now more afraid than ever of this biological fact that she does not entirely understand but the effects of which she has to suffer.

If we want to continue to have some natural relations, my only option is to find an unfailing form of protection; the Ogino method certainly does not offer that.

I would like you to give me the address where I could obtain such an instrument if, of course, my request does not seem rude or tiresome.

p.s. And if possible, give me the exact name of this device.

He enclosed a picture of his children.⁶⁷

It is a remarkable document, and not what one expects in a letter to Simone de Beauvoir! In 1957, when it was written, public discussion of abortion and contraception had picked up in France, sparked in part by a high-profile investigative study of underground abortions by the journalist Jacques Derogy (whose real name was Jacques Weitzmann). Titled *Des enfants malgré nous?* (1956), Derogy's book was prefaced by Dr. Weill-Hallé, head of the newly founded Maternité heureuse, which would become Le mouvement pour le planning familial in 1960. Derogy offered the shocking statistic that in any given year, French women had as many abortions as live births. The well-known editor of *L'Express*, Françoise Giroud, reviewed the book and took to the television as well, denouncing the "conspiracy of silence and denial" that surrounded abortion, which also enabled lawmakers to persist in maintaining a regime that criminalized contraception.⁶⁸ Very few readers' letters in the 1950s referred to these debates. The subject was still "obscene," and, more important, Beauvoir did not at that point particularly affiliate herself with the cause. Yet the letters from this man and from the pharmacist are a window onto sexual life in a world where contraception was illegal and reliable information about it was a rare and valuable commodity, one traded quickly through semi-clandestine networks of knowledge.⁶⁹ It is revealing of the atmosphere of the time that when Beauvoir began to publish on sexuality, men and women furtively visited her apartment and the

⁶⁷ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, November 30, 1957. This letter was from Thiers, France. See also April 7, 1955. Ogino-Knaus calendars, which explained how to calculate the safe periods in a woman's menstrual cycle, were developed by a Japanese doctor and an Austrian sexologist. Jacques Derogy, *Des enfants malgré nous?* (Paris, 1956), 197–198. Kate Fisher, "'She Was Quite Satisfied with the Arrangements I Made': Gender and Birth Control in Britain, 1920–1950," *Past and Present*, no. 169 (November 2000): 161–193, which insists that men played important roles in making decisions about contraception, is a provocative challenge to received wisdom on the subject. Quite apart from the different national cultures of Britain and France, my evidence here is too singular to confirm or refute her arguments. But this man's letter does illustrate men's interest in birth control, which, Fisher aptly points out, concerned everyday sexual activity as much as it limited the number of children in a family. *Ibid.*, 169. While he is concerned with his wife, he is also speaking about his own sexual desires.

⁶⁸ Derogy, *Des enfants malgré nous?* 17. Derogy's articles, under the title "Are Women Guilty?" were first published in *Libération* in October and November 1955; the Françoise Giroud book review, "Les malades de samedi," was in *L'Express*, February 15, 1956.

⁶⁹ The Institut national d'études démographiques (National Institute for Demographic Studies) summarized the state of knowledge (or ignorance) about contraception in France in "Une enquête sur l'opinion publique à l'égard de la limitation des naissances," *Population* 11, no. 3 (July–September 1956): 481–506. It did not capture exactly how unevenly knowledge was distributed. See also Hélène Bergues et al., *La prévention des naissances dans la famille: Ses origines dans les temps modernes* (Paris, 1960); and Henri Léridon et al., *La seconde révolution contraceptive: La régulation des naissances en France de 1950 à 1985* (Paris, 1987), both published by the Institute.

editorial offices of *Les temps modernes* to ask for addresses of abortion providers.⁷⁰ That a “family” man, a father of four, would write to a well-known woman writer about birth control testifies not only to a widespread hunger for knowledge, but also to an emerging sense that such knowledge was legitimate, that it should no longer be confined to the worlds of midwives, brothels, and erotic books, traditionally the realms of France’s reputed sexual “knowingness.” The topic of contraception was not new, but the circles in which it might be broached, which had expanded during the 1930s and had then been shut down during World War II, were widening again, in a new atmosphere of economic optimism, political renewal, and generational change.⁷¹

Since we do not usually imagine Simone de Beauvoir dispensing advice to ordinary people, it is striking to see how many letters “importuned” her for help.⁷² Even before the memoirs invited the kinds of intimacy considered above, *The Second Sex*, *The Mandarins*, and Beauvoir’s public persona persuaded many that she was “understanding” both about women of “all conditions” and about the “paradoxes of modern society.”⁷³ Readers asked her to help them find work and apartments. They wrote of conjugal unhappiness—of a husband’s jealousy or abusiveness; of boredom; of meeting a new partner; of marrying young in order to escape their parents’ home, only to find themselves trapped in marriage; of class differences that created marital tensions; of divorce and the courage it would take to initiate one.⁷⁴

Many letter writers described their disillusionment with myths of romantic love, marriage, and motherhood, echoing themes in Beauvoir’s work. “Since your first books, then *The Second Sex*, then the memoirs, I have wanted to ‘talk’ to you,” wrote a weary and discouraged thirty-nine-year-old divorced mother of three. “I admire how you have escaped the big traps of life: having children, being jealous, leaving work, breaking up . . . In reading your books I have the sense of having wasted my life.”⁷⁵ Another woman offered a particularly painful (though terse) account of how love and family had gone wrong in her life.

Let me explain the problem about which I would like your advice. After certain “unhappy experiences” from which I did not know how to learn a lesson, I got married; I had decided to take the risks, without knowing exactly what they were, and to trust in love one more time. The successive births of my two children absorbed all my physical and mental energy: the second birth was a “semi-catastrophe”: the child was afflicted with a congenital deformity of

⁷⁰ Beauvoir, *A Transatlantic Love Affair*, 263, 289–290. She seems to have known several doctors who performed abortions. *Ibid.*, 298.

⁷¹ On the twilight between outlawed and acceptable, see Anna Clark, “Twilight Moments,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14, no. 1/2 (2005): 139–160; Sally Alexander, “The Mysteries and Secrets of Women’s Bodies,” in Mica Nava and Alan O’Shea, eds., *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity* (London, 1995), 161–175; and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 2002). On sexual knowledge in different national cultures, see Herzog, “Syncopated Sex.”

⁷² Other figures received letters about sexual matters, often a good deal more explicit. But they presented themselves as practical experts and advice givers. Ruth Hall, ed., *Dear Dr. Stopes: Sex in the 1920s* (London, 1978); Ellen F. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Katharine Bement Davis, Early Twentieth-Century American Women, and the Study of Sex Behavior* (New York, 1987); Martine Sevegrand, ed., *L’amour en toutes lettres: Questions à l’abbé Viollet sur la sexualité, 1924–1943* (Paris, 1996).

⁷³ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, October 31, 1957, August 29, 1957.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, August 29, 1957, November 30, 1957, May 1, 1958, October 18, 1961.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, December, 1960.

the face: although she was operated on at the age of one and developed normally, she remains very marked. I was profoundly troubled by this event: I have not yet managed to come to terms with the complexity of my feelings toward my daughter.

... reading two of your books has plunged me, again, into reflection, into a vertigo of illumination and solitude.⁷⁶

Having an ill or handicapped child was a relatively common experience. It was rarer to acknowledge a tangle of love and repugnance toward the afflicted child—or to confess to feeling not only inadequate as a mother, but resentful about motherhood. It is as if Beauvoir's blunt analysis of the physical and psychological perils of motherhood and her irreverence about maternal virtue enabled this reader to describe her own experience as nearly "catastrophic."

Others who wrote were even more overwhelmed by their emotions and memories—so much so that their letters recall nineteenth-century tropes of women who had "fallen," or been led astray by their "passions." The language, though, is less that of moral failure, and more that of psychological despair, of love, sex, and marriage being sabotaged: "youth, which people find so wonderful, was for me a dreadful period when the passions drag you into a ghastly abyss from which there is no escape."⁷⁷ Another letter, very moving, said:

I still know nothing—a milieu like ours destroys love. I go out on Sunday. I go to the Saturday dance like everyone—it's so depressing and I flirt—but never would I let myself be seduced. I am twenty years old, and I keep this thing in me pure—maybe sometimes I have the desire to—but I am a bourgeoisie . . .

I would like so very much for you to understand me. If I could only have you before me, I know you would find the words to make me speak, but on this poor piece of paper . . .

You could never understand me, you with your wonderful and free life—ah! Everything seems so easy when I read you, and yet I can't express to you everything that I feel.⁷⁸

Many of the letters in the archive were penned in anguish. Lonely, isolated, and trusting Beauvoir's intelligence and humanity, the writers rushed to confide in her. "Please excuse me; I did not want to write my confession or trouble you, but you seem to understand the unhappiness of women of all conditions. Tell me honestly."⁷⁹ To discuss contraception was risky; to recount betrayed promises of love, marriage, and motherhood was painful. Sexual feeling was even more difficult. By the 1950s, strong currents of medical and journalistic opinion (from *L'Express* to *Elle* and *Marie Claire*) were deploring French girls' ignorance about sexuality and arguing that French mothers, presumed to preside over such things, needed to be less reticent, more knowledgeable, and, in a word, more modern. Commentators sounded the same unsympathetic notes as the pharmacist who spoke of her customers as "beasts caught in a trap." Adolescents and their mothers were less clueless than experts and the press in the 1950s suggested. Still, the letters in this archive testify to a widespread *pudeur* (modesty, or restraint) and to real discomfort concerning sexual feeling.

A middle school teacher from Belgium began her letter as follows, an excellent

⁷⁶ Ibid., December 2, 1958.

⁷⁷ Ibid., October 13, 1958.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 1961, n.d.

⁷⁹ Ibid., August 29, 1957.

illustration of how one would struggle to ask a question about sexuality—in this case arousal and orgasm—without using any of those terms:

I have redone this letter so many times that I must make up my mind to send it as it is. I wanted it to be short so as not to bother you, and I did not want to give in to a need to pour out my heart. On the other hand, when I explain myself you will be able to judge how much I need your help.

The wisdom of your observations, the courage and the generosity of your intellectual position show that you clearly can recognize the importance of the subject of my letter (I cannot yet make up my mind to just set it out) . . .

I hope that you will not consider it inappropriate if I turn to you for information on hygiene.⁸⁰

Only on the second page did this letter writer reach the subject: she had never felt either “love or voluptuous excitement,” and no one had ever made her “quiver with desire.” A combination of reticence and confusion made it impossible for her to say more than that on paper; she asked Beauvoir to meet with her in person. A remarkable number of correspondents from the 1950s did the same. Beauvoir could write about the specifics of “women’s eroticism,” masturbation, and vaginal pleasure, using terms quite acceptable in scientific and medical discourse, but hardly any of these readers could bring themselves to use remotely the same language.⁸¹

Finally, several readers found themselves almost unable to write. They were torn between their inability to name their problems and the need to break out of their isolation and silence, and they trusted Beauvoir to understand what they were talking about.

December 28, 1957

Please excuse me for the liberty I take in writing you. I have read your excellent book *The Second Sex*, and I think that you are the only person who can give me advice.

I am facing a difficult problem, one that is conjugal and familial. I sometimes feel quite alone and very discouraged. I cannot bring myself to write to some *Courrier du Cœur* [a women’s advice column, lit. “letters from the heart”]. I think that you can give me advice that would be useful and wise, because you have a very general, very understanding view on all these problems. If it would not be too much trouble, would you be able to meet with me?⁸²

April 19, 1957

Dear Comrade and, if I may, friend,

I found your book *The Second Sex* fascinating. I have read and reread it several times, I have given it to several people, and will give it again without growing tired of it. I’ve also lent *The Mandarins*, and I’ll lend that again. I am a factory worker without a high school diploma . . .

I have behind me a wretched past, a childhood without a father, and some abominable adventures [*aventure* means “adventure,” but also “love affair”], which I find difficult to write about or describe.

What I would like is your personal address, to be able to confide in you, to talk about things that one usually reserves for friends.

⁸⁰ Ibid., December 3, 1952. “Conjugal hygiene” was a common nineteenth-century term.

⁸¹ Beauvoir, *Le deuxième sexe*, 2: 146–147. See also letters from November 26, 1954, January 1, 1955, May 16, 1961 (in English), and n.d., 1961, cited above.

⁸² Beauvoir, lettres reçues, December 28, 1957.

I would like your photograph, with your signature. That is very important to me.
If one day I come to Paris, where I think you live, I will come to see you.⁸³

1961, undated

Maybe my nightmare is just something ordinary, but I hate my father, he is . . . oh, you can imagine. Prostitution is nothing . . . Saint Mary Magdalene, I was 12, that's really nothing. But that . . . I want to die.⁸⁴

To read these letters is to see, up close, the isolation and ignorance that could compound sexual unhappiness, the humiliations and torments of abusive families, and the vulnerabilities of young women who needed to be protected by—or from—their fathers. It is also to see the resonance of Beauvoir's analysis of women's sexuality as a bundle of fears, repulsions, and impossible, or at least systematically frustrated, desires. For Beauvoir, sexual initiation was something like a formative failure: an experience suffered rather than initiated, often violent, which sealed a young woman's alienation from her body and her personhood. Sexuality was a "terrain of truth" for women, and it was rough territory.⁸⁵ All these readers refer to *The Second Sex*, and one would not have had to read the whole book to get the picture: skimming a few pages in a bookstore or reading excerpts in a magazine would suffice, for memorably graphic passages on sexual violence, psychological trauma, and erotic frustration jump off virtually every page of the chapters on sexuality in the second volume.⁸⁶ Those chapters evoked a firestorm of critical outrage, but they encouraged some readers to articulate what was almost unspeakable at that time.

By the mid-twentieth century, as French historians have shown, much in Beauvoir's rendering of female sexuality was out of date. *The Second Sex* drew heavily on nineteenth-century sources such as the diaries of Marie Bashkirtseff (1860–1884) and Countess Sophia Tolstoy (1844–1919) and on Honoré de Balzac's *Physiologie du mariage* (published in 1829), perhaps a particularly poor guide to women's sexual feeling in the 1940s.⁸⁷ Anne-Marie Sohn, one of the leading historians of private life in France, has made this point forcefully. By the time *The Second Sex* was published, Sohn shows, honeymoon nights on which a young virgin found herself handed over to a man she had not chosen (Beauvoir's phrase) were rare, even in the French countryside.⁸⁸ The Catholic Church's teaching and parental controls had lost force in the late nineteenth century, and the two world wars had weakened them further. Arranged marriage was a relic of the past. Women as well as men put more emphasis on choosing their partners and invested more time in the courting that choice entailed. In the countryside, mobility and sociability had increased; towns and cities offered the erotic tutelage of movies (*un baiser américain* meant a kiss on the lips) as well as dance halls and parties. Everywhere, magazines and advertising aimed at women invited more spending on hygiene, cosmetics, clothing—in a word, on the

⁸³ Ibid., April 19, 1957.

⁸⁴ Ibid., n.d., 1961; ellipsis points in original.

⁸⁵ Beauvoir, *Le deuxième sexe*, 2: 147. On nineteenth-century eroticism, see also Alain Corbin, *L'harmonie des plaisirs: Les manières de jouir du siècle des Lumières à l'avènement de la sexologie* (Paris, 2008), 438.

⁸⁶ Annick Houël and Anne-Marie Sohn, "L'initiation sexuelle," in Galster, *Simone de Beauvoir, Le deuxième sexe*, 307.

⁸⁷ Beauvoir, *Le deuxième sexe*, 2: 235–236. Beauvoir also drew on Stendhal, Proust, and Colette.

⁸⁸ Anne-Marie Sohn, "La vie en société," in Galster, *Simone de Beauvoir, Le deuxième sexe*, 367–368.

female body—and that attention, in turn, encouraged more sexual activity.⁸⁹ *The Second Sex*, then, does not provide a social history of mid-century sexuality. On the other hand, letters in the Bibliothèque nationale archive show that Beauvoir's analysis of sexual unhappiness struck a chord. So did her language of female desire. That language was not particularly poetic or creative—there is a lot of “shuddering” and “ardor” in addition to her famous description of female arousal as “the soft throbbing of a mollusk” (*la molle palpitation d'un coquillage*).⁹⁰ Still, to discuss sexual feeling outside the context of erotic or libertine literature was to reach a broader public with a different language.⁹¹ To associate sexual feeling with women's aspirations to existential fulfillment, as Beauvoir did, resonated for many. One reader put it beautifully in responding to *The Mandarins*: “What I love is this counterpoint that runs through your whole book—this saraband of desires that are never satisfied.”⁹²

The letters in the archive, however, also caution us against making sweeping conclusions about the practices, knowledge, or language of ordinary people. Even a small sample reveals the effects of very different levels of education or even personal resourcefulness. They illustrate very different stances toward sexuality: impatient and determined (the husband seeking reliable birth control); overwhelmed (his wife); reflective about conflicting feelings and what they might suggest (the woman who wrote of the “saraband of desires”); and conflicted and desperate (“You will never understand, your life has turned out so differently”). Experience and knowledge were particularly dependent on some combination of family, milieu, class, gender, age, and religion and religiosity.⁹³

Homosexuality, to which there are only a few fascinating references, provides a case in point. A young man wrote from Mexico City to thank Beauvoir for taking bold stands. “The world is so oppressive and indifferent. Your tolerance toward homosexuals in particular is valuable. I wish you would write about them.”⁹⁴ Young, cosmopolitan, and self-confident, he was able to wield a modern vocabulary of sex-

⁸⁹ The new sexual regime of early-twentieth-century France brought new vulnerabilities. While traditional conceptions of morality and “sin” may have faded, Anne-Marie Sohn argues, social reputation still mattered enormously. To be considered “*legère*” (light, or loose) was to court opprobrium. If a young woman was in a relationship, she tried to negotiate that relationship without getting pregnant. In the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth, pregnancy meant procuring an abortion, getting married, or turning to one's family, and these were all common options. In 1911, 60 percent of marriages reportedly came after pregnancy. An enduring double standard created contradictory expectations: on the one hand, extramarital sex was increasingly tolerated and expected; on the other, a woman's virginity still had value, considered a gift, or a form of dowry for girls or women with few material resources. How to act in the face of such contradictions remained confusing; in a 1964 study, 72 percent of those interviewed were in favor of virginity at marriage, but 50 percent of them had had premarital sex. In other words, whatever they had done themselves, they believed it had not worked. Cited in Sohn, *Du premier baiser à l'alcôve*, 227, 237–238. Letters to Menie Grégoire in the 1960s offer abundant firsthand accounts of dealing with contraception, pregnancy, reputation, and family. Archives départementales d'Indre-et-Loire, Archives contemporaines, J 66, 230–231.

⁹⁰ Beauvoir, *Le deuxième sexe*, 2: 165. See 151–154 on the myth that men “awaken” women, young women's search for pleasure, and the “uncertain and burning call of her flesh.”

⁹¹ On sexual pleasure a decade later, see Rebreyend, “Sur les traces,” 69–70. Sohn, *Chrysalides*, 2: 256–257.

⁹² Beauvoir, lettres reçues, November 12, 1954. A saraband is a slow and particularly sensual dance.

⁹³ Here “experience” refers both to accumulated wisdom and to the feelings said to flow from a given event or encounter. Scott, “The Evidence of Experience,” 781, citing Raymond Williams.

⁹⁴ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, March 16, 1960.

uality without being overwhelmed by fear and confusion. An older woman in the outskirts of Paris wrote very differently:

I am so cold among males and females. I am looking for a rare bird who, before feeling male or female, is conscious of being human. It seems that this rare bird is found often enough among men, but to approach it one has to be of the same sex. Finding such a bird among women would only be possible for persons of the opposite sex. If this is the case, what can be done? I know that you are one. Could I talk to you?⁹⁵

Beauvoir must have answered the letter, for the woman wrote again, explaining in a less confusing or oblique way: "While I am absolutely normal, I do not fit into any category."⁹⁶ Yet the contrast between the tone and the images of sexual feeling and identity in the two letters remains striking: the man from Mexico City is able to write "homosexuality," while the older woman struggles with more formal "allusion and metaphor."⁹⁷ As Michel Foucault pointed out long ago, the issue is not silence, but "the different ways of not saying such things, how those who can and those who cannot speak of them are distributed, which type of discourse is authorized, or which form of discretion is required in either case."⁹⁸

Simone de Beauvoir was not discreet. That a woman would write about sex as a woman, with an emphasis on "lived experience," proved one of the most disconcerting features of her work, and pushed at the limits of propriety. Highbrow critics such as François Mauriac disdained her self-revelatory tone as well as her subjects.⁹⁹ Hannah Arendt, invited to review the English-language manuscript of *The Second Sex* for Knopf, lamented Beauvoir's "preference for a very dubious kind of confession literature [that] lower[s] the level of discussion."¹⁰⁰ Reviewers deemed *The Mandarins* "embarrassing," or "unrestrained, in the style of most women writers."¹⁰¹ These critics, however, were neither simply obtuse nor blindly misreading; readers who loved Beauvoir's work read it much the same way. Her subject and her emphasis on experience (often her own) invited letters that were self-revealing.

The French historian Mona Ozouf has described *The Second Sex* as "an immense courrier du cœur."¹⁰² One could find the analogy preposterous. Beauvoir confronted subjects well beyond the pale of "Miss Lonelyhearts" columns. Her themes were not women's romantic disappointments, but their self-deceptions, traps, and failures.

⁹⁵ Ibid., April 3, 1956.

⁹⁶ Ibid., November 21, 1956. For another example, see Rebreyend, "Sur les traces," 66.

⁹⁷ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction* (New York, 1990), 17.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 27.

⁹⁹ On Mauriac, see Galster, *Le deuxième sexe de Simone de Beauvoir*, 22, 294–296. On the tangle of sexuality, shame, and secrets in postwar France, see Coffin, "Historicizing *The Second Sex*." Mauriac complained that the erotic scenes in *The Mandarins* made him want to "vomit." *L'Express*, November 13, 1954, 16. In a letter to Beauvoir (in English), an enthusiastic reader wrote: "All the warmth contained in the sexual act is brilliantly expressed in many pages of your novel, and one never doubts that the author has had a fulfilled sexual life." Beauvoir, lettres reçues, March 27, 1955.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Hannah Arendt to Alfred A. Knopf, December 16, 1952, Knopf Records, Series III, folder 1177.21.

¹⁰¹ *L'Express*, January 15, 1955, 3. Reviewers and readers compared *The Second Sex* and *The Mandarins* to tabloids such as *Confidences*, *Sexual Digest*, and *Amour Digest*. Galster, *Le deuxième sexe de Simone de Beauvoir*, 126–130, 197, 237; Beauvoir, lettres reçues, May 27, 1955; Larsson, *La réception des Mandarins*, 128, on women writers' lack of "restraint." On Beauvoir as a writer for women, see Moi, *Simone de Beauvoir*; and Elizabeth Fallaize, "Narrative Strategies and Sexual Politics," in Fallaize, ed., *Simone de Beauvoir: A Critical Reader* (London, 1998), 199–200.

¹⁰² Mona Ozouf, *Les mots des femmes* (Fayard, 1995), 295.

Her work presented sexuality as an existential minefield or high-stakes adventure; the French women's press, by contrast, long tiptoed around the subject. Love, a sentiment that cultivated virtue, selflessness, and happiness in the everyday, inundated the postwar French women's press. Sexuality—which in that press evoked “egotistical pleasure”—was edgier. Until the early 1960s, even progressive publications that were suffused with eroticism, such as *Elle*, felt the need to shroud sex with romance and love. Homosexuality, abortion, and sexual violence, which Beauvoir confronted without flinching, were off limits.¹⁰³

On the other hand, sharing confidences, breaking out of one's isolation, believing that confusions, wounds, anxieties, and what some would consider errant sexual desires were not singular—these *were* features of columns such as “Letters from the Heart” and of the “intimate public” that was assuming new prominence in the landscape of 1950s culture. Readers with no “head for metaphysics” trusted that Beauvoir would take their confidences seriously: “reading you, I felt the warmth of a friend's voice.”¹⁰⁴ The letter writer cited above underscored that she could not pose her question to “some *Courrier du Cœur*.” Another actually apologized for addressing Beauvoir as if the philosopher “were a columnist with a *courrier du cœur*!”¹⁰⁵ The “advice column” provided an important point of reference, a map of the new communicative terrain of mass culture, a guide that helped letter writers with fewer resources participate in the more “elevated” discourse about private feelings. Moreover, many of the letters were peppered with tropes and language of the kind of sentimental fiction that often ran alongside the *courrier du cœur*: references to “dreadful adventures,” “frightful abyss,” “whirlwind,” or, for instance, “At the moment that I write this, I hear the stationmaster announcing the arrival of the train for Paris—what torture.”¹⁰⁶ Sentimental fiction, like the advice column, offered a ready-to-hand source of tropes and metaphors with which to take on the difficult subjects that Beauvoir's work raised.

CONFIDENCES, THEN, MAY HAVE instilled confidence. Did identifying with Beauvoir become a way to forge a new female, and eventually feminist, identity? There are

¹⁰³ Jacques Rémy and Robert Woog, eds., *La française et l'amour: Une enquête de l'Institut français d'opinion publique* (Paris, 1960), a quasi-statistical study that became a mass market paperback, exemplified this approach to sexuality. *La française et l'amour* bowdlerized both *The Second Sex* and Alfred Kinsey's reports on American sexual behavior. See Judith G. Coffin, “Between Opinion and Desire: *Elle* Magazine's Survey Research in 1950s France,” in Kerstin Brückweh, ed., *The Voice of the Citizen Consumer: A History of Market Research, Consumer Movements, and the Political Public Sphere* (New York, forthcoming); Grégoire, “La presse féminine, la femme et l'amour”; Marcelle Ségal and Hélène Gordon-Lazareff, *Mon métier: Le courrier du cœur* (Paris, 1952) (Segal wrote the “*Courrier du Cœur*” column at *Elle* for forty years); Evelyn Sullerot, *La presse féminine* (Paris, 1963); Morin, *L'esprit du temps*; Christian Delporte, “Au miroir des médias,” in Jean-Pierre Rioux and Jean-François Sirinelli, eds., *La culture de masse en France de la Belle Époque à aujourd'hui* (Paris, 2002), 305–351. On Germany, see Stéfanie Duttweiler and Peter-Paul Baenziger, “‘Chère Marta, j'ai un problème’: La mise en mots du malaise sexuel dans le courrier du cœur,” *Revue des sciences sociales* 36 (2006): 108–115; Peter-Paul Bänziger et al., eds., *Fragen Sie Dr. Sex! Ratgeberkommunikation und die mediale Konstruktion des Sexuellen* (Berlin, 2010).

¹⁰⁴ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, January 19, 1958.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., June 18, 1964, cited in Rebreyend, “Sur les traces,” 60.

¹⁰⁶ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, June 14, 1958. This one was written on paper torn from a notebook. On existentialism as melodrama, see Moi, *Simone de Beauvoir*, 98–104.



FIGURE 3: Masthead of the “Courrier du Cœur” column in *Elle*. © ELLE/SCOOP. Reprinted by permission of *Elle* magazine, Hachette Filipacchi Media.

good reasons to look before making this leap, first among them Beauvoir’s mixed feelings about feminism. *The Second Sex* maintained that unlike civil rights or anticolonial struggles, feminism could not be a real movement. Women do not say “we,” as Beauvoir put it. Until the 1970s, she considered the subjugation of women too deeply embedded in other structures to make feminism viable as its own political force.¹⁰⁷ The letters themselves advise some interpretive caution. Readers took away from Beauvoir’s work a classically existentialist call to shoulder individual responsibility. They felt asked to be mature, or courageous.¹⁰⁸ “You’re right . . . I need to leave my adolescence behind, not burrow into it.”¹⁰⁹ Without *The Second Sex*, one reader might never have taken on “the trial of the real.”¹¹⁰ Beauvoir’s words sustained some during crises: “I read your book in a borderline moment, when I was at the end of my rope.”¹¹¹

A few readers expressed explicitly feminist politics or purposes. The pharmacist hoped for a “liberating storm” to sweep away bans on contraception; a journalist believed that *The Second Sex* might “open eyes.”¹¹² One thirty-two-year-old working woman penned this classic tribute: “Thank you. Thank you for your books, for *The Ethics of Ambiguity*, and then—above all—thank you for *The Second Sex*, which I read a few years ago . . . It’s something else—it is an enormous rock in a frog pond . . . it is a clap of thunder in a deceptively serene sky—it is the slave who looks at his chains. I am not exaggerating.”¹¹³

For every letter that envisioned some kind of feminism, however, another explicitly ruled it out of court. One reader chastised Beauvoir for her politics, saying she should have championed collective action rather than individual ethics, but even that reader could not conceive of a women’s movement. “Of course I don’t think you should have called on women, as the oppressed, to create a revolutionary party!!”¹¹⁴ Another rued that women would never emancipate themselves: “The proletariat will

¹⁰⁷ Beauvoir’s own account of her relationship to feminism is in *La force de l’âge*, 654, and *La force des choses*, 1: 258–268; see also Gennari, *Simone de Beauvoir*, 68; Moi, *Simone de Beauvoir*, 210.

¹⁰⁸ Beauvoir, *lettres reçues*, November 26, 1954.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, June 9, 1958. See also December 31, 1961.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, October 13, 1958.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, date illegible, 1956. See also October 14, 1960.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, January 12, 1958.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, June 18, 1957.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, March 10, 1950.

fight for itself; so will black people; but this 'negre' [*sic*] will not change UNTIL MEN WANT HER TO CHANGE."¹¹⁵ Beauvoir's analogy between the subordination of women and class, colonial, or racial domination was at once fundamental to the structure of *The Second Sex* and also hesitantly drawn. It is not surprising, then, that the book's highbrow reviewers almost completely ignored that provocative argument, and so did almost all of the letter writers.¹¹⁶

The most revealing exception to this silence is a remarkable document that demonstrates exactly how that analogy might be received. One young woman wrote in an effusive and slightly scattershot way about her children, existentialism, communism, and Sartre, enthusing that Beauvoir's fictional characters "continued to live" with her "to the point where they become tiresome!" She had discussed *The Second Sex* with a friend, a woman doctor whom she greatly admired. The doctor had followed up on their discussion with a letter, which the young woman enclosed along with her own. The doctor was "eager to clarify [her] ideas on . . . this rich and new book." "It expressed, and so beautifully, what I could only think." She objected to the psychoanalysis in *The Second Sex*, but praised the sections on "lived experience." "As for *your* objections," the doctor explained to her friend (we do not know what those objections were), they would apply to all struggles for liberation. "Of course none of this happens without drawbacks or dangers (look, for instance, at the decolonization that is under way). But this certainly should not prevent or slow down the business of liberation, and the weight of the mistakes that may be committed falls on the oppressors, not on the oppressed—the apprenticeship of liberty happens surprisingly fast, as history shows."¹¹⁷ The doctor wrote in February 1958, as French public opinion was turning against the French colonial war in Algeria, indeed three months before the crisis sparked by the war would bring Charles de Gaulle to power. She used the events unfolding in Algeria to make Beauvoir's arguments concrete, to evoke the tumult and upheaval that might result from women undertaking to dismantle their own subordination, and to reassure her friend about the quickening pace of historical change. It is a striking glimpse of politicization, how self-understanding, along with affinities and felt "experiences," can be rendered differently and transformed, the power of thinking by analogy, and the capacity of events to alter the horizons of the possible.

In most of the letters, the politics are more introspective and the voice is from the interior.¹¹⁸ "Your close and faithful personal analysis is valuable for all women. No one has done this before. (And I say that as a Freudian.)"¹¹⁹ Your voice reaches "deep inside me."¹²⁰ Readers felt that Beauvoir summoned them to feeling fully and mastering those feelings: "to understand the feelings that trouble me, which I didn't see clearly, and which I had a tendency to repress."¹²¹ They used her characters to think about themselves. "I never get tired of imagining these characters and hearing

¹¹⁵ Ibid., March 17, 1960; emphasis in original. See also September 12, 1961.

¹¹⁶ See Simons, *Beauvoir and "The Second Sex"*; Moi, *Simone de Beauvoir*; and Simone de Beauvoir and Gisèle Halimi, eds., *Djamila Boupacha* (Paris, 1962).

¹¹⁷ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, February 4, 1958.

¹¹⁸ On Beauvoir and the body, see Sara Heinämaa, *Toward a Phenomenology of Sexual Difference* (Oxford, 2003).

¹¹⁹ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, January 27, 1961.

¹²⁰ Ibid., January 27, 1961.

¹²¹ Ibid., March 10, 1950.

their intelligent and eye-opening conversation. Rarely has a novel made me reflect as much as yours."¹²² They felt called upon to write about themselves, as an "affirmation," "deliverance," or way to bring order to themselves.¹²³ One, in fact, refused that summons. She would be willing to talk about her childhood but had "no desire to speak of it in writing [*sic*], and no impression that doing so would either 'do me good' or help me to see clearly."¹²⁴

That readers often cited the passage from *The Mandarins* in which Beauvoir hoped that "when they [readers] hear my voice they would have the impression they were speaking to themselves" suggests not only what they took away from reading Beauvoir but also *how* they took it, as a form of inner dialogue. On this, one last example: an American woman who had an extended correspondence with Beauvoir. An unabashed fan, she was articulate and fluent in French. Like many letter writers, she wanted to meet Beauvoir in person—and unusually, it seems, she did. She wrote after that meeting, plainly inspired. Her first priority was to excavate her own past: "Thank you so much for meeting with me. Now I am sure I will do psychoanalysis!" She understood that rigorous self-reflection would lead outward as well as inward, that both her own self-understanding and women's sexuality more broadly were bound up in social and cultural taboos, prohibitions, and myth—and that they might involve political action. "For the moment, I have many concerns with feminism. But that is still abstract, on the level of discourse. Two of my student friends . . . have decided to tackle *The Second Sex* as soon as the fall semester begins. I am very pleased."¹²⁵

The politics of these letters, then, take multiple forms. There is an emancipatory politics of struggling to find a voice and in these readers' moving efforts to break out of their loneliness, to glean more information, and to bridge the distance between themselves and the kinds of freedom that Beauvoir represented. There is a similar politics to the way in which Beauvoir provided resources, discursive and other, to those who were hemmed in by isolation, by ignorance, and by a sense of themselves as unexceptional or unworthy of interest.¹²⁶ There is a politics to the author-reader relationship, which in this case could be (or seem) intimate without being egalitarian. These readers may have trusted Beauvoir, but many cast her alternately as a celebrity, a model, an advice columnist, and an oracle. There is a politics to the silence on race and colonialism. The politics of these letters point in different and sometimes contradictory directions. Still, the issues they highlight would remain central to feminism's twentieth-century history, and to the movement's strengths and weaknesses. The personal transformations that accompanied recognizing desire, or how it was thwarted—what John Gagnon calls "bringing the sexual in from the cold"—were powerfully radicalizing for many individuals and would bring many into politics.¹²⁷ Feminism's shared struggles with civil rights and anticolonial movements would swell

¹²² Ibid., n.d., 1958.

¹²³ Ibid., n.d., between July and December 1958. See also January 30, 1959.

¹²⁴ Ibid., November 8, 1958.

¹²⁵ Ibid., December 31, 1961.

¹²⁶ Rebreyend, "Sur les traces"; Horowitz, *Rereading Sex*.

¹²⁷ "For when the sexual was brought in from the cold, it was more than an intellectual act; it had the deepest emotional resonance and for many people it necessitated integrating the new fact of the sexual into the entire fabric of their lives." John H. Gagnon, *An Interpretation of Desire: Essays in the Study of Sexuality* (Chicago, 2004), 32.

its ranks—and its misrecognitions and blind spots on questions of race would make it seem narrow and exclusive.

A PHILOSOPHER WHO ALSO WROTE best-selling literature; an author who received effusive letters from readers; a thinker who insisted on fundamentally reexamining human nature and whose subject was the relationship of self to other and to the social; a literary celebrity whose work would become essential to a generation of revolutionaries—Simone de Beauvoir cannot but bring to mind Jean-Jacques Rousseau.¹²⁸ Between the two stood a century and a half of rethinking the self—most obviously the female self. Any of Rousseau's women characters—Julie, the virtuous mother-martyr in *Julie; or, The New Heloise* (1761), or Sophie, cast as Emile's helpmate in *Emile; or, On Education* (1762)—could exemplify the target of Beauvoir's critique: woman as the inessential Other around whom the myths, culture, and psycho-social formations of modern Western culture had taken shape. Beauvoir proposed a version of the female self who could speak—and to whom she spoke—frankly, with the lines of communication cleared of self-annihilating sentiment. Her mode of connecting with her readers was not the Rousseauian communion of hearts, but existential argument and psychological introspection. Her currency was emphatically neither confession, paying tribute to a higher authority, nor sentiment. She called on women to “lay claim to a consciousness” and “win possession of themselves,” and to do so on the intimate terrain where gender relations were negotiated—a call every bit as revolutionary as Rousseau's to renegotiate the social contract.¹²⁹ Many of these letter writers took the gamble. If some of their ways of doing so seem oblique—asking for information about a diaphragm or an abortion, writing about having mixed feelings as a mother or feeling hatred for a father, declaring that love had been sabotaged—Beauvoir's existentialism, with its insistence on the meaningfulness of the everyday, helped to draw them out in this mode.

“Feeling,” too, had been revised. For Rousseau and the eighteenth-century cult of sensibility in general, feelings needed to be extracted from encrustations of society and civilization but were not themselves problematic. Social manners might be artificial; feelings were genuine and ennobling. As Charles Taylor and others have shown, first the nineteenth-century Realist critique of Romantic illusions and the banality of sentiment, and then the late-nineteenth-century reconceptualization of nature as a “great reservoir of amoral force” combined to deepen the image of human interiority.¹³⁰ “Feelings” in a Freudian world (to use a shorthand) were tangles of raw, inadmissible, or unarticulated desires, not concealed but distorted by repression—by society and class, by familial or patriarchal structures. Plumbing one's

¹²⁸ Several readers made the connection; see, for instance, August 24, 1960. Carla Hesse reinterprets Rousseau's revolutionary readers in “Reading in Extremis: Revolutionaries Respond to Rousseau,” in Charles Walton, ed., *Into Print: Essays in Honor of Robert Darnton* (forthcoming, 2010).

¹²⁹ Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, 715. Philippe Lejeune helpfully distinguishes between a confession, in which the confessor acknowledges having made a mistake, and an *aveu* (admission), which is more defiant. As Lejeune also argues, an *aveu* does not mark a “liberation” from the rule or expectation defied, for the rule still stands, and is relevant. Lejeune, “L'autobiographie et l'aveu sexuel,” 43.

¹³⁰ Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 445 and the discussion of changing conceptions of inwardness in chaps. 21–24.

feelings could not be a matter of simply opening one's heart; "the requirements of modernity [had] escalated."¹³¹ One way to capture the historical transformation, at least as it registers in Beauvoir's readers' letters, would be to say that these individuals spoke less of "feeling" and more of "desire," and that the latter was experienced as harder to master, less coherent or rational, and often, though not exclusively, in more bodily ways, as sexuality.

The cultural position of autobiography had also shifted. Rousseau cast himself as a pioneer in the realm of self-disclosure: "I have resolved on an enterprise which has no precedent, and which, once complete, will have no imitator."¹³² By the twentieth century, autobiography had become a more popular "structure for enunciating the self and also a mode of cognition," in Carolyn Steedman's words, and was no longer confined to writers or the well-known.¹³³ Beauvoir's readers' struggles to write about themselves, about which many were so articulate, show the force field of this larger cultural change—an "incitement" to autobiography—as well as Beauvoir's particular existentialist summons to take themselves in hand and to make their life stories meaningful—to ask whether they were "wasting their lives."

The route from Beauvoir to feminism was no more straightforward than the route from Rousseau to revolution. In fact, Beauvoir's own route to feminism was circuitous, and her correspondence with readers such as these may well have pressed her toward a different politics and self-conception as a writer. She certainly suggested as much in her memoirs. In 1963 she mused that before the war, as a young writer she would have been "surprised and even irritated to hear that [she] would be concerned with the problems of women, and that [her] most serious readers would be

¹³¹ Ibid., 397. Lionel Trilling contrasts Rousseauian sincerity, "the congruence between avowal and feeling," with twentieth-century "authenticity," a term that "suggests a more strenuous moral experience . . . a more exigent conception of the self and of what being true to it consists in." Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 11. See Lyon-Caen, *La lecture et la vie*, 90–100, for an excellent discussion of the "Rousseau phenomenon" and Romantic letter-writing in general; Claude Labrosse, *Lire au XVIIIe siècle: La Nouvelle Héloïse et ses lecteurs* (Lyon, 1985); James L. O'Rourke, *Sex, Lies, and Autobiography: The Ethics of Confession* (Charlottesville, Va., 2006); and Dennis Porter, *Rousseau's Legacy: Emergence and Eclipse of the Writer in France* (New York, 1995). On the emotional economy of sentiment and sensibility, see William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001). On thinking through different aspects of the self, bodily, relational, and reflective, see Jerrold Seigel, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 2005).

¹³² Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Confessions of Jean Jacques Rousseau*, trans. John Michael Cohen (1782; repr., London, 1953), pt. 1, book 1, 17.

¹³³ Carolyn Steedman, "State Sponsored Autobiography," in Becky Conekin, Frank Mort, and Chris Waters, eds., *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain, 1945–1964* (London, 1995), 55. See also Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester, 2001); Jeannelle, *Écrire ses mémoires au XXe siècle*; and Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience from Victoria to Freud*, vol. 4: *The Naked Heart* (New York, 1995), 103–149. On the French history of autobiography or life writing, see Lejeune, *Le pacte autobiographique*; Philippe Lejeune, *Je est un autre: L'autobiographie de la littérature aux médias* (Paris, 1980); Philippe Lejeune and Catherine Bogaert, eds., *Le journal intime: Histoire et anthologie* (Paris, 2006); and Françoise Simonet-Tenant, *Le journal intime: Genre littéraire et écriture ordinaire* (Paris, 2004). In late-nineteenth-century France, life writing was popularized in the form of keeping a journal, but the journal was handed in to the teacher to be corrected and handed back. Girls in particular were admonished to be humble and self-effacing. Lejeune and Bogaert, *Le journal intime*, 91. Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton, N.J., 2007), 33–38, offers some ways to distinguish the forms of nineteenth-century "life writing" from autobiography and the modernist memoir, as do the essays in Jane Gary Harris, ed., *Autobiographical Statements in Twentieth-Century Russian Literature* (Princeton, N.J., 1990). On feminism and autobiography, see Kate Millett, *Critical Essays on Simone de Beauvoir*, ed. Elaine Marks (Boston, Mass., 1987), 200.

women.” She did not regret that development. If *The Second Sex* had been valuable for readers, readers had been no less important to her work; “they had reciprocally conferred on it its truth.”¹³⁴ To summarize, in this author-reader relationship politicization, like projection and the search for intimacy, was very much a two-way street. If some of the letter-writing readers were simply enthralled with Beauvoir’s fame, others cast themselves as critics in their own right. Criticism was usually a province restricted to “fine minds” (*les meilleurs esprits*), wrote one reader; now this reader wanted to “participate out loud.”¹³⁵ Fans, critics, and interlocutors; unusual, quirky, and thoughtful: the readers who wrote to Simone de Beauvoir caught her attention, and they amply repay ours.

¹³⁴ Beauvoir, *La force des choses*, 1: 267, 268.

¹³⁵ Beauvoir, lettres reçues, March 8, 1950.

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AHR Forum
Sex, Sovereignty, and Transnational Intimacies

JUDITH SURKIS

LESS THAN A YEAR AGO, in the December 2009 issue, this journal featured an *AHR* Forum on how histories of sexuality can and do contribute to the writing of transnational history.¹ Does the current forum's focus on postwar France indicate a reversion to an exclusively national frame? Not exactly. By attending to recent transnational and international concerns, this collection of essays recasts "French" history, illustrating that a national story cannot be isolated from broader contexts, which both traverse and shape its borders.

This grouping of articles offers a good opportunity to revisit—and test—the earlier forum's conclusions about the extent, potential, and limitations of transnational thinking about sex and "intimacy." Histories of sexuality coincide with transnational approaches in several respects. After all, as Margot Canaday and Joanne Meyerowitz signaled in their essays in the 2009 forum, both historiographies focus on contacts, exchanges, and flows that transgress borders and construct new relations.² Dagmar Herzog, in her contribution "Syncopated Sex," nonetheless provided a contrapuntal note, as she asserted the distinct—if parallel—*national* paths followed by different European countries in the twentieth century. "The nation-state," she wrote, "is a logical unit to analyze when we are trying to understand changes in laws and government policies; and for most of the twentieth century, it is striking how profound an impact laws have had in shaping national and local sexual cultures and individuals' self-conceptions alike, as well as . . . the actual bodily experiences of sex."³ Herzog, in other words, reminded us of the persistence of the nation in the transnational.

The essays in the current forum at once confirm and complicate Herzog's assertions about the nation-state's ongoing salience in postwar Europe. More specifically, they highlight how inter- and transnational influences—and power plays—were constitutive of rather than ancillary to those "national" histories. As these authors suggest, the national sexual history of postwar France cannot be told without reference to German occupation, American "liberation," and imperial reorganiza-

Thanks to Nancy Cott, Dagmar Herzog, and Alison Frank for their comments and suggestions on this piece.

¹ "AHR Forum: Transnational Sexualities," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 5 (December 2009): 1250–1353.

² Margot Canaday, "Thinking Sex in the Transnational Turn: An Introduction," *ibid.*, 1252; Joanne Meyerowitz, "Transnational Sex and U.S. History," *ibid.*, 1273.

³ Dagmar Herzog, "Syncopated Sex: Transforming European Sexual Cultures," *ibid.*, 1298. See also Herzog, "Sexuality in the Postwar West," *Journal of Modern History* 78 (March 2006): 144–171.

tion. In attending to how sexed bodies are implicated in an at once national and international field of power relations, these authors reframe the relationship between sexual knowledge and power, on the one hand, and corporeality and political sovereignty, on the other. They thus help us to revisit some of the classic topoi of the history of sexuality from a new vantage.

In detailing how the regulation of prostitution became a site of contest and confrontation between American military officials and French municipal authorities, Mary Louise Roberts demonstrates that sex played a central role as these competing sovereignties vied for authority over France's newly "liberated" territory and population. She argues that in the two years following the Normandy invasion, American men's sexual access to French women's bodies instantiated and symbolized a global realignment of power relations. Paula Michaels's exploration of the dissemination of the Lamaze method of childbirth also points to the place of both anti-Americanism and women's bodies in postwar French politics. By focusing on how Lamaze's importation of "Soviet" science was picked up by the French Communist Party (PCF), Michaels employs a concrete example to show that the international dimensions of France's domestic political scene had palpable effects on women's embodied experience. Less explicitly focused on the terrain of high-powered politics, Judith Coffin's discussion of archived letters to Simone de Beauvoir also homes in on questions of sexual knowledge and embodiment. Her account suggests that readers' intense identification with the author, as well as their desire for detailed sexual knowledge, was not constrained by geography or nationality: the letters she examines were sent to Beauvoir from readers in "Tunis, Rio, Jerusalem, Lausanne, Warsaw, New York, Mexico City, Bogotá, and Zagreb as well as provincial France."

In sum, these articles all provide different perspectives on the transnational circulation of sexual knowledge in the postwar period—and on the difficulties of controlling its flows.

Sexual knowledge was at the heart of the differend surrounding "discretion" described by Roberts. The American military command resisted regulating prostitution because they were concerned that word of soldiers' sex lives might get back to the States—that what happened in Le Havre *wouldn't* stay in Le Havre. As a result of this hands-off policy, the GIs got their hands on French women. And the residents of French communities occupied by the U.S. armed forces were very much in the know. French authorities predictably preferred—but failed to impose—regulation in order to keep sexual activity out of public view. The spectacle of public sex between American men and French women, in turn, put the relative impotence of the French on display. Roberts's article thus reveals how the *exposure* to sex—as much as its repression—could be seen as a sign and symbol of, in this case, American power. The apparent non-regulation of sex was an expression of domination.

In Michaels's article, by contrast, we encounter Dr. Fernand Lamaze, who sought to disseminate the new knowledge about women's bodies that he garnered from Soviet obstetrical experts while also maintaining a certain level of control over its meaning and application. The initial successes of his psychoprophylactic method cannot, however, be simply attributed to how effective it was in combating pain and granting women greater cognizance of—and presumptive autonomy over—the birthing process. The symbolically laden victory of this purportedly "Soviet science" over

capitalist (and implicitly American) pharmacology, Michaels argues, played an equal, if not more important, role in the PCF's decision to endorse the method. This political contingency left Lamaze's success in France vulnerable to shifts in international political context—and, most notably, to destalinization, after which time his professional fortunes in France waned. The committed emissary of Soviet birth science could not fully control its subsequent appropriation and reinterpretation.

Michaels's article does touch on another crucial dimension of the success of psychoprophylaxis: its actual interest for the women who learned it, most notably through the PCF's women's press organ, *Les femmes françaises*, and in the maternity clinic Les Bluets. By focusing principally on Lamaze's professional triumphs and political travails, however, we get only a limited sense of the terms in which these women understood, and perhaps helped to mainstream, these practices. What Michaels does illuminate is that our understanding of the circuits of knowledge surrounding birth and birthing (and population) cannot be restricted to a single national frame.⁴

Simone de Beauvoir's characteristically grim and thoroughly unsentimentalized account of childbirth in *The Second Sex* suggests how and why some women might have been drawn to psychoprophylactic methods (even if the PCF gave her book a cool reception). Beauvoir depicted childbirth as an ironic performance of feminine dependency:

It is significant that woman—like the females of certain domesticated animals—requires help in performing the function assigned to her by nature; there are peasants living in harsh circumstances and shamefaced unmarried mothers who give birth alone, but their being alone at this time often results in death for the baby or incurable illness for the mother. At just the time when woman attains the realization of her feminine destiny, she is still dependent: proof again that in the human species nature and artifice are never wholly separated.⁵

For Beauvoir, in other words, the harrowing experience of childbirth revealed the paradoxes of “feminine destiny”: woman's purportedly crowning achievement epitomized her embodied immanence and dependency.

As Coffin's essay makes clear, the psychic and physical toll of childbirth was not the only thing that Beauvoir's 800-page *Second Sex* laid bare. Indeed, the chapter on “Maternity,” which was published as a stand-alone piece in *Les temps modernes*, opens with an explicit discussion of contraception, its lack of availability, notably in Catholic countries, and women's resulting recourse to illegal abortions.⁶ As Coffin has discussed elsewhere, Beauvoir's reviewers, predominantly male members of the intellectual elite such as François Mauriac, expressed abject horror at the “medical language” and “dreadful details” of the book. These intellectuals' moralizing responses condemned Beauvoir's *indiscretion* as a source of French national shame. In an earlier essay, “Historicizing the Second Sex,” Coffin thus explains: “The themes

⁴ For a recent examination of the international dimension of population politics, see Matthew Connelly, *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008).

⁵ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (New York, 1989), 505. On Beauvoir's strategic deployment of these unsettling images of maternity not as a reaffirmation of subjective mastery (sovereignty) but as a critique of it, see Linda M. G. Zerilli, “A Process without a Subject: Simone de Beauvoir and Julia Kristeva on Maternity,” *Signs* 18, no. 1 (Autumn 1992): 111–135.

⁶ Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, 484. Simone de Beauvoir, “La maternité,” *Le temps modernes* 5, no. 45 (July 1949): 97–133; reprinted with minor changes in *Le deuxième sexe* (Paris, 1949).

of discretion and privacy that run through the reviews of *The Second Sex* testify to a deeply felt need to keep the 'private sphere' as secure as possible. And in the process of constructing those defensive fortresses, appeals to a national or community interest in privacy had significantly more power to mobilize and more resonance than invoking Catholic taboos on sex."⁷ These reactions, in other words, registered sentiments that notably echo the concerns—about "privacy" and "discretion"—that preoccupied French officials during the period of American occupation. The fact that Beauvoir's work was denounced as a dangerous source of American contamination by figures on both the right and the left should thus come as little surprise.⁸ Indeed, Roberts's article on the American military presence provides a concrete context—beyond vague invocations of "coca-colonization" or an even vaguer French "tradition" of anti-Americanism—for French efforts to (re)construct national sexual boundaries, especially in the immediate postwar period.⁹ The history of French "privacy" as a modality of sexual regulation needs, in other words, to be understood in an international—and contextually specific—frame.

Beauvoir's text, as well as the public and private reactions it elicited, meanwhile demonstrates that sexual knowledge would not stay put. The richness of the book's sources and the extent of its erudition are dizzying, even when Beauvoir's education and experiences abroad—including in the United States—are taken into account. Postwar French history tells us a great deal about the context of its reception, but it is important to recall the breadth and depth of reading that went into its conceptualization. Viewed from the perspective both of its sources and of its argument, *The Second Sex* cannot be described as exclusively "French." Beauvoir referenced not just Freud, but also Karl Abraham, Helene Deutsch, Havelock Ellis, Alfred Kinsey, and Wilhelm Stekel, to name just a few of the sexologists and psychoanalysts she cited throughout its pages—thus making the work vulnerable to the charge of being "foreign."

This "transnational" circulation of modern sexual knowledge and regulation was, of course, not new to the post-1945 period. Indeed, historians of sexuality have regularly pointed to the myriad ways in which such transfers coincided with European "modernity" itself: from the success of S. A. Tissot's watershed work on onanism; to "philosophical" books in the Enlightenment; to nineteenth-century medico-legal literature and international conferences on syphilis, prostitution, and sex trafficking; to the history of the international psychoanalytic movement itself.¹⁰ Sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing read Valentin Magnan and vice versa. This is not to deny that developments in sexology or psychoanalysis were imbricated in nation-state politics;

⁷ Judith G. Coffin, "Historicizing the Second Sex," *French Politics, Culture, and Society* 25, no. 3 (Winter 2007): 133.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 134–135.

⁹ For previous accounts of anti-Americanism, see Richard Kuisel, *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Philippe Roger, *The American Enemy: The History of French Anti-Americanism*, trans. Sharon Bowman (Chicago, 2005).

¹⁰ On these topics, see Thomas W. Laqueur, *Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York, 1996); Lynn Hunt, *The Invention of Pornography, 1500–1800: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity* (New York, 1996); Claude Quételet, *The History of Syphilis*, trans. Judith Braddock and Brian Pike (Baltimore, 1990); Eli Zaretsky, *Secrets of the Soul: A Social and Cultural History of Psychoanalysis* (New York, 2004); Joy Damousi and Mariano Ben Plotkin, eds., *The Transnational Unconscious: Essays in the History of Psychoanalysis and Transnationalism* (Basingstoke, 2009).

they evidently were.¹¹ And the specific ways in which prostitution and homosexuality were legally regulated in France both shaped and were shaped by a “national” sexual culture. But those differences were always also elaborated in an international frame, as historians’ familiar invocations of Franco-German and Franco-British hostility (and anxiety) have made clear. In other words, the very articulation of national sexual difference depended on a measure of contact and exchange with—as well as denial and refutation of—other models.¹² What is more, activist movements, such as post-war homophile organizations, learned and borrowed from one another even as they elaborated their projects in distinct national—and legal—contexts.¹³

It is here worth recalling that volume 1 of Michel Foucault’s *The History of Sexuality*, which has had such a formative influence on the development of the field, explicitly rejected purely state-driven analyses of sexual regulation. Foucault clarified this point in the volume’s central section, in the chapter “Method,” explaining: “By power, I do not mean ‘Power’ as a group of institutions and mechanisms that ensure the subservience of the citizens of a given state.” Rejecting an exclusive historical and theoretical focus on the “sovereign” power of nation-states, he used sexuality to direct attention toward modern forms of power that “must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization.”¹⁴ In other words, Foucault’s approach to sexuality was intended to open an analytic space that did not necessarily rely on either the nation or the state as an exclusive or isolated causal force.¹⁵ Historians have, of course, productively used Foucauldian approaches within a more or less national rubric.¹⁶ And, indeed, Foucault’s own account of the “social” or “population” as both the site and ground of regulation can be read as implicitly—if not necessarily—nationally bounded.¹⁷ My point is that his articulation of the relationship between sex and sovereignty as a historical problem, rather than as self-evident or given, remains a particularly valuable resource for writing international and transnational histories of sexuality.

As some of his fiercest critics have signaled, however, Foucault did presume a

¹¹ For the French case, see Robert A. Nye, “The History of Sexuality in Context: National Sexological Traditions,” *Science in Context* 4, no. 2 (1991): 387–406; Elisabeth Roudinesco, *La bataille de cent ans: Histoire de la psychanalyse en France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1986).

¹² See, for example, Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 216–217; Nancy Erber, “The French Trials of Oscar Wilde,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6 (April 1996): 549–588; Florence Tamagne, *A History of Homosexuality in Europe: Berlin, London, Paris, 1919–1939*, 2 vols. (New York, 2004).

¹³ Julian Jackson, *Living in Arcadia: Homosexuality, Politics, and Morality in France from the Liberation to AIDS* (Chicago, 2009), 111–112; David S. Churchill, “Transnationalism and Homophile Political Culture in the Postwar Decades,” *GLQ* 15, no. 1 (2009): 31–66.

¹⁴ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1980), 92.

¹⁵ This is a project that he would continue to elaborate in his subsequent work on “governmentality”; see, for example, the discussion of the overvaluation of the state in Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977–1978*, ed. Michel Senellart, trans. Graham Burchell (New York, 2007), 109.

¹⁶ Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992); Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992).

¹⁷ Nancy Fraser, “From Discipline to Flexibilization? Re-reading Foucault in the Shadow of Globalization,” *Constellations* 10, no. 2 (2003): 160–171.

Western framework throughout his writing. In *The History of Sexuality*, he drew a problematic categorical distinction between “Western” sexual science and a vaguely Eastern “*ars erotica*.” While some historians have used this glaring blind spot to dismiss his analytical relevance out of hand, others, Ann Laura Stoler in particular, took it as an occasion to critically rework both Foucault and the reified construction of the “West” that his account reinscribed.¹⁸ By emphasizing how intimate scenes of colonial contact (including, but not restricted to, sexual ones) tested and transformed European hegemony, Stoler’s work opened up both the nation-state and sexuality to critical reevaluation as analytic frames. Studies of colonial and post-colonial “intimacy” have since proliferated—most notably in the form of anthologies that have fundamentally transformed histories of imperialism: they have complicated understandings of colonial domination, foregrounded the profound political salience of domestic and affective arrangements, and reimagined the relationship between metropole and colony as well as the politics of imperial comparison.¹⁹

Do the studies of sex and “intimacy” under discussion here similarly reframe our thinking about international and transnational history? And if so, how? Roberts and Michaels seek to demonstrate that contests over political authority and influence took place at the level of individual bodies. Roberts details how the American military’s doublespeak on prostitution simultaneously presumed and sanctioned a specific structure and expression of soldiers’ desire; she shows that national, racial, and gendered privilege assumed bodily form, and in turn, international significance, before the Cold War set in. Her analysis focuses on, to adopt Foucault’s language, the “multiplicity of force relations immanent” to the situation, rather than assuming a stable conflict between reified and homogeneous nation-states. (After all, the character and meaning of France as both nation and state were at this moment in a considerable state of flux.) Roberts’s study thus brings out not only tensions within various levels of the U.S. military, and between French authorities and their American “liberators,” but also the (sexually) active roles of American soldiers and French women in the shaping of events.

Roberts alludes to the fact that anti-American sentiments would indeed deepen through the following decade. By concentrating on the period of the liberation, however, her punctual narrative foregrounds a moment prior to the sedimentation of Cold War politics. And it thus suggests, without specifying, a complicated genealogy

¹⁸ Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995); Stoler, “A Colonial Reading of Foucault: Bourgeois Bodies and Racial Selves,” in Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Durham, N.C., 2002), 140–161.

¹⁹ It is worth noting the importance of the anthological form in much of this work. By grouping specialists across time and space, anthologies critically rearticulate metropolitan and colonial histories and encourage comparison, both within empires and across them. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds., *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham, N.C., 2005); Ballantyne and Burton, eds., *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire* (Urbana, Ill., 2009); Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda, *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism* (Charlottesville, Va., 1998); Philippa Levine, ed., *Gender and Empire* (Oxford, 2007); Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2007); Steven Pierce and Anupama Rao, eds., *Discipline and the Other Body: Correction, Corporeality, Colonialism* (Durham, N.C., 2006); Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, N.C., 2006).

of postwar European, and more specifically French, ambivalence to America. The U.S. as embodied by the GI was indeed sexual (although not necessarily seductive) and aggressively male (but not always capable of “masculine” self-control).²⁰

The Cold War is, meanwhile, unquestionably at the heart of Michaels’s account of the fate of the Lamaze method in France. By focusing on the politics of birthing practices, the article reveals the intimate effects of international and domestic dynamics on French men’s and women’s lives. The birthing clinic at Les Bluets was not only a site where professional concerns were bound up with familial ones; the elaboration of an ostensibly national welfare policy was infused with Cold War politics. In other words, transnational political concerns—not only of the PCF, but also of the Catholic Church—influenced how these policies were implemented by the postwar French state, at the most local and intimate levels.²¹

While both Roberts and Michaels are concerned with the place of French women’s bodies in postwar domestic and international politics, women’s new status as voting citizens goes unmentioned in their accounts.²² The absence of any such discussion is particularly striking given how central the question of suffrage has been for more than a decade, as French historians have revisited the implications of women’s political exclusion from the Revolution until de Gaulle granted them the vote in 1944. Indeed, the accession of women to full citizenship is intimately bound up with the ambiguous history of the liberation. And French women eventually got the vote in part as a result of what feminist Louise Weiss referred to as an “international contingency,” which is to say, de Gaulle’s desire to secure France’s status as a Western (sexual) democracy.²³

In her essay, Michaels does, of course, signal the importance of women’s activism in the PCF, but she draws no clear connection between their new political status and their implication or investment in the national and international stakes of psychophylaxis. How should we understand the relationship between their political subjectivity—as both communists and republican citizens—and their understanding of feminine embodiment?

The tension between women’s formal status as members of the sovereign and their persistent inequality—as exemplified by their embodied immanence and subjective dependency—was, of course, a core concern of Beauvoir’s in *The Second Sex*. Indeed, the vexed relationship between women’s *embodied* sex, on the one hand, and their efforts to achieve at once political and subjective sovereignty, on the other, was

²⁰ On the association between American modernity and feminine consumerism, see Emily S. Rosenberg, “Consuming Women: Images of Americanization in the ‘American Century,’” *Diplomatic History* 23, no. 3 (1999): 479–497; Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America’s Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005). Vanessa R. Schwartz’s work on transatlantic film culture also complicates our understanding of how gendered postwar images circulated between the U.S. and France; Schwartz, *It’s So French: Hollywood, Paris, and the Making of Cosmopolitan Film Culture* (Chicago, 2007). See also Christopher Endy, *Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004).

²¹ On the significance of Catholicism in the shaping of postwar population politics and the institutions of the French welfare state in the Fourth Republic, see Philip Nord, *France’s New Deal: From the Thirties to the Postwar Era* (Princeton, N.J., 2010), esp. chap. 3.

²² See, by contrast, Kathleen Canning’s discussion of the intersections between women’s embodiment, subjectivity, and citizenship in post–World War I Germany in *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class, and Citizenship* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006).

²³ Louise Weiss, *Mémoires d’une Européenne*, vol. 3: *Combat pour les femmes, 1934–1939* (Paris, 1980), 268, as cited in Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 164.

in many ways the central problematic of the book. Five years after women had been granted the vote, Beauvoir thus wrote: "Abstract rights . . . have never sufficed to assure to woman a definite hold on the world: true equality between the sexes does not exist even today."²⁴ The letters saved in her archive and studied by Coffin suggest the extent to which this contradiction registered and resonated with her readers at a profound level. Her very skepticism toward women's recent inclusion in the French sovereign may have helped to carry her message beyond its national borders, in turn enabling a reconceptualization of the meaning of sexual politics.

Such cross-border thinking about sexual politics still has vital urgency today. In France and throughout Europe, the perception of eroded sovereignty has led states to re-find and re-found national identities in explicitly gendered and sexual terms. Transnational histories, alongside postcolonial ones, provide one powerful way to unsettle the reified conceptions of national sexual cultures on which contemporary political discussions, most notably regarding Islam and immigration, so often insist.²⁵

Beauvoir's iconic work of the mid-twentieth century remains a fitting symbol of the promise—and risk—of doing transnational work on sex at the beginning of the twenty-first. It forces historians to move beyond their national, as well as disciplinary, comfort zones and to question the kinds of illusory mastery (or sovereignty) that those boundaries reinforce. The possibility of establishing these new intellectual connections and political alliances makes taking those risks worthwhile.

²⁴ Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, 133. Cf. Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer*, 170–171.

²⁵ For a more extended discussion, see Éric Fassin and Judith Surkis, "Introduction: Transgressing Boundaries," in "Dossier on Sexual Boundaries, National Identities, and Transnational Migrations in Europe," *Public Culture* 22, no. 3 (forthcoming): 486–506; as well as my "Hymenal Politics: Marriage, Secularism, and French Sovereignty," *ibid.*, 531–556.

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Featured Reviews

YURI PINES. *Envisioning Eternal Empire: Chinese Political Thought of the Warring States Era*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2009. Pp. vii, 311. \$55.00.

LI FENG. *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 383. \$130.00.

In 221 B.C.E., the newly established imperial state of Qin imposed new forms of government on the territory we now recognize as central China, reunited as a centrally administered state after five centuries of political fracture. These forms applied a fully theorized model of an autocratic monarchy structured as a bureaucracy remarkably close in essential features to a Weberian ideal. Retheorized about a century later to incorporate Confucian ethical features, and, from c. 600 C.E., increasingly shaped by the institution of bureaucratic appointment by examination, this state structure, ever evolving in particulars, remained the governing model of imperial dynasties until the twentieth century. The two books reviewed here, different in many respects, both provide insight into the etiology of China's tradition of bureaucratized autocracy.

Li Feng's book is an analysis of the governmental structures of the Western Zhou period (1045–771 B.C.E.). While this era has long been understood as formative to the Chinese state, sparse documentation obstructed analytic research until the twentieth century, when archaeology yielded thousands of contemporary inscriptions of significant length cast on ritual bronze vessels. These now form the essential primary source base for Western Zhou studies, and Li has achieved exceptional historiographic control of this corpus. This book, together with his recent *Landscape and Power in Early China* (2006), establishes him as a leading scholar of the period.

The central thesis of Li's book is that the government of the Western Zhou developed the essential features of a bureaucracy, understood in Weberian terms (pp. 2–6). This assertion stands in contrast with the established understanding of Western Zhou government as patrimonial, with offices allocated on the basis of aristocratic heredity and duties varying with the inclinations of the king and major aristocratic officers. Li pur-

sues his argument in five core chapters, followed by a discussion of the typological categorization of the Western Zhou state, which he characterizes as a "kin-ordered settlement state," organized by patterns of delegated authority that have been mischaracterized in the past as "feudal" (pp. 294–298).

Li begins with the overall structure of government and draws an important geographical division in the Western Zhou state. He argues that the state was a hybrid, including an integrated organizational model in two homeland regions, the "royal domain" ruled directly by the king in western and central China, and different organizational modes that developed in the far-flung domains over which lords delegated by royal authority ruled on a hereditary basis. Li's major claims concerning Western Zhou bureaucracy pertain to homeland governance.

Li analyzes the articulation of this government as it evolved over time. He points to evidence of "bureaus" in inscriptions from the earliest phases and develops a model of bifurcated civil administration, involving an executive Ministry (*qingshiliao*) and the Grand Secretariat (*taishiliao*). Against this background, he describes the development of a royal household government, which he argues demonstrates conscious demarcation between king and state, personalistic and more bureaucratic governmental structures. These dual structures were balanced by a military establishment under direct royal control, garrisoned in the two homeland regions and regulated by a separate arm of the bureaucracy, albeit one tied to the Ministry. Household, civil, and military governments formed a tripartite structure.

The core of Li's argument about bureaucracy in the homeland region lies in the analysis of seventy-one inscriptions of appointment describing a standard ceremony involving the co-presence of the appointee and a senior guarantor official. By demonstrating a high cor-

relation between the “branch” of government of the guarantor official and the appointee, Li argues the relative insularity of each section of government. Such insularity among elements of the state is more consistent with bureaucratic rather than patrimonial governance. He does, however, note cases where household organs seem to stray beyond their bounds, or where powerful aristocrats or ad hoc aristocratic “committees” wield extraordinary executive power (pp. 84–85).

Li extends his examination of structure and administration to explore the manner in which land was regulated in the homeland regions and the ways in which urban centers and rural areas were provided with functionaries. He distinguishes three basic land types—royal, state, and aristocratic—and describes overlapping patterns of royal and aristocratic authority in management of urban and rural settlements.

Turning to individual experiences in state service, Li examines sixty-three inscriptions that provide evidence of career paths in government office. His data challenge the common wisdom that offices in the Western Zhou were assigned strictly on the basis of heredity; Li suggests that initial appointments could reflect social mobility and that secondary appointments reveal patterns of advancement on the basis of merit. These features reinforce Li's claim that Western Zhou government was dominated by bureaucratic features. In his analysis of government regions outside the homeland, however, he argues that bureaucratization did not extend to those administrations.

Li's handling of evidence is masterly throughout and his ideas are fresh and controversial. His chapters are filled with fruitful insights. The central argument for Weberian bureaucracy, however, may not be settled. Although Li provides significant evidence of elements characteristic of bureaucracy, the source base is not large, and the potential patrimonial roles of lineage networks in official appointment are obscure. Li convincingly refutes the model of hereditary office holding, but only by articulating that model in a particularly narrow and rigid form. Still, Li scrupulously records counter-evidence, such as the indication that government “bureaus” may have operated from the residences of the aristocratic bureau chiefs (pp. 116–117), and adjusts the strength of his claims accordingly, noting that “bureaucracy” need not approach Weber's ideal type to fit a definition meaningful in the Western Zhou case.

Where Li's institutional history provides insight into the distant origins of China's imperial state structure, Yuri Pines's book is an intellectual history of political thought in the Warring States era (453–221 B.C.E.), just prior to the Qin period. Pines adopts the standpoint of the historian Liu Zehua, viewing the ideology of “monarchism”—accepting the necessity of an absolute ruler—as a universal political value in traditional China. Noting the tension inherent in the enduring structure of bureaucratized autocracy, Pines notes that it was the bureaucrats, or “intellectuals,” who devised and sustained the ideology that made them subservient to an autocrat. Locating the origin of this ideology in the in-

tellectual debates of the pre-Qin centuries is the object of Pines's research.

Pines divides his book into three sections. The first section deals with the ideology of monarchism: the consensus that an all-powerful kingship was legitimate and institutionally imperative for social order. The second section deals with the role that intellectuals crafted for themselves within this ideology as the ruler's indispensable advisors and executors. The final, brief portion of the book concerns the political role of the populace and the paradox that political theories all viewed the welfare of the people as the *raison d'être* of the state, but granted common people no meaningful political role.

Pines's method focuses on the common features of Warring States discourse that shaped imperial political thought, and thus he draws broadly on texts of different theoretical persuasions. He explores well-known classics and a variety of recently excavated texts. His citations are necessarily selective, but his judicious selection is a strong argument for the pervasiveness of the ideas that he highlights.

The section on monarchism highlights several tensions that occupied thinkers of the Warring States period. Most monarchist theories celebrated the ideal person and role of the ruler in extravagant terms, but actual rulers of the era were generally despised. This contrast led some to seek a system that would generate ideal rulers and others a structure that could be successfully led by mediocre ones. Pines explores in depth variations of the exemplary tale of the legendary Emperor Yao's abdication to a comparably sage successor Shun. He notes that even the idealist Mencius, while celebrating Yao and Shun, ultimately seems to rationalize the routine system of lineal succession as Heaven's will (pp. 71–76). The Confucian Xunzi and his Legalist student Han Feizi were, in very different ways, most adept at designing approaches to governance that both exalt the ruler and consign him to a symbolic and ceremonial role.

The Warring States authors of these ideas were “intellectuals,” that is, *shi*, members of a class of rising eligible participants in government activities with minimal pedigree. Pines analyzes the theorization of the role of government minister—the future chief bureaucrats of the imperial state—and notes that the ideal minister is celebrated in terms equal to or exceeding the ruler. In this formulation, the ideal state entailed either a near peer relation between ruler and minister (a Confucian formula) or a balanced contest of self-interested actors, neutralizing the interests of all parties to produce disinterested governance (Han Feizi's approach). Pines demonstrates that Warring States thinkers anticipated the future moral ambiguities of providing ethical service to an autocratic state, and illustrates instructively how this encouraged pre-Qin Confucians in particular to focus on self-cultivation over government service in the hope that the future would configure for them a more congenial environment (pp. 145–152).

Pines's coherent account enhances our understanding of the intellectual pre-history of imperial bureau-

cratized autocracy, and, as Pines suggests, of some facets of Chinese political culture even today. The range of primary sources he deploys is particularly impressive. This breadth, however, may be at some cost to the social contextualization of intellectual discourse. For example, Pines seems consistently to conflate uses of the term *shi* in ethical discourse, where it often normative, denoting rising intellectuals with whom an author shares a viewpoint, with descriptive uses of the term to denote accomplished non-aristocrats. Many members of the second, larger class were indifferent to ideology

and scorned by the “intellectuals” as amoral careerists, but they were ancestral to the dependable bureaucrats of the imperial state, who provided enough ethical inertia for that system to muddle through bad rulers and dynastic transitions, never meeting the moral aspirations some hoped for it, but nevertheless enduring from antiquity to the modern era.

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MIRI RUBIN. *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*.
New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xxvi, 532.
\$35.00.

This book is an important new landmark in the study of Marian piety. Although it is not without flaws, these generally arise from the very ambitious range of materials that Miri Rubin has engaged in her substantial overview of Marian devotion during the first sixteen centuries of Christian history. Indeed, few scholars would be able to manage such a broad sweep of diverse beliefs and practices as Rubin has, and thus we are fortunate to have here the results of many fruitful years spent combing the Christian tradition for its manifold expressions of Mary's unique status as the Mother of God. The book is written in a very accessible style, and while it will likely be a “must read” for specialists on Marian piety and medieval Christianity, those with a more general interest in the Virgin Mary, even beyond an academic audience, will also profit greatly from this volume.

Rubin's study marks a considerable advance in comparison with its most obvious predecessors. One thinks here perhaps most immediately of Marina Warner's path-breaking *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (1976) and Jaroslav Pelikan's *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (1996). In contrast to the former, Rubin brings the critical acumen and more neutral tone of an academic historian, while unlike Pelikan's book, which is somewhat idiosyncratic in the material it chooses to treat, Rubin aims to give a systematic and comprehensive overview of Mary's many manifestations through the early modern period. Nevertheless, one book that is particularly conspicuous for its seemingly complete absence from Rubin's study is Hilda Graef's superb *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (1963–1965). In certain respects, Graef's work remains still unsurpassed for its extensive survey of theological reflection on Mary by the major thinkers and writers of the early and medieval periods (and later). Rubin, however, presents a considerably more nuanced and complex portrait of Mary than Graef, one that brings to the theologians' abstractions other more concrete and immediate expressions of Mary's significance in the vi-

sual arts, in song, in drama, in poetry, and in various forms of public and private veneration. Moreover, Graef's volume is very much a handbook, a chronologically organized reference work with individual entries for major figures and concepts, whereas Rubin's is a work of synthesis that aims to relate various images of Mary across a range of centuries and media. Nonetheless, there are certain areas where perhaps Rubin might have made profitable use of Graef's book.

Rubin begins with the canonical gospels and the *Protoevangelium of James*, an extracanonical biography of the young Virgin from the second half of the second century that describes Mary's miraculous conception, her childhood as a consecrated virgin in the Temple, and the birth of Jesus. Already in this first chapter Rubin introduces what is to be a major theme of the book: the frequent intersection of Christian anti-Judaism with Marian piety. The study rapidly advances to the Christian Empire of the fourth and fifth centuries, overlooking much important early Christian material in the process. Here and in the two subsequent chapters Mary is considered primarily in the context of the Christological controversies and the developing practices of early Christian asceticism. A significant chapter on Mary in the early Byzantine Empire follows, dwelling briefly on the early traditions of her Dormition and Assumption, Mary's relation to emerging Christian ideas about the Holy Land and pilgrimage, her special connection with Constantinople and imperial authority, and, finally, the events of the Iconoclast controversy. Unfortunately, this effectively is the last we are to see of the Byzantine tradition. Next a rather disparate chapter hastily considers Mary's importance in the early Islamic tradition and the late ancient western Mediterranean, before stepping firmly into the medieval West for most of the book's remainder.

A good two-thirds of the study centers on the western Middle Ages, and the overwhelming bulk of that concerns the high and later Middle Ages, Rubin's primary area of expertise. This section forms the high point of the book, offering a meticulous and considered sum-

mary of Marian piety in the medieval West. On the continent, in the Carolingian world, Mary initially received only scant attention, faring slightly better in the British Isles. Even by the end of the first millennium, Marian piety was still very much in its infancy across most of Western Europe, although she had become increasingly important in monastic liturgies and at royal courts. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Mary emerged as a central focus of art and liturgy in the monasteries of the Latin West, where special forms of Marian prayer and collections of her miracles were also cultivated. The Cistercian religious order and new readings of the Song of Songs particularly fostered this expansion of Marian devotion. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Mary spread quickly beyond the cloister and was fervently embraced in the hearts and minds of the laity. Here the mendicant orders, and the Franciscans especially, played a crucial role in developing a lay-oriented Marian piety that was grounded in emotion. Mary's overwhelming sufferings at the foot of the cross emerged as an especially powerful locus for constructing such affective devotion to the Virgin. Likewise, Mary and the Holy Family were increasingly held forth in this period not only as models for the religious life but also for married Christians.

In the fifteenth century Mary's links to political power were further strengthened, particularly in the face of Turkish advances, and her exaltation was taken to new heights, even attaining an association with the members of the Trinity in the hyperbolic visions of certain poets and painters. The Pietà and the prayers of the Rosary were also characteristic of this period, as was intensified focus on the Holy Family as the model Christian family. Many of the Marian "excesses" of the late Middle Ages, however, inspired critique both within and, ultimately, outside of the Catholic tradition, in the decidedly anti-Marian programs advanced by the various Protestant reformers. Yet such criticism, especially that coming from emergent Protestantism, only provoked early modern Catholicism to reassert Mary's unique privileges with renewed fervor, and the result was the exalted "Iberian" Mary whose veneration was transplanted into the New World, events that bring Rubin's narrative to a close.

Among the major accomplishments of Rubin's study is its persistent attention to the often strongly anti-Jewish tendencies of Marian piety. Although much previous scholarship has frequently ignored, and in some instances even obscured, this more malevolent side of Christian devotion to the Virgin, Rubin brings it powerfully into the full light of day. The roots of Mary's connection to anti-Judaism seem to lie, as Rubin notes, in polemical encounters between Jews and Christians over the question of Mary's virginity, such as are reflected not only in early Christian literature but also in the early rabbinic corpus. In response to the Christian claim that Mary had conceived as a virgin, already by the second century a Jewish countertradition had begun to circulate that identified Mary as a woman of somewhat questionable morals who had conceived her son

outside of wedlock. Not long thereafter, anti-Judaism became a central theme of the early Dormition and Assumption narratives, in which the Jews are portrayed as raging with hate and violence against the Virgin. These early apocrypha, it would seem, formed an important catalyst for the rise of Marian anti-Judaism in the Middle Ages. There Mary's image remained joined to intolerance for Jews and Judaism, and as her cult began to flourish especially in the high Middle Ages, anti-Judaism continued to proliferate in the context of Marian piety: this was particularly pronounced in reflections on Mary's experience of the Passion of Christ, which became a major emphasis of devotion to the Virgin in the West during this era.

Perhaps this study's greatest achievement, however, is simultaneously the source of some of its greatest problems. Rubin's synthesis is invaluable for presenting a detailed account of medieval western Marian piety that seeks to ground these developments within the broader framework offered by earlier beliefs and practices evident in the ancient church and the early Byzantine world. This perspective is particularly welcome from such an expert historian of the Middle Ages, insofar as one frequently finds Marian devotion in the medieval West studied in relative isolation from the advanced forms of Marian veneration and reflection that had emerged in the Greek world many centuries before. It is not altogether uncommon, for instance, to meet assertions that somehow Mary and her devotion suddenly burst onto the scene in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with little evidence of concerted interest in her person during previous centuries. To the scholar of late ancient and early Byzantine piety, such remarks are not only perplexing but seemingly ill-informed of the broader cultural context.

The intensified interest in Mary's compassion and lament at the cross during the eleventh and twelfth centuries provides a helpful example. Although this was a new theme in the Christian West, it had a long history in the East. For instance, the homilies of the ninth-century Byzantine theologian George of Nicomedia (whom Rubin regrettably does not mention) present an advanced stage of reflection on these topics; perhaps then this "new" western tradition has drawn inspiration from its eastern antecedents? Although Rachel Fulton considers this possibility briefly in her *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (2002), she judges the possible lines of transmission as "exceedingly unclear" (p. 216) and thus moves along. Nevertheless, Pelikan resolves to the contrary that in light of George's homilies and other Byzantine sources "it is now possible to draw the lines of development" from western ideas about the Virgin's lament back to earlier Byzantine traditions (*Mary through the Centuries*, pp. 127–128). It remains to be seen if this is in fact the case, but now that we have identified George's source in the seventh-century *Life of the Virgin* ascribed to Maximus the Confessor, it would seem that the issue is worthy of further consideration. Indeed, the highly developed Marian piety evidenced by this ear-

liest *Life of the Virgin* shows that many key features of western devotion to the Virgin in the high Middle Ages had already emerged in the East at the end of antiquity.

In general it seems that more work could be done to investigate possible connections between the Marian piety of the medieval West and that of the Byzantine world. In this respect it is unfortunate that Rubin devotes so little attention to the eastern Christian tradition beyond the seventh century. Much interesting work has been done in this area over the past decade or so, and its incorporation would have been most welcome. Indeed, even a summary based on the Byzantine authors covered in Graef's survey would have made this volume more truly comprehensive. One troubling issue perhaps related to this is Rubin's frequent use of "Europe" and "European" with reference exclusively to Western Europe (e.g., pp. 89, 122, 173); the unfortunate effect of this would seem to be the segregation of

the eastern Christian tradition from European Christianity.

Finally, it must be noted that Rubin's chapters on the early church contain some significant mistakes and misunderstandings that need not be catalogued here: other reviewers have already identified a number of these. Likewise, the elision of much important material from the second and third centuries is a serious omission. In particular the notion of Mary as the "New Eve" as developed by Justin Martyr and Irenaeus of Lyons seems worthy of consideration. Part of the problem, however, is that there is not at present a satisfactory, comprehensive survey of Mary's role in early Christian culture. Such a work would seem to be a desideratum, and in many respects, Rubin's study, despite these flaws, presents an excellent model for this endeavor.

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PHYLLIS MACK. *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 328. \$99.00.

Phyllis Mack defines heart religion, as applied to early Methodism, as indebted to Pietism with its emphasis on passivity and emotion but combined with an apparently paradoxical activism. The latter strives to manage the heart, to subdue passions and temptations, and to take the initiative in wrestling, as Jacob did, with God. Moreover, despite affinities in method and approach that Mack identifies with Catholic Reformation activists such as the Jesuits, heart religion in this sense had nothing to do with devotion to the sacred heart, nor much to do with other forms of affective or mystical Christocentric piety such as the idea of Christ as the bridegroom. Yet, at least in their experience of justification, some male Methodists melted and dissolved, and some women felt both pain and desire and the sensation of Christ's blood running down their arms or throats like warm water. Similarly, Methodists, while eschewing the prophetic utterances of seventeenth-century Quakers (a focus of Mack's 1992 study *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England*), did so by internalizing spiritual experiences that were expressed, also mainly by women, in a language of dreams.

Such apparent contradictions, or at least novel reconfigurations, of struggles with sin and the flesh, of mystical passivity and fusion, and of a Christocentric piety of blood and wounds raise many questions relating both to religious categorization and to gender. Did the biography of John Wesley and his undoubtedly formative encounter with Moravian Pietism unduly privilege the terminology of "heart religion"? From a comparative perspective much of early Methodism might seem to have more in common with earlier Christocentric traditions and their links with the Christian's perennial conflict with sin and the devil. Is it in these as-

pects that Methodism embraces gender in the same way that was more evident in later Quakerism? These are not precisely the questions Mack foregrounds although their presence underpins many of her discussions. Given the complexity of Methodism, a single answer may well be elusive. As Mack demonstrates strikingly in her analysis of Methodist hymns, there was significant divergence between John and Charles Wesley, with the latter stressing the transformative violence of Christ's blood. The movement's leaders also distanced themselves somewhat from the bodily contortions and excesses of popular Methodism, while attempting to assess the validity of such spiritual experiences by the investigative questionnaire. Although for many the conversion experience could be ecstatic, life thereafter might be characterized by orderliness, patience, friendship, and happiness. This depended partly on the view taken of the timing of assurance (another difference between John and Charles) and partly on the extent to which individuals were assailed by temptations or a despairing belief in their unworthiness.

Mack's opening focus is the issue of agency in which we are reminded of the common idea that Christian freedom is synonymous with obedience to God and conscience. However, this disempowerment is also an act of agency, the strength to subdue contrary impulses, and a commitment to being "God's agent in the world." Acting God's, or a dramatist's, role does not deprive the actor of agency. Conceptually this is convincing, but the corollary must be that all religious states are a combination of active and passive dramatized roles, whether Moravian stillness, rejected by John Wesley in view of the risk of passive apathy, or Methodists' apparent willingness to force their God to respond. Moreover, since

notions of active and passive are also gendered qualities, it is a matter of some importance to establish where in this spectrum Methodists are most plausibly placed.

At a fundamental level, and partly assisted by the Wesleyan rejection of predestination, there are broad continuities with later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Puritan practical divinity: the sinner has to respond to God's grace. In John Wesley's words, "no man sins because he hath not grace, but because he does not use the grace which he hath." Mack's case for Methodists taking control beyond this rests principally on the content of hymns that command God's response. Certainly some of the language of Methodist hymns seems assertive—God is instructed to take the sacrifice of the Eucharist, God cannot reject the outcome of Jacob-like struggles—and the language of polite beseeching is absent. However, did Methodists see themselves as commanding their God, and if so how did this fit with their need to deal with temptations and failings in their prayers and dreams? A focus on Methodist prayer would suggest states of despair, self-abnegation, and individuals imploring God's help. The pared down, direct, plain style of the hymns may reflect these struggling approaches more closely than Mack admits. A degree of assertiveness is characteristic of hymns, which naturally express a corporate confidence in Christian fellowship, an aspect Wesley identified as worryingly lacking in Moravian Pietism, but this could be in creative or destructive tension with the individual's perception of their own religious state. Methodism on this reckoning might neither seem unusually active or passive nor privilege masculine or feminine religious qualities.

Nevertheless, gender differentiation is more clearly present in other important strands of the definitions of Pietism and heart religion, especially the emphasis on Christ's blood and atonement and the associated privileging of emotion and sensations. Here, while there are overlaps with Caroline Walker Bynum's account of highly gendered medieval experience, there are also fundamental differences. Many of these are common to a post-Reformation world that denies transubstantiation and takes a more apostolic view of the incarnate Christ. Thus, to eat Christ was not straightforwardly a means of achieving union and a way in which women could compensate for their status as non-priests. Nevertheless, much of Bynum's world survived the Reformation: early evangelicals tasted the sweetness of Christ in faith; the idea of Christ as the bridegroom of the church and of the soul structured ideas of Protestant marriage, faith, and martyrdom; and strands of Catholic and Protestant Christocentric piety intertwined. Yet, even less than among the late medieval Catholic laity, little of this was mystical in Bynum's sense of seeking fusion, a focus on the side wound and Christ's blood.

Mid-seventeenth-century visionaries, as Mack notes, saw themselves in the mould of biblical prophets or sibyls rather than teachers and described events in the passive voice. Their relationship with the body was to transcend it by fasting, a form of emancipation that con-

trasted with the medieval form of holy inedia and lacked its complementary holy feast. All this was in pursuit of complete self-transcendence, to be, as a male Friend described, "as a white paper book without any line or sentence," an aspiration that challenges the relevance of gender and renders many utterances of early male and female Quaker prophets indistinguishable. But second-generation Quakers confidently re-inhabited the framework of gender. Female ministers, for example, validated their public authority by being "in the light" and invoking their status as mothers and daughters, thus tapping into a Puritan and Baptist tradition of apostolic motherhood. Generally, the more apolitical sectarian visionaries became, the more scope there was for women to deploy sexual and maternal imagery. Some, such as the ex-Independent Susanna Parr made a direct connection with the wounds of Christ, but this was comparatively rare and was triggered in this case by Parr's sense that the death of her son was a breach in her family analogous to that which her separatism inflicted in Christ's body, the church.

All this suggests that the building materials for a gendered and partly mystical Methodism were culturally present but offers little to predict its construction. Nor perhaps do Enlightenment understandings. Developments such as the transition from the idea of passions as forces that overwhelm the self to Enlightenment refined sensibility contributed to Methodism's articulation and fostered the prominence of self-writing within the movement. This, as Mack persuasively suggests, was especially important for women because "it taught them to view their emotions not as evidence of an irrational female sensibility, but as the basis of a positive, disciplined moral energy" (p. 26). Yet, as the prominence of struggles with animalistic sins in women's dreams suggests, if this was a step forward, it was one that came with the stress of raising the bar for divinely acceptable female attainment. As Mack also notes, the Methodist insistence that what counted as conventionally virtuous behavior was not good enough disturbed and destabilized women more than men because gender conformity had allowed them less visible sin.

From this it could be suggested that what lent Methodism its coherence and structured its use of gendered spiritual language was the focus on Christ's blood and its virtually exclusive application to sacrifice and atonement. Charles Wesley's assertive Eucharist hymn goes as far as is possible within a Protestant tradition to convey notions of sacrifice and the regenerative gift of grace to those present. As Sara Wight's 1647 account shows, a narrowing of the religious horizon in this way could be the only means by which individuals convinced of their own unworthiness could gain comfort and could attempt to comfort others. At a fundamental level, if the Methodist call involved inspiring confidence in striving against all dregs of sin, a similar focus on Christ's promise was essential. Yet Wight did not need blood-saturated imagery, and Methodism placed little emphasis on the early Protestant appropriation of the late medieval idea of sinners re-inflicting wounds upon

Christ. A principal difference was perhaps a sense that the Eucharist, received more frequently than was the norm in Anglicanism, could be transformative, enabling emotional perception of God's presence and grace. Being metaphorically drenched in blood or even sitting in Christ's side wound were responsive proofs of spiritual progress. In this sense, Mack seems correct to argue that such experiences should not be read as indicators of repressed sexuality and redirected eroticism but as a spiritual identification with Christ's redemptive suffering and a rejection of worldly concerns. This seems even clearer in her discussion of the apprentice pieces in which would-be converts were encouraged, in standard late medieval fashion, to empathize with Christ's physical suffering at the crucifixion.

Yet, while this might explain the significant core of Methodist preoccupations, can it account for the absences? A more normal Methodist sexuality may explain the contrast with the Moravians, who could describe communion as "the bloody penetration of our conjugal husband" but imposed strict regulation on sexuality in their communities. However, to accept this as a comparative principle would be to revert to a correlation with repressed and less repressed sexualities rather than privileging coherence of spiritual meaning. A more problematic area would seem to be bridal imagery. Methodist hymns are not only less sexual than others but have little bridal imagery, despite the ability of Christ the bridegroom to relate to the individual soul, the godly married couple, and the church in terms that fuse spiritual guidance with moderate sexuality.

This may reflect John Wesley's rejection of potentially submissive mystic individualism and his preference for Christian fellowship. However, the Methodist leadership could not define the limits of gendered religious experience completely. When the forum of their spiritual development became the gender segregated band and class meetings, women filled this gap with ideas of spiritual maternity rather than spiritual marriage. As Mack's example of Sarah Ryan and Mary Bosanquet illustrates, this enabled women to develop a more powerful maternal symbolism than they could ever have gleaned from Methodist sermons or hymns. It was also one that harked back to Puritan apostolic maternity (Gal. 4.19) as in Ryan's "I travail in birth until Christ be formed in your hearts," and contained less familiar ideas of godly household service as "God's innkeeper" and the "pillar of the house." Women's meetings in later seventeenth-century Quakerism similarly

fostered a more gendered religious consciousness, but one that embraced, as Mack notes, the spiritual roles of both mother and wife. Spiritual maternity and marriage, despite seeming equally natural expressions of social roles, were not adopted indiscriminately in women's circles.

This raises the vital question of when and why gendered social roles intersected with religious understanding. Bynum's convincing emphasis on renunciation and reversal has to confront the awkward observation that feminization of Christ and the qualities of the Christian works most effectively for men, while women essentially can continue to be their gendered selves. One answer is to shift the focus from gendered forms of affective piety to an early modern understanding of conversion as a shift in emphasis from the material world, flesh, and the devil to the spiritual. This could be a process that is perceived as gendered principally in the typical taxonomy of sin to be renounced. However, it still leaves the question of how spiritualized gender roles are chosen. An analogy with a sexual repression thesis might invite suggestions of repressed maternity and less repressed wifelyhood, but it is hard to see how this could convince. Alternatively, direct mapping would suggest motherhood as a generally stronger aspect of female identity. The inadequacies of both indicate the need to ground explanation of choice in the broader context of what makes religious sense. Attempting to resolve such questions offers another endorsement of Mack's emphasis on the religious individual as God's agent and interpreting actor and on the side wound as a doctrinal metaphor.

Mack's *Heart Religion*, whether read singly or in interrogative tandem with her earlier *Visionary Women*, is a challenging and thought-provoking book. It prompts the reader to question the very basis upon which the historical interaction of religion, gender, and wider cultural trends can be written as well as offering insightful interpretations of the experience and culture of early Methodism. As a result, this review explores one of many fruitful dialogues that readers could have with Mack's rich analysis and material. Mack's decision to eschew a conclusion, other than in a chronological sense, may be one of this book's many intellectual blessings.

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SEYMOUR DRESCHER. *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 471. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$26.99.

Among the many representations of the British anti-slavery movement, few images, excluding the cross-section of the *Brookes* and the husky slave on bended knee

haloed by the plea, "Am I Not A Man and A Brother," are as iconic as Thomas Clarkson's map of abolition. The importance of this visual diagram can be attributed

in part to Clarkson's status as a key figure in the British antislavery movement, but more important than this is the map's distillation of history. Abolition is rendered through the emblem of a genealogical tree, the ultimate symbol of national and family history and of affiliation, community, and lineage. As a visual emblem, the map translates contingency into fate and makes the conjuncture of historical circumstances appear imminent, inevitable, autotelic. Clarkson narrates one of the first histories of British antislavery in the wake of the passage of the 1807 Act to abolish the Atlantic slave trade.

The second image flashes before us in a moment of danger—the danger of oblivion and trivialization. The slaves of Saint Domingue battle and defeat imperial armies, raze the plantations, and slaughter their lords and overseers. This revolution is unthinkable; as Michel Rolph-Truillot observes, it cannot be conceived within the normative categories of man, reason, event, and progress. “The claims of the revolution were too radical to be formulated in advance of its deeds.” Narration failed, and the unthinkable became the non-event within the grand narrative of European history. There is perhaps one iconic image of this struggle: a portrait of General Toussaint L'Ouverture in full military regalia. For the most part, the visual archive of this revolutionary emancipation consists not of maps, diagrams, petitions, and portraits of noble actors but images of destruction and carnage. Smoke, fire, and blood provide the index of historical struggle.

Last, there is the history without images, the scenes that have yet to be imagined or represented. The protracted and daily struggle against slavery unfolded below the grid of visibility, culminated most often in defeat, punishment, and execution and merits scant attention within the formulas of causality that distinguish the significant act from the uneventful chronicle of everyday life and the routine violence of social reproduction. In this instance, what is decisive for our understanding of abolition and its history is not what we see but rather what we fail to: the interminable struggle for freedom undertaken by the enslaved, the manumitted, and the putatively free (the slaves on reprieve), living under the threat of captivity and exchange.

What weight and gravity should be attributed to these distinct practices of antislavery? How do these discordant images reveal the ways that abolition unfolded as a global struggle? Do they offer diverse and contested articulations of the freedom principle? How do iconic images and forgotten ones determine the course of antislavery and the representation of the history of abolition? Among the varied forms of practice—protest, revolution, and resistance—which was the most decisive in overthrowing colonial slavery? Or does this sort of question fail to apprehend what is most critical: the wide-ranging cast of actors situated in diverse circumstances whose collective assaults on slavery reverberate across the Atlantic world? Such concerns are at the heart of Seymour Drescher's study. To such inquiries, Drescher provides a rigorous and comprehensive response in an examination of slavery from classical an-

tiquity to the Nazi labor camp. A central paradox structures this nearly five hundred-page study: how did societies that found slavery anathema to their core principles create a global slave system? Why and how did Europeans and their descendants play a decisive and “pioneering role in globalizing both the expansion and abolition of the institution” (pp. 61, 377)? How did the deep-seated belief in freedom, individual rights, and autonomy in a society characterized by local forms of self-government license the captivity, dispossession, and commodification of thirteen million Africans? Why is it that, at the height of the slave trade and when the steady return of profits from colonial slavery was at its peak, the British abolished the system and strove to “undo history”? How did the colonial project extend and negate forms of servitude under the banner of imperial antislavery? Why did slavery re-emerge in Europe in the twentieth century? For decades, these questions have fueled scholarly debate about slavery and its legacy, the relation between capitalism, slavery and humanitarianism, the meaning of emancipation, and the exclusions constitutive of liberal humanism.

Drescher enters the debate about the seeming paradox of slavery in the Age of Enlightenment by considering the foundational status of the “freedom principle” in the political and cultural formations of Western Europe and the decisive and pioneering role played by Europeans and their descendants in globalizing both the expansion and abolition of the institution” (pp. 61, 377). Contrary to the arguments of anti-colonial and Marxist intellectuals, Drescher rejects the idea that liberal conceptions of freedom, persons, and property depended upon the constituent violence of slavery and the commodification of human life. He does not deny that the rights of man and the imagined subject of freedom were premised upon a racially exclusive fellowship of the human; rather the matter at issue is whether racial slavery was constitutive of Western ideals and whether the reach and influence of colonial slavery determined, informed, or disfigured the conception of freedom. To all of these Drescher issues a resounding no. As a consequence, the history of abolition is narrated as the triumph of Western principles and ideals and as a dramatic struggle for moral restitution. The confidence with which this assertion is made and the belief that Europe could undo its past and atone for its crimes against humanity are what situate this book within the tributaries of Clarkson's map.

Drescher sets out to recover the ideals and promise of Anglo-American liberalism and to insist on the robustness of these principles, even in the context of colonial slavery, by refuting arguments about the entanglements of bondage and liberty, racism and universalism, progress and genocide. To the contrary, Drescher illustrates the relative autonomy of slavery and freedom and maps the “freedom principle” and the practice of slavery onto distinct and separate regions of the globe. By so doing, he quarantines the ideal of freedom from the contaminating influences of colonial sla-

very and, in the end, the freedom principle accounts for the destruction of slavery.

Drescher's emphasis on the primacy of the ideology of freedom in shaping colonial slavery and unmaking it echoes that of David Eltis's *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (2000). The creation and expansion of slavery in the Americas, according to Eltis, was dependent on the nature of freedom in Western Europe rather than the reverse, and the idea of "ending slavery was a quintessentially Western cause" (p. 279). So too for Drescher Europe, and Britain in particular, provided "humanity's engine of emancipation" against the crime of slavery. Establishing a line of division, a *cordon sanitaire*, between the metropole and its colonial possessions enables the purity of Western ideals of freedom to be maintained and preserved.

Drescher's text, contra Robin Blackburn's *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (1988), strives to demonstrate that the Age of Revolution did not throw colonial slavery into a crisis or even overthrow it. Rather Drescher contends that colonial slavery was an incredibly robust institution and remained so in the aftermath of the great bourgeois revolutions. Colonial slavery was not imperiled by crisis, and the acts to abolish the slave trade and slavery were not simply or primarily a means of containing colonial crisis abroad and the radical politics of working-class struggle at home. The political changes and social transformations occurring in the English, Spanish, French, Dutch, and Portuguese nations were not the result of crisis, fear, and conflict in the plantation zone. Panics about slave revolt and outbursts of rebellion across the Caribbean, he argues, had no impact on the direction or growth of the antislavery movement in the metropole. Drescher disaggregates the antislavery movement into a series of local and national efforts shaped by a range of contingencies and particularities rather than envisioning it as an international crusade shaped by the circuits of capital and animated by a radical vision antagonistic to slavery.

This book casts doubt on the idea of a common wind of revolutionary promise that was awakened by the Haitian Revolution and that swept across the Americas, inciting revolt and crisis in the Age of Revolution. Rather the text emphasizes the boundary between abolition and revolution. The upshot of this line of interpretation is that the Haitian Revolution was not a pivotal event in the history of slavery in the Americas or in the demise of colonial slavery. It is so greatly reduced in scope and significance that the politics of radical antislavery and resistance risk utter evacuation. Drescher contests the status of the Haitian Revolution as a world-historical event and, in general, denies the politics of radical antislavery any efficacy or influence on the course of abolition.

Despite this book's comparative focus, Europe remains at the center of the text as an episteme and as a political project that defines almost exclusively the meaning of action, thought, and possibility. Coupled with this is a restrictive definition of abolition that

makes all but impossible any extended examination of the politics of the enslaved. Drescher recognizes the constancy and proliferation of slave resistance but demotes it as a proto-political form of action and an enfeebled one because slave resistance proved incapable of defeating slavery. It would be difficult to contest the fact that most forms of slave resistance and the majority of revolts did not succeed in bringing about an end to slavery. However, what this suggests about the significance or deficiency of slave action or politics cannot be presumed. Defeat is not necessarily the sign of a weak politics or of negligible consequences. After all, the memory of defeated ancestors has catalyzed many revolutionary struggles. In any case, the assessment of the potency or success of slave resistance raises a number of pressing and difficult questions about power and the writing of history and what determines historical significance. Is victory a leading criterion in deciding what counts as important? If so, does this not limit historians to becoming scribes of the victors? Does the history of the defeated and the vanquished possess any significance or have the capacity to trouble the narrative of great men?

When describing British abolition, Drescher paints a compelling portrait of the movement and its creation of new political actors—women, ex-slaves, and the working class—through national mobilization against slavery. The movement entreated the government and the nation to change British policy through the use of moral suasion, petition, and protest. Yet how can we discern that practice of actors not recognized as subjects of a state or without the mean of direct address to any sovereign but the master? How do objects of property advance political claims and makes their gestures legible? What forms do slave politics assume: appeals and freedom suits, arson, poisoning, plotting, fleeing, infanticide, collective action, praying, suicide, loving, child-rearing, and imagining a future other than that of captivity? Should not a comparative project be able to think across a wide spectrum of actors, practices, and beliefs? Is the enslaved a political actor like others; and, if not or if so, what role, if any, did the millions of enslaved Africans play in the abolition of slavery and the end of slavery in the Americas? Is there a freedom principle or universal history of abolition to be written from the recurrence of black antislavery resistance? Is the liberal conception of freedom capacious enough to account for abolition's diverse, if not antagonistic, trajectories? How is it still possible to write a history of abolition without seriously considering the forms of action undertaken by the enslaved?

Re-centering Europe as episteme and as motor of history in a transnational study of slavery and antislavery is not without negative consequences. Perhaps the most glaring outcome is the reluctance to engage the constitutive relation between the freedom principle and the global system of racial slavery, not as nicely cordoned zones of slavery and freedom, but as determining of the very language of rights, freedom, and humanity. The intention here is not to reproduce one of the ar-

guments that provides a central antagonist for the book but rather to push Drescher to consider if the crisis of the human and the shocking return of slavery in the twentieth century that he examines in the closing chap-

ters might not have their antecedents in the unacknowledged consequences of colonial slavery in Europe.

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JAMES BELICH. *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 573. \$50.00.

James Belich's book is useful not just for scholars comparing settler societies but for everyone working on nineteenth-century North America or Australasia. Belich tells a compelling story about economic colonialism in the nineteenth century. In the process, he provides a remarkably accessible synthesis of recent historiography describing economic development in a region stretching from the southern United States to New South Wales.

Belich's book joins a growing body of literature about the history of anglophone settlers. Most people working on English-speaking settler polities do so on the basis that North America and Australasia (and sometimes southern Africa and islands in the Caribbean) form an analytical unit sharing institutions like common law, a particular mode of indigenous dispossession and oppression, or a rhetoric of racial nationhood. Belich, however, has larger pretensions. The rise of the Greater British world, he argues, provides a new explanation of global economic disparity between East and West by 1900 (p. 14). Nineteenth-century Anglo history, in this formulation, is global history.

According to Belich, English-speaking settler polities grew more, produced more, and consumed more than anyone else after 1815. They did so chiefly because of a convergence of factors such as webs of culture, transport, and finance. During the nineteenth century, Belich finds a series of familiar institutions that include law, representative assemblies, a wide franchise, and decentralized government in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and, to a lesser extent, South Africa. In booster books, newsprint, and letters home, he finds a new ideology of settlerism that fed mass emigration and investment within the Anglo world. At the center of these ever-thickening webs lay the sudden, and simultaneous, mass transfer of goods, money, ideas and people—a mass transfer that began just before the proliferation of steam transport technology and accelerated exponentially after it (pp. 98–99). This convergence of factors fed a repeating pattern of manic, risky economic colonization followed by sober bust-time economic recolonization. Cycles of boom and bust bound the centers and peripheries of the Anglo world into spiraling patterns of interdependence and growth—patterns that, Belich argues, account for the global economic advantage enjoyed by Britain and its settler dependencies by the end of the nineteenth century.

This catchy story fits quite neatly into an emerging consensus about global economic history, despite Belich's protestations to the contrary. Belich situates his work in a somewhat exaggerated "gap" between two flawed poles of modern global history: Eurocentrism and Sinocentrism. Using David S. Landes and Immanuel M. Wallerstein as exemplars, he accuses Eurocentrists of underrating Britain's exceptional economic history (p. 442). Using Andre Gunder Frank to typify the so-called Sinocentrists, Belich claims that "no amount of research on China" can "provide a convincing explanation" for the great divergence (p. 14). Of course, most recent global historiography does not fit either mold. Scholars of China and South Asia, including Kenneth Pomeranz, Robert B. Marks, and Christopher Bayly, have produced nuanced and polycentric explanations for the creation of the modern world.

Indeed, in many respects Belich's book refines one part of Pomeranz's thesis in *The Great Divergence* (2000). Pomeranz argued that Britain's spectacular economic advantage over China from around 1800 had a number of bases, the most important of which was Britain's steam-enhanced access to both "ghost acres" and dependent markets in the nineteenth century. Economic dependencies provided enormous consignments of wood, fibers, and eventually food, allowing Britain to spend its time manufacturing goods that were sold in areas producing raw materials. Belich's book shows the mutual enrichment of Britain and a very limited set of "ghost acres" and markets in North America, Australasia, and South Africa while ignoring less fortunate nineteenth-century colonies in the Caribbean and India. Belich takes issue with Pomeranz's dates, but at the end of the day he shows that Britain was special only because better sails and then coal power let it take full economic advantage of its overseas peripheries (pp. 443–445).

Belich explains the interconnected rise of Greater Britain much more fully in the process. He does this by paying close attention to the peculiar patterns of economic development shared by "exploding wests" in the Anglo world (pp. 79–99). At the core of the book lies a careful articulation of the nature and importance of economic cycles to growth in nineteenth-century settler economies. Expanding on the work of a succession of less geographically expansive economists and historians such as Simon Kuznets and Thomas Berry, Belich shows that shared cycles of boom and bust account for

the growth of Greater Britain. The novelty here is that boom and bust are not loosely connected intercontinental events but a key attribute of economic development in anglophone polities.

Like William Cronon before him, Belich argues that we cannot understand the explosive growth of Britain and its settler peripheries in the nineteenth century without understanding their urban nexus. Accordingly, Belich's booms start not with the exports of New World staples but with "the progress industry" (p. 185). New and cheap sailing ships and, later, steamboats mass transferred (mostly) British people to settle in boomtowns. The mass transfer of people and goods in and around towns required infrastructure. Food and services for boom cities like Chicago, Melbourne, Toronto, and New Orleans supercharged settler economies after 1815. Infrastructural improvements like rail and roads were built to facilitate economic development, and the process of building them was itself a key element of boom-time economies. Settlers needed banks to dispense credit. They used that capital to set up shops and newspapers, transport networks, and town-oriented market farms. Megacities like London and, in the United States, New York financed and provided the resources for most of the infrastructure in boomtowns. The British invested more capital in overseas locations during the nineteenth century than anyone else, before or since (pp. 115–119). The tendrils bringing goods and money to settler cities from London constituted a British Empire predicated on exports rather than political domination.

Belich's parallels with Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis* (1991) do not stop there—a fact he underplays throughout his book. Mirroring Cronon's rediscovery of booster literature in the United States, Belich insists on the significance of shared culture to boom economies across the Anglo world. He shows that an oddly parochial irrationality formed an essential part of the whole process of boom. No "rational actor" invested his life or his money in the froth and bubble of manic settlement (p. 96). Sentimental settlers and investors underwrote boomtowns on the basis of affection for migrating Britons and of booster literature promising outlandish returns from "Gardens of Eden" (p. 154). The British invested money in other settler enterprises from Uruguay to Argentina, but neither quite as much nor on such favorable terms. Emigrants moved to and more importantly stayed in anglophone peripheries for the same reasons. Wild promises of riches combined with more intangible promises of equality drove them to permanently resettle themselves in unmatched numbers. New Greater British cities, not expansive frontiers, lay at the center of this speculative throng.

Culture and irrationality do not displace institutions in Belich's account of booms, but the latter are radically de-emphasized. Belich claims that settlers were drawn less by institutions facilitating the easy acquisition of money, land ownership, and self-governance than by the egalitarianism and "metropolitan status" that attended them (p. 168). He understands the importance

of extravagant representative governments in most phases of explosive development. These governments borrowed money to underwrite the construction of canals, railways, cheap land grants, and other paraphernalia of boom. Belich also notes the importance of banks as indicators of boom economies and dispensers of credit. However, he almost completely ignores legal institutions like the corporation, mechanisms of credit, and property regimes in facilitating growth—institutions that John C. Weaver, Kenneth L. Sokoloff, and Stanley Engerman have argued fundamentally underpinned growth in nineteenth-century anglophone settler polities. At best, Belich concedes that institutional "familiarity" might have encouraged investment and immigration within the Anglo world (p. 167).

I see two issues here. First, Belich ignores the nineteenth-century legal innovations that, as Cronon argues, transformed the mass transfer of staples globally. Second, even if familiarity was all the common-law system had to offer, Belich does not articulate the difference between shared culture (which he values) and shared law (which he does not). Peter Karsten and Robert C. Ellickson have both, in their ways, demonstrated the productive interplay of custom and legal institutions like property and contract in Anglophone settler polities. I am convinced, moreover, that the meanest settler understood and manipulated the limits of early nineteenth-century settler jurisdictions in quite sophisticated ways. In his quest for irrational speculators, Belich underplays the degree to which ordinary emigrants exploited the complex legal matrices in which they operated.

Belich's spin on the economic function of staples may also be controversial for different reasons. He argues that only when cities stopped consuming did they function chiefly as gateways for the mass export of staples, a process Belich calls "export rescue" or "economic recolonization" (e.g., pp. 85, 442). Desperate settler-farmers consolidated their resources and reoriented themselves towards metropolitan markets. During periods of economic bust, they managed to reduce the price of transport radically and to ship unprecedented volumes of wood, cotton, and wool; later, they also shipped pork, beef, and wheat across continents and around the globe. Gateway cities exported goods, and megacities consumed them. The two great metropolises of the modern world—London and New York—were the spiders in the center of the Anglo web. Their insatiable appetite for cheap wood, cheap clothes, and, later, for white bread and refrigerated meat revived demoralized settler hinterlands, binding them together more securely than ever. And so it continued until World War I.

Belich hopes to show that farmed and extractive commodity exports did not create economic booms in the anglophone world despite their importance to settler economies (p. 97). For example, cotton might have driven explosive geographical expansion in the old southwestern United States, he argues, but cotton plantation owners contributed little to boom economies.

They carried their wagons, livestock, and labor from the Southeast, and high cotton prices simply did not coincide with other boom indicators (pp. 237–238). Likewise, wool did not cause an economic boom in Australia. Like cotton farmers, pastoralists were not big consumers, as they only needed sheep to stock their runs. Accordingly, while Melbourne boomed between 1871 and 1891, wool output increased at only four percent per year, less than half of its growth in the preceding decade (p. 358).

Belich claims here to be correcting widespread misunderstandings among scholars. Yet, in his quest for novelty, Belich overstates his differences with those who preceded him. Sometimes he does this by drawing unnecessarily fine semantic lines between admitting that staples like cotton and wool were crucial elements of settler economies and claiming that they alone caused booms. The fact that Douglass North was wrong to assume that the Northwest boomed because the cotton South could not feed itself is not the same as showing that cotton exports did not constitute a very important strand in antebellum U.S. economic growth, north and south of the Mason-Dixon line (p. 231). At other times, Belich mischaracterizes his literature. He claims

that in Australia “The notion of wool-powered growth remained ‘the scholarly consensus’ into the 1990s” (p. 275). However, since Noel Butlin’s foundational studies in Australian economic history in the 1960s, a core of Australian economic historians has argued that immigration and urbanization, not pastoralism, accounted for the most rapid periods of growth in the nineteenth-century economy.

Overall, we should forgive Belich his overstatements. At times, his analysis could be less didactic, he might emphasize institutions more, and he could give a less lopsided view of staples exports. His perfunctory treatment of indigenous peoples is another issue I have not touched on here. These weaknesses detract very marginally from Belich’s achievement. His book provides a provocative and informative account of the disproportionate economic growth of Greater Britain in the nineteenth century. By synthesizing economic literature from a variety of settler peripheries into an entertaining and compelling Cronon-meets-Pomeranz argument, Belich has made an impressive contribution both to settler history and to world history.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

DOMINIQUE BARTHÉLEMY. *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian*. Translated by GRAHAM ROBERT EDWARDS. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 356. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$29.95.

Starting in the 1950s, historians interested in tenth and eleventh-century France articulated a series of arguments that, by the early 1990s, had been synthesized into a model of “feudal transformation” (*la mutation féodale*). At its core the thesis of “feudal transformation” or the “transformation of the year 1000” maintained that sudden and widespread changes in social structure, political organization, and even mentality came into being around 1000 as a result of the collapse of the “public” institutions and attitudes that had allegedly characterized the period from 750 to 950.

Dominique Barthélemy was the first historian seriously to challenge this model. As the synthesis of his earliest attacks on the model of feudal transformation, the work under review here is well overdue for English translation. To be sure, some may already be familiar with the ideas contained in this volume, for it is a translation of the French edition, entitled *La mutation de l'an mil a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et XIe siècles* (1997), which was itself a compilation and revision of articles previously published between 1992 and 1997. Yet aside from the obvious value in bringing Barthélemy's ideas to an anglophone audience, the translation also includes two brand new historiographical chapters and features light revisions and enhancements of the original French texts. Despite its thick and often polemical argumentation, this is one of the most important and original books on medieval French history to have emerged in the 1990s.

At every turn Barthélemy takes aim at the “latter-day myth” that is the model of feudal transformation (p. vii). Where some have seen the appearance in the eleventh century of a new form of documentary instrument (the “notice”) as proof of the debasement both of written traditions and of broader social structure, Barthélemy proposes that the new documentary forms served a specific purpose in the history of monastic institutional development completely unrelated to social breakdown (chapter two). Where others have argued that political breakdowns in the tenth century led to the

end of ancient-style slavery and that the eleventh century saw the rise of a new, and crueler, form of dependence, Barthélemy argues both that such a dichotomy is reductionist and that it relies on too narrow a parsing of words for those in servitude (chapter four). Even in those cases in which a person voluntarily gave himself into servitude, Barthélemy sees not the results of poverty, violence, and exploitation but evidence of an upper crust of peasants (“ministerials”) for whom servitude was a means of achieving distinction over their fellows (chapter three). Broadly speaking, Barthélemy emphasizes the continuity between 800 and 1100 of servile status and de-emphasizes terminological and chronological distinctions between “serfdom” and “slavery” (e.g., p. 56). Indeed, he shows convincingly that servile status did not entail complete subjection of the body but rather allowed servile men control over their property and marital status.

Where Georges Duby and others argued that the appearance of the Latin word *miles* marked the arrival of a new class of non-noble warriors who used violence to seize authority for themselves and thereby force admission into the nobility, Barthélemy again sees little sign of rupture (chapters five through seven). He rejects the definition of *miles* as that of a non-noble soldier, and argues instead that it was coterminous with older words such as *vassus* (vassal) and *caballarius* (horseman), all three of which denoted mounted, armed warriors of elevated social status from at least the Carolingian period. The preference for *miles* after 1000 is for Barthélemy more a linguistic fashion than evidence of social rupture. In these chapters Barthélemy impressively operates on multiple levels of analysis, including empirical, linguistic, sociological, and historiographical. Finally, where many historians in the 1990s were willing to see the assemblies that met between 989 and 1040 to discuss peace as reactions to undeniable social chaos, Barthélemy demonstrates both that those peace councils were not unusual and that they were not solely, or even primarily, sponsored by the weak (chapter eight).

As the definitive critique of the “model of feudal transformation,” this book is essential reading for anyone interested in the history of serfdom, knighthood, charters, or the Peace of God. Although dense and not favored by a particularly clear translation, the book re-

wards its reader with insight at almost every turn. Medievalists and general readers alike will find themselves questioning and re-evaluating many of the assumptions that undergird their research and lectures and will be compelled to think long and hard about the methods that they use to evaluate their sources.

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JÜRGEN MATTHÄUS, editor. *Approaching an Auschwitz Survivor: Holocaust Testimony and Its Transformations*. Foreword by MARK ROSEMAN. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 211. \$74.00.

Jürgen Matthäus concludes his modest introduction with the thought that “whatever the strengths and weaknesses of this book,” its goal is to “trigger more in-depth analyses” of Holocaust survivor testimony while survivors “are still with us” (p. 5). Most readers will assume there is no shortage of such analyses. Certainly there are numerous Holocaust survivor memoirs and many secondary works that contain testimony excerpts—usually to illustrate a concept or include the victim’s voice. None of that is the kind of intensive and carefully contextualized analysis that Matthäus intends. Indeed, this book is one of only a handful that take seriously the complexity and contingency of survivors’ recounting, and it does so with a rigor that is virtually unmatched.

The structure of the book is itself unprecedented. Five distinguished Holocaust scholars (four historians and one sociologist) each elucidate an aspect of the recounting of a single Auschwitz survivor—Helen Tichauer, who has long gone by the nickname “Zippi.” Central to each of these analyses is their grounding in sustained conversations (generally over many years) and inquiry in which Zippi herself is a full and necessary partner. That approach alone distinguishes this volume from almost all other work concerning survivor testimony.

The book’s lasting contribution, therefore, may be more about method than content, but it is fascinating throughout. Contributors follow a roughly chronological sequence. Thus, Konrad Kwiet focuses on Zippi’s time in Auschwitz. Included in the 1942 deportations of Slovakian Jewish women—and thus among the first Jewish prisoners in Auschwitz—Zippi’s skills as a graphic designer enabled her to get a uniquely privileged position. Eventually given her own workroom, she was tasked by the SS to print the numbered tags sewn on the uniforms of newly registered prisoners. Zippi had access, therefore, to the registration lists and drew diagrams for the SS that depicted Auschwitz’s changing population (including those murdered). As every contributor notes, and Zippi herself emphasizes, very few survived with such detailed knowledge of the camp.

Drawing on her wider study of resistance, sociologist Nechama Tec writes about Zippi’s discussion of resis-

tance in Auschwitz, a topic about which Zippi is still somewhat guarded. Knowing something but not too much, confiding and not confiding, seem to play a role now even as they did at the time. That ambiguity leads Tec to reflection about the complexity of resistance in general.

Matthäus provides a detailed analysis of the differences among an electronically recorded German-language interview that American psychologist David Boder conducted with Zippi in 1946, Boder’s English translation of the interview published eleven years later, and a radically abridged version published in 1998. Matthäus traces the impacts of translation, interpreter knowledge, and editorial selectivity through each iteration, resulting finally “in a text that resembles very little of the content and fewer of the implications of Zippi’s [originally] spoken words” (p. 69). Whatever survivor testimony cannot convey, the failure here “seems to be on the part of its recipients” (p. 70).

More than any other chapter, Atina Grossmann’s focus on Zippi’s post-liberation experiences as a “displaced person” elucidates the intersection between working *with* a survivor and writing *about* one. It is a subtle transaction, and Grossmann’s reflections are candid and enormously informative. She describes, for example, the process of deciding what questions to pursue and which to forego, along with the ways either choice reflected Zippi’s explicit and inferred inclinations. Within the topics they discussed, Zippi’s assertions sometimes directly contradicted the “central contention” of Grossmann’s own research (p. 81). In some instances, Grossmann reflects, one simply had to accept an “excruciatingly complicated story about ‘living on’ that needs to be told in as layered (multilingual even) a fashion as possible” (p. 83). At other times, careful listening and wrestling over evidence together moved initial differences to levels of understanding that neither interlocutor could have attained alone—shared inquiry at its most productive.

Wendy Lower brings the same kind of sophistication to her discussion of introducing Zippi’s account—and Zippi herself—in her university courses. The students are acquainted with Lower’s own intensive interviews before they engage Zippi directly. Even so, the pedagogic yield is uncertain, reflecting, in part, the vagaries of all such encounters. In that context, Lower notes that, even after sixteen years of her own conversations with Zippi, there is always more: “Sometimes she would return to these pieces of her story unexpectedly, months later during a casual phone call. Her interviews remain unfinished” (pp. 115–116).

At core, all survivors’ accounts “remain unfinished.” As presented in this volume, testimony is not a disembodied text but the evolving recollections of a particular person, always contextualized by a particular language, place, and time. We learn, therefore, that testimony is viewed more usefully as a process than an outcome, and, if it is spoken, it is a process pursued with others. Every chapter in this collection is the fruit of sustained dialogue with Zippi—for most of the contributors, over

the course of nearly fifteen years. "Countless conversations" (p. 3), says Kwiet; both purposeful and casual, Lower describes; scheduled and impromptu, echoes Grossmann—moments within extended collaborations that might be initiated by Zippi or by one of the researchers. Work like this, drawing on long acquaintance, deeply engaging a survivor's perspective while not surrendering one's own, reflects a different methodological universe from deploying testimony as selected excerpts, usually from one-time interviews done by someone else in a context unknown or unexplored. Sophisticated collaborative inquiry has been part of oral history more generally since the 1980s. But, with a few exceptions, it has been strikingly absent from Holocaust historiography.

It will be easier to write Holocaust history when survivors like Zippi are gone, but, as this necessary book demonstrates, it will be harder to do it with the same attentive integrity. It is both chastening and sad that Matthäus's call for similar "in-depth analyses" while "survivors are still with us" comes at a time when it is almost too late.

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SIMONE GIGLIOTTI. *The Train Journey: Transit, Captivity, and Witnessing in the Holocaust*. (Studies on War and Genocide, number 13.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2009. Pp. viii, 244. \$90.00.

"It began in the trains, in the locked boxcars" (p. 53), begins "Excremental Assault," a chapter of Terrence Des Pres's *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps* (1976) that examines the Nazi policy of humiliating prisoners by immersing them in filth. A survivor's account of being crushed in a stifling freight car amid urine, vomit, and excrement follows, but the trains are no sooner evoked than left behind for the study's true subject, the camps. Simone Gigliotti seeks to return us to the locked boxcars where, she contends, conditions were "arguably more extreme and intense than those . . . in ghettos and camps" (p. 22). She holds that scholars neglect "the inside-the-train experience" (p. 6) both because, like Des Pres, they focus on the camps to an extent that marginalizes the journeys that terminated there, and because, unlike Des Pres, they overlook victims' embodied, sensory experiences, favoring testimonies that deliver "revelations about the human condition" (p. 22) rather than depictions of excremental assault. While one may question this characterization of Holocaust scholarship given much work on survivor testimony produced over the last two decades, Gigliotti's contention that Jewish victims' experiences of deportation have received inadequate attention proves highly compelling.

Des Pres notes that the "extreme suffering" of prisoners forced to live in their own excretions was not reducible to physical discomfort but "resulted from a breach in cultural taboo" (p. 67). Although Gigliotti's

emphasis on "sensory witnessing" (p. 3) downplays the psychosocial component noted by Des Pres, she rightly argues that such suffering remains difficult for both survivors and scholars to address because cultural taboos persist. She calls on survivors and scholars to break "discursive taboos on what can be said and written about the daily life of victims" (p. 160) but stops short of theorizing taboo as an alternative to trauma in accounting for the limited "tellability of train memories" (p. 27). Whereas scholars have theorized the Holocaust as a traumatic rupture, taboos emphasize the continuity of social prohibitions. Although both trauma and taboo bear on what survivors treat as tellable, Gigliotti does not explore the relation between them or, for that matter, explicate either term (neither of which appears in the book's slight index). Nevertheless, she adopts a prevailing rhetoric of trauma, referring to "sensory trauma," "transit trauma," "spatial trauma," "olfactory trauma," "urine trauma," etc. Gigliotti states that euphemisms such as "bowel movement," "relieve yourself," and "going to the toilet" effectively "sanitize the representation of excremental assault" (p. 158), yet that language is direct in comparison to the rhetoric she employs.

Gigliotti's study is most powerful when examining testimonies that recount occurrences absent from familiar survivor accounts of deportation. Unfortunately, as if acting out the resistance to taboo topics that she attributes to Holocaust scholars generally, Gigliotti repeatedly defers engaging this material, which is largely limited to the fourth and fifth chapters of her seven-chapter study. Given her charge that scholarly focus on the ghettos and camps has marginalized the inside-the-train experience, the chapters on the liquidation of the ghettos and camp arrivals seem misplaced; furthermore, a great many ancillary arguments, concerning such matters as nineteenth-century experiences of train travel and the privileging of sight over hearing and smell in Western culture, feel like unnecessary diversions. The study is most eye-opening when Gigliotti turns to David Boder's 1946 interviews with survivors who recounted that naked men, women, and children suffering from unbearable heat and thirst in the train cars succumbed to drinking urine. Gigliotti offers a sharp analysis of the difficulty Boder and his interviewees had in "go[ing] into explicit detail about what was experienced" (p. 154), yet hardly addresses how it was that, so shortly after liberation, these survivors were willing and able to go into as much detail as they did, or why such details are generally not found in Holocaust survivor memoirs. One is left wondering how typical of "the deportation experience" (p. 207) the accounts of Boder's witnesses might be.

The answer is unclear, in part because even as Gigliotti quotes survivors who describe remarkably dissimilar experiences (one tells of deportees being "entertained by cards, magic tricks and a guitar" [p. 112]), she constructs a collective experience in much the same way that, over three decades ago, Des Pres gathered excerpts from myriad testimonies to conjure the figure

of "the survivor." Gigliotti succeeds in identifying the train journey as an important and neglected aspect of the Holocaust through which scholars can reconsider victims' experiences and survivors' recountings. But historical work attending to key factors that made for vastly different train journeys (e.g., whether a transport occurred in 1941 or 1944; left, say, from Drancy, Warsaw, or Corfu; lasted days or weeks; utilized passenger, freight, or stock cars; confined neighbors or unacquainted prisoners; forbid or allowed deportees to dispose of refuse, exit train cars, or receive food at stops) remains to be done.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

EDLIE L. WONG. *Neither Fugitive nor Free: Atlantic Slavery, Freedom Suits, and the Legal Culture of Travel*. (America and the Long Nineteenth Century.) New York: New York University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 337. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.00.

United States Chief Justice John Marshall once acknowledged that traveling slaves were closer to "a passenger" than to "a package of goods." Beginning in the late eighteenth century, traveling slaves and slaveowners had to contend with the shifting boundaries of freedom and slavery that came to characterize an increasingly complex Atlantic world. For slaves and their abolitionist allies, these boundaries meant opportunities to press legal suits for freedom. Forced to compete with the same geopolitical boundaries, slaveowners devised ways to reassert control over their property. The actions, strategies and aspirations of all these actors—slaves, free blacks, abolitionists, slaveowners, and jurists—helped constitute a racialized and transatlantic legal culture of travel. The study of this legal culture frames the subject of Edlie L. Wong's insightful and informative book. Each of the chapters is organized around a landmark legal case, but the author complements this information with valuable information from pamphlets, magazines, casebooks, and newspaper articles, a "loose genre of antislavery literature" (p. 7) that sought to discuss the implications of territorialized freedom.

The study of this literature also allows the author to recover the voices and experiences of slaves otherwise absent from historical records. These slaves were nurses, valets, and maids who sometimes came into free soil in the company of their masters. Their legal and personal status was less certain than abolitionists imagined. Even after all northern states withdrew legal protections from traveling slaveholders, some of these slaves "were caught between freedom and bondage, and their indeterminate status—neither fugitive nor free—reflects the countervailing tendencies within a legal culture that sought to reconcile slave law with the emergent 'law of freedom' in the North" (p. 83). Much to the astonishment of abolitionists, some of these slaves

chose to return to their places of origin and risked re-enslavement in order to be close to their kin. In what Wong describes as "the ventriloquism of slave will" (p. 95), abolitionist narratives found ways to speak for these slaves and to reveal their alleged true desires in ways that conformed to the expectations of antislavery audiences.

Wong devotes a significant portion of his book to explore the paradoxes of slaves' agency through the study of legal suits and the concomitant antislavery literature that helped shape popular understandings of these legal cases. Abolitionists were frequently deaf to the requests of slaves, some of whom deemed a freedom contingent on the loss of family and country unacceptable. In order to make a case on behalf of traveling slaves, jurists first had to assert that those slaves lacked will, that they had entered free soil not as fugitives, but as the allegedly will-less attendants of their masters. Once this was established, the attorneys then moved to grant these slaves with the will to become free, a will that the jurists supposedly represented. As a result, freedom suits and popular antislavery narratives were frequently predicated on the negation of slaves' agency. Defenders of slavery, on the other hand, selectively acknowledged the humanity and agency of slaves in order to protect their property rights. For example, jurists acting on behalf of slaveholders visiting England argued that slaves who voluntarily returned to a slave jurisdiction were willfully agreeing to their re-enslavement, a tacit if somewhat twisted recognition of their humanity. Slaveholders traveling to northern states, in turn, made sure their attending slaves left close family members behind, an implicit recognition of the value of such family links.

Traveling slaves were welcome back in their home state as slaves but not as free blacks. In order to illustrate "the incoherence of the law in a country divided into slave and free" (p. 5), Wong analyzes some of the paradoxical effects of black exclusion regulations. In one telling case, a slave who managed to purchase his freedom in Raleigh was forced to travel north to get his manumission recorded. Once he returned, however, he was treated like a migrant in his native North Carolina and became subject to deportation. One of the most fascinating chapters in the book deals with the effects of the Negro Seamen Acts, black exclusion regulations that coastal states began to enact in the 1820s against black mariners. Legal appeals against these laws were of little consequence, so abolitionists and reformers turned to public campaigns to denounce these statutes, which equated crime with color. The author argues that black exclusion statutes did not deny personhood to black subjects, claiming instead that black personhood was acknowledged in order to punish it. One wonders, however, about the importance of these rather technical distinctions. To the black seafarers arriving in southern ports this was surely a moot point.

Neither Fugitive nor Free makes important contributions to several bodies of scholarship, notably to legal studies of slavery in an Atlantic context. Scholars of le-

gal history, slavery, travel, and abolitionism in the Atlantic will profit from this volume.

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ARCHIE BROWN. *The Rise and Fall of Communism*. New York: HarperCollins. 2009. Pp. xv, 720. \$35.99.

In an array of recent general surveys of the rise and fall of communism, this one is probably the least extravagant and the best of the lot. Archie Brown is a long time student of the Soviet bloc and formerly an advisor to Margaret Thatcher. His hopeful and expectant attitude toward the advent of Mikhail Gorbachev to power was in contrast to the less astute warnings then made by the advisers of Ronald Reagan. This book is certainly no more sympathetic to communism than the other such surveys, but it is more sober and sound. It recognizes something of the complex relationship between the idea of socialism and the reality of communism. It also grants that communism has had a wide popular appeal to both workers and intellectuals and that, along with its tyranny and irrationalities, communism can claim genuine achievements. Brown offers the Tocquevillian judgment that the fall of communism may have been attributable more to its accomplishments than to its faults.

Brown's perspective owes to his long immersion in the study of the eastern bloc. He is a *soixante-huitard*, a 68er, who began his graduate work in the earlier sixties and spent the year 1967–1968 as an exchange student at Moscow State University, at the same time, as it happens, that I was at the University of Warsaw. In those days, the excitement in the bloc revolved around a discussion of the ideas of the young Marx, the philosopher of alienation, in the writings of people like Leszek Kołakowski. The thought was that real change from inside the communist movement could result from re-examination of its core values and texts. Students, moved, I think, by what their contemporaries were doing, from the civil rights movement in the United States to the Cultural Revolution in China, rose up in Warsaw in March 1968 and, most dramatically, in the "Prague Spring." Years later, in 1983, Brown told Thatcher that change might come from within a bloc party and that a "Moscow Spring" was not unthinkable.

Gorbachev's "Moscow Spring" was attuned more or less to the thought of Western historians, social democrats, and even communists, especially the Italian communists, who sought ways to build bridges to social democracy. Before long he was trying to build his own bridges. Brown rejects the idea that this was on the basis of a Soviet "socialism," which, he thinks, never existed. Western social democrats could not regard the Soviet bloc as socialist because it was not democratic. This view was also consonant with the sacred texts of the communists. One could put the point more strongly: prior to the revolution of 1917, no one in the Marxist tradition, neither Karl Marx, nor Friedrich Engels, nor V. I. Lenin, could have conceived of socialism under

any other regime than a democratic republic. As long as democracy existed in the West, it was the strongest reproof to communism, "simply by being there" (p. 459).

It follows for Brown that the Marxist tradition's earlier openness to democracy, rather than the confrontations of the Cold War, had the biggest impact on the ideological erosion of communism. Not every anticommunist campaign was a democratic crusade as advertised. Korea eventually became a democracy, but the anticommunist Korean regime of Syngman Rhee, for which a war was fought, was "flawed and corrupt," and a "conservative and authoritarian state" (p. 335). Fidel Castro, not at first a communist, led an indigenous revolution against a corrupt and unpopular dictatorship whose key U.S. supporter was Meyer Lansky, a mafioso. American attempts to overthrow Cuban communism, a movement built by "real domestic achievements" (p. 310), have only reinforced it. Moreover, there was no comprehensive and thorough strategy of anticommunism. The Domino Theory that provided an ideological impetus for the Vietnam War was "wholly fanciful" (p. 345). It was probably a mistake to support Lon Nol in overthrowing Prince Sihanouk in Cambodia. What followed years later was a "strange coalition" (p. 349) of the United States, China, and the murderous Pol Pot dictatorship, a "caricature of Communism" that was "out of kilter" (p. 347) with the rest of the communist world. The Cold War, Brown thinks, may have strained and threatened the Soviet Union, but it also helped to sustain it by bolstering the hand of the most hard line elements and justifying a nationalist rally around them. The crisis from which the Soviet Union did not recover was produced, not by pressure from without but by Gorbachev and his reforms, which raised expectations and demands that the communist regime could not satisfy.

Even so, communism still exists. The most dynamic state in the world is People's Republic of China. Is it going down the Soviet path? Is it actually still communist? All one can say is that communists still wield the state power with effect. While monetarist stimulation has not lifted the United States out of the present economic crisis, Chinese Keynesianism has produced dramatic results. Do the Chinese communists know something that we do not?

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ROLAND BURKE. *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights*. (Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2010. Pp. 234. \$55.00.

In this book, extraordinary for its clarity of argument, crispness of prose, and depth of evidence, Roland Burke successfully challenges the argument that human rights were foisted onto the Third World by Western imperialists at the United Nations (UN). Through a series of key episodes in the development of international human rights treaties and doctrines, he demonstrates

that, whereas the Western democracies and colonial powers tried to obstruct and sabotage mechanisms to codify and enforce global standards, the Third World, led by a range of actors from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa, argued vigorously and successfully for mechanisms that led to the shaping of treaties outlawing racial discrimination, colonialism, and apartheid, while also providing the opening for individuals to petition the UN Commission on Human Rights. Given the depth of Western (and sometimes Soviet) resistance, those were significant achievements. Yet, Burke is clear, this was no easy walk. Not only did the Soviet and U.S. blocs try to either hijack or torpedo the human rights agenda, but there was also no consistent sense of Third World solidarity on all of the issues, either. Instead, there were vested self-interests, wide-ranging debates, discussions, and fissures that only skillful diplomats could maneuver around; but, nonetheless, the fault lines were still there.

One of the main points of contention that coursed through the crafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Bandung Declaration, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries, the Teheran Conference, and the debate over creating a High Commissioner for Human Rights was whether sovereignty and democracy were inseparable or whether the sanctity of the state was *primus inter pares*. That is to say, were “individual rights and national freedom . . . interdependent” (pp. 39, 42), or was it more than enough that a colony had achieved statehood? Initially, the interdependence theory held sway, as Philippine statesman Carlos Romulo argued that the only viable state was one where the rights of the individuals were respected.

Yet, with each international meeting and each iteration of a draft treaty, the tension between individual and state rights would lead, eventually, to a world turned upside down. Many of the newly independent nations in this evolving context, having just recently achieved their freedom from brutal colonial regimes, argued that their sovereignty was the only right and how they treated their people was of absolutely no concern to either their citizens or the UN. By the 1970s, human rights, in this postcolonial, authoritarian regime environment, became debunked as nothing more than Western imperialism. What, therefore, emerges from this study is not an image of the Third World as victim but as protagonist; as a savvy, skillful, wily player with more agency than many scholars have previously acknowledged.

For all of its many strengths, this book leaves you wanting more. Burke ably demonstrates what happened. Unfortunately, particularly in the first four chapters, the reasons why something occurred are not always apparent. Why, for example, was the Nigerian delegate powerfully arguing for the right of petition for individuals to the Commission on Human Rights, while his nation was systematically starving combatants and citizens alike during the Biafran war? Why, in another case, was the successful effort to include the right to petition not short-circuited by the other concurrent ini-

tative, the 1968 Teheran Conference, where, according to Burke, “the diminution of democracy and individual rights” (p. 109) put its perilous stamp on the international system and the UN?

That is to say, why nations staked out one philosophical or legal ground at any particular moment, only in the next major human rights debate to argue completely the opposite, is rarely explained. Burke does not offer a glimpse into the catalysts for the changed perspectives until the last chapter. If Burke had placed the clashes at the UN into evolving national and international contexts, it would have gone very far in providing insight into the shifting positions and forces leading to the severing of individual human rights from self-determination. What role, for example, did the Suez Crisis in 1956 play? The Algerian war of independence? Vietnam? The Bay of Pigs? The coup in Ghana? The Sino-Indian War? From this book, we just do not know. We also get no indication of how the newly emerged nations dealt with the inherent contradictions of arguing that a nation’s treatment of its people was outside the purview of the UN, while simultaneously attacking South Africa for its racially oppressive, discriminatory laws. If Burke had answered these questions, he would have taken this book to the next level.

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LAWRENCE S. KAPLAN. *NATO and the UN: A Peculiar Relationship*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 281. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$24.95.

Lawrence S. Kaplan addresses a fascinating problem: how unlikely partners—the United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—created a working relationship. He investigates major military examples—Suez (1956), the Congo (1960), Vietnam (1961–1965), the first and second Afghan Wars (1980, 2001–present), the two Iraq Wars (1990–1991, 2003–present), and the Balkan Wars (1992–1995, 1995–1999). He does not cover the role of cultural relations, although the book’s title does not exclude this. Nor does he delve into NATO expansion, new problems posed for NATO by the European Union, or Russia’s semi-participation in NATO. He has appended relevant sections of the UN and NATO Charters, exhaustive endnotes and bibliography, as well as providing a list of abbreviations.

Within the spectrum of his study, the author gives a keen analysis on how NATO gradually became a military instrument to thwart Russia’s numerous UN Security Council vetoes and, thereby, enforce the peace despite obstructionism. This attempt to circumvent the Security Council did not occur without controversy, but it became formalized in articles five and seven of NATO’s charter, “without subjecting it to the jurisdiction of the UN Security Council” (p. 211). Article five mandates that NATO’s armed measures be immediately reported to the Security Council and terminated when the Council has taken measures to restore peace.

Article seven maintains that NATO not undertake actions that are the "primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security" (p. 227). Kaplan is often critical of the dominating role of the United States, with or without NATO or UN support. He does not sympathize with President George W. Bush in acting alone and preemptively for self-defense, nor with self-styled regime change and nation building (pp. 195–196).

The author's two best examples in making his point about useful collaboration between the UN and NATO are the Persian Gulf War (1990–1991) and the Balkan Wars. As for the others, the Suez Crisis boiled down to the role of UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld in calming the international situation and President Dwight Eisenhower restraining his NATO allies (p. 47). Concerning the Vietnam War, this example seems the least able to fit the author's criteria, as it had little or nothing to do with NATO, and the UN played only a very small role. Likewise, the Russians in Afghanistan (1980) turned out to have little or nothing to do with engaging either organization. In this sense, it paralleled the Vietnam War. The Persian Gulf and the Balkans were another matter.

President George H. W. Bush wisely built a coalition before challenging Iraq's Saddam Hussein's grab of Kuwait. Of course, the first Bush found it easier to deal with the USSR's General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev than he would have any of his predecessors. Likewise, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar "had no problem with the need for action against a regime that 'flagrantly contravened international law and the Charter of the United Nations, to which Iraq as a member state was committed'" (p. 126). The UN played no military role. NATO and EU consensus was achievable.

The Balkan Wars presented other obstacles: the UN's weakness in its relationship with NATO and the North Atlantic Council's (NAC) reluctance to interfere, especially when confronted with the manipulations of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. NATO proved unwilling to act without prior approval from the UN, a so-called "dual-key" arrangement (p. 145). UN threats over Bosnian Serb activities were ignored (p. 149). Frustrated over a growing humanitarian crisis, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali gave NATO military responsibility. In regard to this transition of authority and the importance of NATO, Kaplan notes, "The UN action symbolized both the inability of the UN to manage military crises and the indispensability of NATO as the only agent to perform this role" (p. 157). NATO's actions from August to December 1995 conformed to UN mandates, however reluctantly the UN accepted them (p. 161). These actions led to the Dayton Accords of December 14, 1995.

Nevertheless, Milosevic did not intend to give up on the ethnic cleansing of Kosovo. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan applauded the NAC's warnings to the Serb leader in 1999. Again, NATO's use of force worked in the seventy-eight-day war: "Serbia's submission," Kaplan concludes, "could not have been secured had its

compliance been left to the UN, any more than it could have been in Bosnia four years before" (p. 182). A more positive relationship between the UN and NATO had begun; it persists in the current Afghan conflict.

This timely and well-written book should be on the shelves of all who study the UN and NATO.

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REBECCA M. SCHREIBER. *Cold War Exiles in Mexico: U.S. Dissidents and the Culture of Critical Resistance*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2008. Pp. xxv, 303. \$22.50.

Rebecca M. Schreiber's book is important less for what it tells us about Cold War culture in the United States than for what it explores about the encounter of U.S. and Mexican cultures under the influence of the aggressive ideological atmosphere coming from the north and the reactive culture that it triggered south of the border. While McCarthyism and the persecution of the Hollywood screenwriters have already been well documented by numerous historians, the exile of these individuals and other artists and intellectuals who gathered in Mexico from the late 1940s onward has been addressed in memoirs far more often than in academic studies. Accordingly, Schreiber's book adds to the growing and important literature dealing with the onset of the Cold War in Mexico. Furthermore, the text explores the 1940s and 1950s in that nation, supposedly lusterless decades often overlooked in favor of the revolutionary 1930s. The availability of archival material, such as the files of the Mexican secret police, has also added to the growing interest in probing the underexplored territory of the postwar decades in Mexican historiography.

A prominent topic of Schreiber's book is the exile of African American artists who fled to Mexico to escape anticommunism as well as racism, at the same time seeking freer expression than they had experienced in the segregated and jingoistic U.S. In Mexico, they were served drinks at bars and treated like human beings even though they were strangers in a foreign country. Notable figures among the African Americans included the artists Elizabeth Catlett, an anchor for many others who followed, and John Wilson. As Schreiber demonstrates, networking was a vital element of the survival of the expatriate community.

The postwar association between African American artists and their Mexican counterparts grew out of connections forged in the 1920s and 1930s when leftist internationalism flourished. Once in Mexico, the artists joined the Taller de Gráfica Popular, which devoted its energies to the creation of art for poor and working-class communities. The Taller's influence on Catlett, for instance, inspired her to create images of African American women, both well-known and ordinary individuals, challenging the dominant accounts of U.S. history that had diminished or erased the contributions of such women in that nation. José Clemente Orozco's

iconoclasm influenced John Wilson as he created convincing images of black people.

According to Schreiber, differences in status and previous experiences existed between the African American Cold War exiles and their white peers, all of which were reflected in their respective creative work. In two cases, she addresses the Hollywood screenwriters allegorizing their experiences of exile as political refugees but also as imperialists because their class, race, and national identity positioned them alongside the elite in Mexican society. Through their writing they contributed to the condemnation of the restrictive and chauvinistic American Cold War culture while simultaneously representing aspects of Mexican culture for an American audience, including sports like bullfighting, tourist attractions viewed through the critical lens of American and Mexican racial ideologies, American imperialism, and unconventional portraits of Mexico—all of it often to the dismay of their American editors. With some exceptions, after the political hysteria triggered by Joseph McCarthy's witch-hunting receded, by the mid-1950s most of the exiles returned to the United States, either because they could not obtain the necessary papers to live and work in Mexico or because they needed to be re-immersed in the American milieu to continue and advance their creative spirit, find employment, or both.

So what do we learn about Cold War culture in Mexico through the experiences of the American exiles whom Schreiber chronicles? Among other things, their story confirms Mexico's political ambiguity in the early stages of the Cold War. While on the international front the Mexican governments adhered to its traditional principles of non-intervention, domestically they accommodated the U.S. policy of anticommunism and even collaborated by providing intelligence information on American communists residing in Mexico. When the Mexican government was reticent to do so, the United States used harassment to make its neighbor submit to its designs, drawing upon its connections to conservative channels within Mexican society like the press and the more sinister intelligence and home security agencies of the Mexican government. In the 1950s the U.S. exiles found themselves caught in the political crossfire during the awakened militancy of the Mexican independent labor organizations, which followed on the heels of the harsh repression of the 1940s with which the United States was largely uninvolved. In persecuting the persecuted and even expelling them, the Mexican government supplied further proof of its perennial contradiction between giving asylum and expelling pernicious foreigners.

Schreiber's book is informative and enlightening. Its concluding chapter explores the inspiration that the exiles drew from their cultural roots and their Mexican experiences to forge new cultural forms, especially in the cinema. The book includes graphic art, which illus-

trates it handsomely and breaks up the often repetitive narrative.

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ASIA

BIN YANG. *Between Winds and Clouds: The Making of Yunnan (Second Century BCE to Twentieth Century CE)*. (Gutenberg-e.) Electronic book. New York: Columbia University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 338. \$60.00.

Bin Yang's deeply inquisitive work explores how China's far southwestern Yunnan region "was transformed from a distinct, independent cultural and administrative entity into a frontier province of China" (p. 2). To accomplish this, it examines a broad range of developments from the third century B.C.E. through the 1950s. Addressing this scope is an extraordinary task, and the book is largely (and understandably) a creative reinterpretation of previous scholarship. Its contributions include efforts to explain how global factors—and not just Chinese colonialism—sealed Yunnan's fate.

Early chapters introduce the sweep of Yunnan history, successfully placing the region in a "global" perspective. From ancient times, trade routes connected Yunnan to Central, East, South, and Southeast Asia, and the circulation of goods among these regions impacted events: sturdy Yunnan horses, for instance, were employed in warfare in Bengal, China, and Southeast Asia. For specialists, this information is mostly familiar, but Yang demonstrates the importance of connections and Yunnan's "significance in world history" (p. 25). An investigation into military affairs, moreover, reveals that Yunnan's politics were never dictated solely by China, but were linked to "global power struggles" (p. 281). The independent Yunnan kingdom called Nanzhao, for example, manipulated eighth-century China-Tibet rivalries; and Yunnan's ultimate incorporation into China was begun by Mongols opening a second front in their war with Song China in 1253.

The book's main chapters cover the late imperial Yuan, Ming, and Qing periods (1279–1912), when Yunnan was thoroughly transformed by both intrusive and indigenous actions. A central argument is that the Chinese state and migrants "introduced Chinese institutions into Yunnan, leading to the . . . sinicization (*hua-hua*) of the region [while] native peoples' myriad influences . . . served as a sort of indigenization (*tuzhu-hua*) of the immigrants. Sinicization and indigenization were two sides of the process through which a middle ground was negotiated" (p. 102). Influenced by Richard White's seminal work on North America, Yang creatively melds the musty "sinicization" concept (assimilation to Chinese ways) with an analysis of how contact with non-Chinese people transformed migrants into

Yunnanese—an approach with real but unrealized potential.

The book marshals earlier studies and fresh examples to demonstrate how governance required accommodating indigenous customs in creating the “native chieftain system”—arguably a middle ground process—while also insisting that central regimes often undermined indigenous powerholders. This latter process, however, is not quite captured by the usual understanding of “sinicization.” Yang’s analysis, which reveals hybridity and contingency, is also seemingly contradicted by less historically grounded portrayals of imperial China: “The . . . eventual reform of the native chieftain system in the course of a more than half a millennium revealed much about the Chinese imperial consciousness, determination, and power to ‘civilize’ . . . ethnic peoples” (p. 103). It is unclear how Mongol and Manchu emperors might possess “the Chinese imperial consciousness,” and the study unfortunately does not engage important scholarship questioning the notion of an unending civilizing project.

Yang cites Chinese-language evidence to argue that by the early seventeenth century many indigenous elites were sinicized. One example, Northwest Yunnan’s Mu family, wrote exquisite Chinese poetry and hobnobbed with scholars (pp. 159–160). What the book does not reveal, however, is the Mu family’s engagement with Tibetan Buddhism. Publishing scriptures and building monasteries bolstered Mu expansion into Tibet, suggesting that politics, rather than simple sinicization, influenced Mu acculturation (see Zhou Zhisheng’s *Shangren yu jindai Zhongguo xinan bianjiang shehui* [2006]). The argument that migrants, drawing from the “middle ground experience” of indigenization, forged a Yunnanese identity must also be scrutinized. Solid evidence documents borrowing from indigenous lifeways, but was this linked to identity formation? Perhaps, but the evidence provided for Yunnanese consciousness is limited: elite men registering for exams or serving the empire sometimes called themselves Yunnanese (pp. 174, 177). Neither the rituals nor the subjective experiences of being Yunnanese are explored in depth, making it difficult to accept the overall hypothesis.

Nevertheless, Yunnan was increasingly linked economically to China as demonstrated by the replacement of the region’s Southeast Asian cowries with Chinese bronze cash in the seventeenth century. Here, the work of Hans Ulrich Vogel and others provides the foundation for Yang’s new explanation: “the globalizing modern world-system, while incorporating the Indian Ocean precapitalist world-system, pushed Yunnan . . . into the Chinese world-system” (p. 207). Increased demand for cowries apparently priced Yunnan out of the market, thus facilitating Yunnan’s adoption of bronze coinage—and its economic incorporation by China. This intriguing argument seems to be countered by Vogel’s exchange rate data (p. 201), which reveal long-term declines in cowry values, suggesting rising cowry prices did not deter Yunnan consumers. More convincing is a discussion of international developments spur-

ring the Qing state to invest in Yunnan’s eighteenth-century copper mines, making Yunnan simultaneously a crucial contributor to the imperial economy and an exploited periphery. These findings are a significant contribution to the rethinking of China’s historical economic geography.

The final chapter provides an overview of the Communist Party’s monumental effort to classify all non-Chinese communities in the 1950s. Here we are treated to an insightful challenge to the notion that classification was dictated by Stalinist concepts alone. Instead, the imperial heritage shaped efforts to define China’s minorities—a crucial idea on which future work might build.

Overall, this study successfully places Yunnan in larger global perspectives, though the introduction understates others’ contributions in this area. The book is less successful in overcoming sinocentric approaches to modern China’s relationship with the past. Part of the promising Gutenberg-e series, the book is available online. The e-text (which was not reviewed) has terrific maps but no apparent page numbers or index. The book needed stronger editorial interventions to strengthen organization and style. If Gutenberg-e is to publish innovative scholarship, these shortcomings must be addressed.

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MARK EDWARD LEWIS. *China between Empires: The Northern and Southern Dynasties*. (History of Imperial China.) Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. 340. \$29.95.

Just by writing this book, Mark Edward Lewis has made a noteworthy contribution to Chinese studies. That is because it is the only comprehensive survey of early medieval China (100–600 C.E.), a tumultuous but culturally fertile era, in which pastoral nomads occupied northern China while Chinese émigrés established fragile regimes in the south. This work is full of striking insights into the era’s most noteworthy characteristics. The vagueness of some of the author’s terms, though, sometimes mars the analysis.

The book’s purpose is to illustrate five major themes about the period. They are that China was geographically redefined both internally and externally; that a new social elite appeared that distinguished itself through cultural and literary practices; that a hereditary military class emerged; that governments based on military power became increasingly detached from society; and that major religions that transcended social class and political entities arose. The book’s nine chapters extensively discuss these themes. The first chapter details the contrasting distinctions between northern and southern China’s geography and agriculture. It notes the cultural effects that the division between north and south produced: a shift from rhapsodies that celebrated the capital to lyric poetry that explored other regions, the advent of landscape painting and its links with re-

cluses and mountains, and the birth of local consciousness. Chapter two describes the rise of the great families, which commanded prestige because their members were guaranteed entry into the imperial bureaucracy, yet they often refused to do so because of their admiration for “refined detachment.” In other words, by means of their reclusion, conversation of lofty topics, and command of lyric poetry, they set themselves apart from men who were merely powerful or wealthy. Opposed to the great families, were the military dynasts, the subject of chapter three, who were gradually able to politically dominate northern and southern China through their command of hereditary soldiers. By means of these superior military forces, the dynasts took power from the great families and governed through commoners who served as low-ranking officials.

The remaining chapters shift to social and cultural history. Chapters four and five explore urban and rural life. Lewis cogently suggests that the boundaries between the two were constantly diminished by the creation of two new, non-state spaces: the urban garden and the country villa. Members of the great families effortlessly moved back and forth between them, all the while composing poetry and engaging in lofty conversation. He further points out that Buddhist monasteries were new semi-public spaces that were between government offices and private households; moreover, they were places where people of all classes could mingle. In his chapter on “China and the Outside World,” Lewis indicates that, with the advent of the pastoral nomadic regimes of northern China, the boundaries between Chinese and steppe people were remarkably fluid and more of a choice than a fact of birth. In a chapter entitled “Redefining Kinship,” he suggests the gradual emergence of larger kinship groups as seen in the appearance of family cemeteries, multigenerational households, genealogies, and the *qingming* festival. The author also devotes a chapter to the unprecedented appearance of the institutionalized religions of Daoism and Buddhism. He underscores how the two often bled into each other through their shared emphasis on reincarnation, millenarianism, and paradises. In his final chapter, Lewis details the development of new categories of writing that expressed autonomy from the Confucian classics and state domination, such as lyric poetry that gave expression to the individual’s feelings and histories that documented particular families, localities, or abnormalities.

A book that covers so much time and territory inevitably has some gaps and inaccuracies. Despite the fact that Western specialists have for good reason decided to label this entire period either “early medieval China” or the “Era of Disunion,” Lewis idiosyncratically calls it the “the northern and southern dynasties.” This generates confusion when he is talking about the era’s first hundred years, in which China was not neatly divided between north and south. Another problem is the impreciseness of his term “local powerful families.” Early on, he asserts that, “The Political history of the

Northern and Southern Dynasties was dominated by this tug of war between military dynasts and locally powerful families” (p. 37). Yet, it is often unclear whether what he calls “the great families” are included in this term, or are separate from it. Furthermore, since the military dynasts often came from and promoted commoner families, I would maintain that it was the great families—i.e., the social elite—that were becoming alienated from the rest of society. He also tends to use later evidence, especially from the sixth-century *Family Instructions of Mr. Yan*, to characterize the entire period.

Overall though, this is a very good, insightful, and thorough introduction to one of China’s most significant but overlooked periods.

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ARI DANIEL LEVINE. *Divided by a Common Language: Factional Conflict in Late Northern Song China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 273. \$55.00.

The political, economic, and cultural achievements to which the Song state and the scholar-official elite (*shi*) that served the government contributed are well known, as is the fact that these officials engaged in bitter factional politics. Ari Daniel Levine’s book offers the first detailed examination in English of these political struggles at their most virulent, during some six decades (1044–1104) in the late Northern Song dynasty. The book’s title refers to the fact that the various sides in the political struggles drew on the same ancient classics, and debated and excoriated their enemies with the same offenses of forming divisive factions and disloyalty to the throne. As Levine states in his introductory chapter, his “goal is to reconstruct the linguistic rules and intellectual assumptions that shaped faction theory and factional rhetoric in the late Northern Song and that prevented ministers from publicly acknowledging the existence of their own factional affiliations, while they simultaneously accused their adversaries of factionalism” (p. 17).

In the second chapter Levine discusses how the “faction theorists and factional rhetoricians” of the Northern Song read (or misread) the various terms (*dang*, *pengdang*, *wudang*) in ancient classics that refer to “faction,” generally in an unfavorable light. Furthermore, in the midst of their own political disputes, the historically minded Northern Song officials invariably referred to factionalism in earlier Chinese history, especially that toward the end of the two earlier long-lived dynasties, the Eastern Han and the Tang, as a major factor contributing to the collapse of these states.

Chapter three discusses writings from the Northern Song on factions, notably five essays known as “Discourses on Factions” by such scholar-official luminaries such as Ouyang Xiu, Sima Guang, and Su Shi, who were fully immersed in the political struggles of their day. Here and in the ensuing chapters, Levine’s masterful

translations and his discussions of passages from such texts demonstrate convincingly one of the book's main points—the essential role of language in politics and in particular its skilful use by the classically trained writers during the Song period.

Chapters four through six trace the increasingly vehement factionalism beginning with the Emperor Shenzong favoring Wang Anshi's reformist New Policies and allowing the latter to purge from power his political opponents. Wang's particularly harsh accusations of his enemies for forming factions of treacherous petty men disloyal to the throne provoked many further rounds of bitter recriminations among the differently affiliated officials. For decades, the political fortunes of the reformists and anti-reformists (both of which also splintered into smaller groups) went up and down depending on patronage of a new emperor or regent. One constant feature of this system, as Levine shows, was the common language of political discourse that devolved into polarizing accusations and character assassination.

This factional strife concluded in 1104, when the anti-reformists were blacklisted and effectively barred from political power early in the Emperor Huizong's reign. It was not, of course, the end of ideological and political disputes, but with the conquest of north China by the Jurchens and the establishment of the Southern Song, new issues of contention and new groups arose, including those advocating and opposing the Learning of the Way (*Daoxue*). As Levine points out, "[our] faction" in private discourse, such as that of Zhu Xi, the leader of the *Daoxue* movement, became a positive term when it referred to honorable men working for the public good. Political authority grew significantly less court-centered and more focused on the dominance of the *shi* elite in regional and local arenas, often in non-official capacities.

After the preceding chapters' intensely detailed scrutiny of Northern Song political struggles at the center, the last chapter gives a brief look at political factionalism and discourse in later periods in China, from the Southern Song through the twentieth century. This discussion comes as a relief, because readers, even those familiar with Song history, would have profited from somewhat more discussion of the historical factors that gave rise to the political struggles of the late Northern Song and explaining why they mattered.

Despite the Song state's new approach to recruiting officials by a far heavier emphasis on the examination system and its privileging of civil officials over the military, the political struggles that engulfed so many of the high-level officials in the central government were similar in dynamics—and language—to those in earlier eras. Thus, what did the political struggles of the late Northern Song signify? Perhaps the successful domination of such scholar-officials in the Northern Song government, and the way they perceived their role in serving the emperor, may well have contributed to the

internecine struggles among this new elite despite their shared and deeply held culture.

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DAVID M. ROBINSON. *Empire's Twilight: Northeast Asia under the Mongols*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, number 68.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2009. Pp. viii, 439. \$49.50.

Despite the undeniable significance of the Mongol Empire in world history, there has been a paucity of monographic studies about it in English. Among the many reasons for this, as noted by David M. Robinson, are the vast number of languages required to master the primary source base pertaining to the Mongols, whose empire at its height spanned the Eurasian continent. Therefore, most existing studies have focused on individual figures or relatively discrete territories such as Russia, Persia, or China within the greater empire, or *ulus*. Recognizing these limitations, the author endeavors to illuminate a relatively small, but very important corner of the empire at a critical time in its history. In focusing on the fall of the Yuan (1279–1368) empire in Northeast Asia through the lens of what he terms "The Red Turban Wars," Robinson highlights four major themes: the need for scholars to adopt a regional perspective versus that of a dynasty or country; the processes and consequences of political and economic integration under the Mongols; the tendency for individual and family interests to trump dynastic, country, and linguistic affiliations; and the need to see Koryô as part of the Yuan empire. Along these lines, he rightly points out the importance of directing scholarly attention towards the post-Qubilai (r. 1260–1294) era of the Mongol Empire, noting that heretofore studies have given excessive attention to the earlier era of creation and consolidation while glossing over important political and institutional processes in this formative period that had lasting significance.

The first chapter establishes the importance of studying Northeast Asia as a single analytical unit. While borders were quite permeable and governance structures were fluid and unevenly applied, the region was in fact increasingly interconnected commercially, politically, and culturally by virtue of the Mongol *imperium*. Robinson argues persuasively that one of the lasting unintended consequences of the Mongol expansion into Northeast Asia was the integration of the Liaodong region into China rather than Korea (p. 282). Robinson also reveals the degree to which Mongol cultural practices, influences, and predilections influenced the various subject peoples of the empire. While scholars have traditionally noted the influences of the cultures of subject peoples upon the Mongol conquerors (particularly from the supposedly more refined Persian and Chinese cultures), far less emphasis has been placed on influences heading in the other direction. Yet, through an adroit use of a wide variety of primary source materials

such as poems, diaries, memorials, funerary inscriptions, and official histories, Robinson demonstrates how Central Asian practices such as gift giving influenced established traditions such as the tributary relations among East Asian polities (pp. 48–53). Moreover, even as the Mongols sometimes adopted the clothing, hairstyles, eating, and pastimes of their subject peoples, the reverse was also the case. Additionally, many elites, particularly Koreans, married into the Mongol royal family and took great pride in the status that conferred upon them vis-à-vis the rulers of other Mongol subject states (p. 103).

Robinson then directs his attention towards the Korean kingdom of Koryŏ and its place in both the region and in the great Mongol empire, most significantly with respect to its interactions with the various Red Turban rebel groups who sprang up in the last decades of Yuan rule. To a degree unprecedented in the English language literature on the subject, the author paints a complex picture of shifting loyalties, behind the scenes dealing, and military emergencies that confronted Korean rulers. Building upon the recent work of Asian scholars, Robinson cautions against relying upon dichotomous analytical categories such as “collaborationists” versus “nationalists” and urges readers to consider the complexity of political, economic, and military relations created by multiple nodes of political authority in fourteenth-century Northeast Asia. The book’s final chapter and epilogue provide insights into the wider implications of the Yuan collapse in Northeast Asia and suggestions for further research.

This book should be required reading for anyone interested in the Mongol Empire. It is also reflective of new trends in the field towards regional studies that have much to offer comparative historians. It is meticulously documented, and Harvard University Press is to be commended for including extensive passages in the original Chinese for specialist readers. It is mildly disappointing that only three maps are included and there are no images within the text itself. In terms of content, my only real quibble is that more attention was not given to the relationship between the various Chinese regimes that eventually ousted the Yuan and the Koryŏ rulers, although it may be that the author believes that such connections are adequately treated elsewhere in accounts of the rise of the Ming dynasty.

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KENNETH M. SWOPE. *A Dragon's Head and a Serpent's Tail: Ming China and the First Great East Asian War, 1592–1598*. (Campaigns and Commanders, number 20.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2009. Pp. xxiv, 398. \$34.95.

Driven by desires to impose hegemony on both Korea and China and to control international trade in East Asia, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, a Japanese warlord who had brought Japan's Warring States period to an end, invaded Korea twice in 1592 and 1597. On each occasion,

the Japanese forces had initial success, crushing Korean resistance and capturing cities and towns, including the capital city of Seoul in the first invasion. Each time, however, the Korean and the Chinese troops ultimately managed to turn the tide. The Japanese withdrew from Korea in the spring of 1599 following Hideyoshi's death and their defeats both in land and at sea. Despite the conflict's great resonance in both Japan and Korea in the ensuing centuries, it has not been examined in a comprehensive manner. Kenneth M. Swope's book offers the first multi-angled examination of this critical incident. Designating the conflict as the “First Great East Asian War,” Swope strives to transcend the one-country grounded position and give all three countries the attention necessitated by the unfolding of this war. More admirably, Swope tries to situate this war in a larger global setting by comparing to war-making mechanisms in early modern Europe, intending to unseat an impression that the Asian countries are completely irrelevant when it comes to the “military revolution.” As Swope maintains, not only did the East Asian countries actively use newer firearms and advanced warships in this conflict, but their institutional innovations, such as employing mercenaries and engaging the private sector in army logistics, also brought them to a level matching that of their European counterparts. Swope, a military historian of the Ming dynasty, pays special attention to battles, army size and movement, war strategy and tactics, weaponry, and technology, which enriches and enlivens his account. However, his narratives could have been much enhanced and his main storyline underscored if he had pruned and streamlined some of those details and punctuated his longer chapters with sub-headings. In lieu of blow-by-blow rendering of the official correspondence and other records, he could have provided analytical syntheses that would have bolstered the delivery of his own judgments and interpretations.

Swope's study is not meant to be just a military history of the international war. He tries to revise the interpretation on the military strength of the Ming dynasty at the end of the sixteenth century, as well as the historical status of the Wanli Emperor (r. 1573–1620). Forcefully disputing the conventional wisdom that has portrayed an incompetent and corrupt ruler under whom the Ming military steadily and irreversibly declined, Swope argues that the Ming dynasty from 1570 to 1610 was militarily energetic, adept at adopting changes, including some institutional reforms, and resolute in taking action. During this period of revival, the Ming launched the so-called “Three Great Campaigns”—the Ming expeditions to Korea to engage the Japanese is one of them. The Wanli Emperor's determined response to the crisis in Korea, Ming China's quick mobilization of a large force to rescue Korea, and its effective transportation of large amounts of supplies to the front are other examples supporting this line of argument. Although readers interested in this revisionist view can locate such evidence, Swope fails to revisit this important theme in a more structured manner after the focus shifts to the Korean theater of war. Offering

only a general discussion of the war's aftermath in the three countries in the concluding chapter, Swope stops short of exploring a number of critical issues in depth that he has touched on earlier in the book (e.g., the reform of replacing the hereditary soldiers with mercenaries and fiscal impact of the war on the Ming). The task of revising the military history of the Ming is thus left unfinished in this book.

Since Swope takes the rewriting of Ming military history in the late sixteenth century as one of his objectives, his study is inclined to be centered more on Ming China, as the subtitle of the book suggests. Accordingly, he has used more Chinese primary sources than either Korean or Japanese sources, although the latter are also available in considerable number, thus leaving ample room for future works. After all, given its groundbreaking importance and ambitious agenda to embrace all three East Asian countries, this book will be a must-read for years for anyone who wishes to learn about this international war and gain a new insight into the fortune of the Ming dynasty.

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CARLA NAPPI. *The Monkey and the Inkpot: Natural History and Its Transformations in Early Modern China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 234. \$39.95.

I am hardly alone in yearning for books that leaven serious scholarship with wit and play of the imagination. In Chinese studies they are ridiculously rare, even from imaginative and witty people. I was delighted when I read the first sentence of this volume, "Stop for a moment, look up from this book, and close your eyes." Carla Nappi encourages the reader to conjure up a museum of all conceivable creatures. She offers as an example Jorge Luis Borges' *Book of Imaginary Beings* (1957), with its Chinese monkey that sits on scholars' desks "waiting for the opportunity to quaff leftover ink"—consuming "the very means of writing about and understanding it" (pp. 1–2, 148). European fantasies of China as exotic, the book demonstrates, are trifling by comparison with the richness of actual Chinese thought about the world around us.

One could make this point with regard to any number of topics. Nappi chooses natural history. Her book is a broadly conceived study of the most celebrated book in the Chinese tradition of pharmacognosy, the *Systematic Materia Medica* (*Bencao gangmu* [1596]) of Li Shizhen (1518–1593). This compendium contains detailed articles on roughly 1900 medicinal substances—vegetable, animal, and mineral. It not only culminated its tradition but became the model for later compilations in China, Japan, and Korea.

The scope of Nappi's book is so broad, indeed, that it compares the sources that European and Chinese scholars would have used to learn about dragons, as well as discussions in eighteenth and nineteenth-century France, Britain, and China about an odd creature

that was a worm in winter but metamorphosed into an herb in summer. Thankfully, Nappi's research question is not who was more rational. As bountiful examples of Li's reasoning indicate, he was no less rational than today's botanical taxonomist. Their modes of rationality, however, are quite different.

The tradition of the *Systematic Materia Medica* was not merely pharmacognostic; Li followed his predecessors in collecting and critically evaluating information from classics, histories, encyclopedias, collections of anecdotes, literary prose, and poetry about each of the drug substances in his book. He demonstrated why it was essential to study an unprecedented range of non-medical sources. "A poem might disprove a medical work, and a 'tale of the strange' might suggest the logic of how to use a drug," Li "foregrounded the importance of metamorphosis, the infinite creativity of nature, and the foolishness of the man who thought he fully understood it. If we take one lesson from a close reading of Li's work, this ought to be it" (p. 139).

The result was a vast digest of natural history. When Charles Darwin, in *The Origin of Species* (1859), wrote about how chickens, goldfish, and other animals were bred in China, the "Chinese encyclopedia" that he cited as his main authority turns out to have been the *Systematic Materia Medica*.

Li also made fascinating comments on the ethics of prescribing the substances that he discussed. Predecessors had advocated using drugs derived from the human body, from bones to milk to dandruff to menstrual blood. Li considered on subtle ethical grounds whether each was suitable for therapy. For instance, he rejected using body parts that were also regularly harvested from animals, since treating men like animals denied their humanity. Two hundred years later, Li's successor Zhao Xuemin rejected his whole chapter as unethical. As Nappi puts it, "in the sixteenth century the boundary was still being drawn," and Li did more than anyone else to explore how one might draw it (p. 135).

Nappi aptly concludes that Li "built his work on the premise that any knowledge of the natural world was necessarily as plural and manifold as the metamorphoses of its inhabitants. This knowledge was not simply important for its own sake but was also vital to understanding how to nurture and heal the human body. There was not for Li, nor is there now, a single 'Chinese' way of knowing about nature" (p. 149).

This book is a fresh look at a classic known to every educated Chinese person today. It describes its contents and historical utility. It goes much further, describing how its author used the habits of thought and the cosmologies of his own time to reassemble in his book the diversity and complexity of the natural world around him, and showed how to use such knowledge in caring for the human body.

This is first-rate scholarship, elegantly written and full of sound translations. Any scholar can find nits in another scholar's work to pick at, but in this one there are too few to pause over. The book is considerably more carefully edited and proofread than the norm. Its

index of only five and a half pages is inadequate to be of much help in research. Pressing authors to minimize their indexes is, sadly, the latest fashion among publishers.

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JEFFREY SNYDER-REINKE. *Dry Spells: State Rainmaking and Local Governance in Late Imperial China*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 311.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2009. Pp. xii, 314. \$45.00.

At first glance, the title of Jeffrey Snyder-Reinke's book suggests that it might be centered on the relationship between the state and society, a subject that many of us have pursued over the past decade. This book is not only a study of the state versus society, however, but also displays the author's broader interest in ideas pertaining to religion, culture, and history. Examining the widespread rainmaking activities that Qing officials from all levels of society conducted, Snyder-Reinke argues that these activities were more than perfunctory religious rituals; they were the essential *modus operandi* through which the Qing state became culturally reified within each village.

The book contains seven chapters. The first sets up the discussion of the rainmaking ceremony as a government responsibility and hence a component of state governance in village communities. The ensuing chapter traces rainmaking back to its roots, the shaping of its basic modes of practice, and the development of the ideology surrounding the person who conducts the ritual?variously casting this person as a mourner, martyr, and magician. Snyder-Reinke indicates that this tripartite conceptualization of the ritual practitioner originates in the ideas of King Tang of Shang (r. 1675–1646 B.C.E.), King Xuan of Zhou (r. 827–782 B.C.E.), and the Han dynasty scholar Dong Zhongshu (179–104 B.C.E.). The third chapter zooms in on a specific period of the Qing dynasty after 1742?the year Emperor Qianlong attempted to standardize the activity?to show that any effort by the state to impose uniformity was in vain because local officials instead followed their own instincts regarding the Chinese tradition of rainmaking.

With the same purpose of observing the tradition, as chapter four indicates, local officials employed myriad techniques under the principle that "one should resort to every means available when praying for rain," a principle derived basically from one verse of the Book of Songs. The next chapter examines in detail a particular type of rainmaking method, namely the "eight trigram" ritual, made popular by county magistrate Ji Dakui in the nineteenth century. Through their widespread adoption of this method, local officials underscored their eagerness to exercise their authority through rainmaking.

Chapter six goes into the heart of the question of how the interests of the state and local society intersected at the point of discussion on the proper rainmaking strat-

egy. The author contends that the debate over the "sincerity" of the ceremony actually embodied local elites' struggle against state control of local affairs. The last chapter puts the entire analysis into the author's perspective that rainmaking was a focal point where the influence of Confucian ideology, the function of the state at the local level, and the power of religion all coalesced. And in this vein, the author suggests, rainmaking becomes an important research topic in Chinese studies.

This book has numerous strengths. It demonstrates that a topic such as rainmaking can serve as a window to a broader view of Chinese history. The author skillfully weaves together a variety of sources, including historical documents, local gazetteers, and secondary literature in Japanese to create a solid base of research material. The translation of the historical documents deserves great praise given the difficulty of the task. The book's appendix provides an extensive list of well translated documents. I found most of the author's arguments quite convincing, although Snyder-Reinke could have said more about rainmaking: in particular, how rainmaking intertwined with the daily lives of average villagers and how it catalyzed the cultural transformation of local communities. Overall, however, this book is a success. It will certainly provide valuable information to those who have an interest in Chinese history, especially issues related to religion, philosophy, culture, state governance, and even human interaction with the natural environment.

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TIMOTHY BROOK, JÉRÔME BOURGON, and GREGORY BLUE. *Death by a Thousand Cuts*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 320. \$29.95.

In one work we find a thorough historical account of the origins, practice, and abolishment of *lingchi*, the form of execution better known by the misnomer "death by a thousand cuts" or "lingering death." At the same time this book contributes to the growing literature seeking to expose sources of deeply imbedded Western misunderstandings of China's past. Just as R. Bin Wong's *China Transformed* (1997), Kenneth Pomeranz's *The Great Divergence* (2000), and Benjamin A. Elman's *A Cultural History of Modern Science in China* (2006) have reoriented Western scholarship in comparative studies, economic history, and the history of science, Timothy Brook, Jérôme Bourgon, and Gregory Blue have done the same for Chinese legal history. *Death by a Thousand Cuts* is a masterful work of scholarship that deftly shifts between detailed historical research and insightful critical analysis. It seamlessly presents the laws of punishment in late imperial China, reconstructs the origins and practice of *lingchi*, and plumbs the depths of Western misperceptions of judicial cruelty.

This work is remarkable for its concision as well as its discernment. Legal scholars will appreciate the com-

pendious reconstruction of the practice of *lingchi* from its murky origins in the Liao dynasty (907–1125) to its abolition in the waning years of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). The authors combine informed speculation regarding the origins of *lingchi* with a detailed chronicle of its legal status over a thousand years of judicial administration. Legal scholars will also appreciate the painstaking attention to the various legal codes as well as the more limited evidence of the practice across several centuries. Equally important, the book reveals the long record of opposition to the practice of *lingchi* that many Chinese officials voiced. Although *lingchi* was the most gruesome and extreme method of execution, the authors correctly emphasize that it was only one of three legally prescribed forms of the death penalty (strangulation and decapitation being the other two) that, like all penalties under Chinese law, could only be used to punish specific crimes. The authors very carefully explain the limits of the practice as well as its infrequent use. For example, of the 813 capital offenses contained in the Qing legal code, only thirty were punishable by *lingchi*. These crimes were the worst offenses, including “attacking the authority of the dynast or the family, the survival of the male line, and the hierarchies of age and gender that threaded Chinese society together” (p. 54).

When deconstructing *lingchi*’s historic standing as the emblem of inherent Chinese cruelty, the authors are equally adept at synthesizing secondary sources and critically interrogating ill-informed assumptions regarding the late imperial legal system. Visual sources, especially images in art and photography, ultimately secured *lingchi*’s status as an essential icon of Chinese judicial cruelty in the West. Ironically, photos of three executions gained wide circulation in the West precisely at the time when the practice was being abolished in China. The book presents a persuasive argument that the visual images of judicial torture and executions that Chinese artists produced for the European market bore little resemblance to actual legal practice. Similarly, Chinese artists had access to Western artistic motifs, which they incorporated into their art for the export market.

Another invaluable and welcome contribution is the succinct summary of a wide array of literature from Tomé Pires, the sixteenth-century Portuguese envoy, to Arthur H. Smith, a late nineteenth and early twentieth-century missionary, to illustrate the growing European disesteem for Chinese criminal justice from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. Visual representation and cultural expectations of executions were, the authors convincingly demonstrate, at the heart of Western misreadings of *lingchi*. When Chinese practices overturned Western expectations of the performance of executions, “a deep chasm of misunderstanding opened up, into which rushed all manner of misunderstandings about what was being done and what that said about the culture or civilization of China as a whole” (p. 203). While Westerners expected a redemptive ordeal, what they instead witnessed in China was a brutal demon-

stration of state power. Few observers acknowledged the multitiered reviews of the adjudication and sentencing of capital crimes in late imperial China. The penultimate chapter, which examines the use of photographs of *lingchi* in Georges Bataille’s *Les Larmes d’Eros* (1959), takes a decidedly different approach. In the manner of a detective novel, the chapter questions the authorship of *Les Larmes d’Eros* and illustrates the ease with which scholars in the West accepted the photographs at face value.

Ultimately, *Death by a Thousand Cuts* is an uncommon work of scholarship that bridges several complex but related areas of inquiry. Experts on Chinese legal history as well as scholars of comparative cultural history will find this work essential reading. Unfailingly judicious and sensitive in their treatment of an unavoidably lurid subject, the authors brilliantly juxtapose the history of judicial punishment in imperial China with Western obsession with Chinese cruelty in a work that promises to open new frontiers in Chinese legal and cultural studies.

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BRUCE A. ELLEMAN and STEPHEN KOTKIN, editors. *Manchurian Railways and the Opening of China: An International History*. (Northeast Asia Seminar.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2010. Pp. xvii, 235. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$34.95.

This book is a collection of eight separately authored chapters, plus an introduction and epilogue by Bruce A. Elleman, on the railways of Manchuria and China proper during the period 1895 to 1952. The first four chapters deal with the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER) and its southern extension, the South Manchuria Railway (SMR), from the agreement to establish the CER in 1896 until the Soviet Union imposed its dominance over the Republic of China in 1929. The latter four chapters deal with various aspects of railways in China during the late Republican and early Communist eras.

The essays are well researched and well written, providing clear accounts based on rich source material in Chinese, Japanese, and English, covering a number of important topics in modern Chinese history. Unlike many other collections that bind loosely connected articles into a single volume, this book presents a continuous narrative in a series of well-edited chapters, each of which stands on its own, while together providing a thoughtful chronicle of the role of railways in China’s recent history. Readers interested in this feature of modern China will be rewarded by a series of brief, yet substantive accounts.

The first four chapters on the CER weave together a number of interesting and significant themes. Foremost among these themes is what the authors call “railway imperialism,” or the role of railroads as instruments by which the foreign powers inserted themselves into a regional context and extracted material resources, strategic advantage, and political influence from China and

one another. As the opening chapter by S. C. M. Paine shows, the CER was itself an imperialist venture: imposed on a China weakened by defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), built and operated by the Russians for their own purposes, and after the Russians own defeat in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), divided into two competing imperialist ventures, the Russian Chinese Eastern Railway, running east-west across northern Manchuria, and the Japanese SMR, running from the CER south to the terminus in Port Arthur (Lushun) and Dairen (Dalian). Paine describes how these events, although taking place in China, were dictated by the interests and actions of Russia and Japan, and how the Russians paid dearly in money, lives, and prestige for a shortcut to the Far East that yielded little in return.

Y. Tak Matsusaka picks up the story with an account of the SMR, following the theme of “railway imperialism,” but with a different twist. Whereas Paine finds that Russia paid too much and received too little from the CER, Matsusaka shows how the SMR was profitable for Japan, but that the Japanese were of several minds about how to make use of it. The SMR’s management and stockholders saw the railway as a source of profits, the leadership of the imperial Japanese Army considered it a strategic resource, and many poor Japanese imagined that it might be a means of migration, employment, and a better way of life. Although these competing interests were never resolved, Matsusaka does see a change in 1931, when Japan’s project in Manchuria changed from “informal control of the territory through railway power” to “formal control through partition and state building.” (p. 50)

In chapters three and four, Elleman and Felix Patrikeeff return to the CER, which passed from tsarist Russia to the Soviet Union in 1917, and became an instrument of Soviet imperialism in the Far East. At first, the Soviets, in a weak position and hoping to win support from an even weaker China, or perhaps more accurately from those Chinese who would some day create a viable government, promised to return the CER along with all other assets and interests in China that had been seized by the tsarist regime. But once in power, the Soviets became just as “imperialist” as their predecessors, reversed their earlier promise, and sent forces to Manchuria in 1929 to fight Chiang Kai-shek, who had come to power on the strength of an alliance with Moscow, for control of the very same railway. And yet, as Patrikeeff concludes, the Soviets, like their predecessors in tsarist Russia, were unable to turn this victory to their advantage. They were forced to cede the CER to Japan in 1935, and “the USSR’s actual control over northern Manchuria decreased rather than increased” as a result of the Sino-Soviet conflict.

Finally, chapters seven and eight by Harold Tanner and Zhang Shengfa, respectively, trace relations between the Chinese Communists and the Soviet Union in the disposition of the Manchurian railways during the Chinese Civil War (1946–1948) and in the post-1949 negotiations for the return of these railways to Chinese

sovereignty. The latter is especially interesting for its detailed account of the negotiations between Mao Zedong and Joseph Stalin during Mao’s visit to Moscow in the winter of 1949–1950.

Whereas the foregoing chapters, which comprise the bulk of this book, deal primarily with foreign actors and the international and strategic dimensions of the Manchurian railways, chapters five and six by Chang Jui-te and Elisabeth Köll, respectively, deal with the impact of railways on the economy, employment, technology, and professional training in China proper. Since much of the literature to date has focused on the former issues, the shift to domestic social and economic matters suggests a promising direction for future research. The effects of railroads on the commercialization of agriculture, increase in wage labor, training of technical personnel, creation of new professional groups, mobility, and migration are among the important subjects that await future scholarship, perhaps by the contributors to this volume.

JAMES REARDON-ANDERSON
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XI LIAN. *Redeemed by Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 333. \$45.00.

This is a beautifully researched and sympathetically written account of popular Protestant movements in early twentieth-century China. It is structured around a series of individual life stories of Chinese Protestant leaders, which make the book an accessible and attractive read. It will take its place alongside Ryan Dunch’s *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857–1927* (2001) as essential reading on twentieth-century Chinese Protestantism and an exemplar of the new trend toward China-centered studies of Christianity in this period. Both authors center their narratives around Chinese nationalism, but whereas Dunch tells us of socially mobile coastal elites whose rational forms of Christianity are infused with a self-consciously modern state-building ideology, Lian’s story is much more socially and regionally varied. The Christianity that he describes is fundamentalist, Pentecostal, millenarian, and consequently often at odds with the Chinese state. Both of these strains of Christianity are alive and well in China today, but Lian is convincing when he argues that it is the radical fundamentalist and eschatological forms of the religion that have driven the growth of Chinese Christianity in recent years.

Lian argues that Protestant Christianity became integrated into Chinese society only in the early twentieth century, despite the fact that the first missionaries had arrived nearly a century earlier. He sees 1926, the year when the Nationalist Party led by Chiang Kai-shek swept to power under the banner of anti-imperialism, as a crucial turning point. On the one hand, Chinese Christians working under foreign missionaries were stigmatized for their lack of nationalist feeling, while on the other hand many missionaries fled the country as

the Nationalist armies enacted the party's rhetoric by invading foreign-controlled concession areas and even occasionally killing foreigners. Young Christians, who were often frustrated by the limits that missionary control placed on their promotion within churches, became increasingly unwilling to work with the foreign missionary establishment. Instead, they embarked on their own evangelistic endeavors dedicated to rescuing Christians from the mission churches with their emphasis on welfare and social reform, and turning them instead toward what they saw as more authentically spiritual forms of Christianity. (Not for nothing was one of the earliest and most successful of the new movements called the True Jesus Church.) Lian argues that popular Chinese Christianity was born in these Chinese-led movements, not in the missionary churches.

Like most other historians who have written about Christianity in China, Lian attributes conversions to the many crises of the period, which made people receptive to apocalyptic themes. However, the quality of his research is such that other strains are also apparent. Several of the leaders whose lives he describes had achieved considerable worldly success: John Sung, an immensely popular evangelist who used to leap out of a coffin while preaching at revival meetings, had a Ph.D. in chemistry, while Watchman Nee, the founder of the apocalyptically minded Little Flock, moved between his career as a religious leader and his brother's pharmaceutical business. Lian also shows us the extensive interactions of these leaders with trends in global Christianity, as when he describes Nee's links to the Plymouth Brethren.

Lian emphasizes the continuities between the new popular Christianity and indigenous religious traditions. For example, he links the Jesus Family, who adopted strict communitarian lifestyles combined with ecstatic communal prayer, with the nineteenth-century Taiping Rebellion. The problem with such links is that similar movements invariably also seem to exist elsewhere within the great stream that is global Christianity—in this case perhaps the American Shakers. Moreover, the foreign-inspired modernist ideas reflected in liberal social gospel forms of Christianity and continued today in parts of the official church, have also become deeply embedded in twentieth-century China. The more important question that Lian is asking is which form of Christianity appealed to whom, when, and why. We learn that radical fundamentalist, Pentecostal, and apocalyptic preachers attracted large audiences, especially in the 1930s and 1940s, and went on to shape the revival of Christianity that has taken place since the 1980s.

This book is important and provocative. It will be essential reading for those studying the history of Christianity in China. However, it should also find a much wider readership. It is written in such a way as to be accessible to those who are not experts in the field, with clear explanations both of the Chinese political and social background and of the relevant Christian theological traditions. The inclusion of such background infor-

mation should enable the book to draw the study of modern Chinese Christianity into both wider Chinese history and studies of global Christianity.

HENRIETTA HARRISON
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YINGCONG DAI. *The Sichuan Frontier and Tibet: Imperial Strategy in the Early Qing*. (A China Program Book.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 352. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$30.00.

Neither Tibet nor Sichuan has yet been the subject of many English-language studies, and works devoted to the examination of historical interconnections between these two vast and diverse areas of western China are even less numerous. In fact, Yingcong Dai's book is the only title that comes readily to mind. The singularity of its main topic would not generally, however, be sufficient justification by itself to recommend the book to an audience beyond a small group of specialists working across the borderlands of China's last dynasty, the Qing (1644–1911). Fortunately, there are other reasons.

A few of these reasons, quite simply, concern filling in some global historical and historiographic gaps for Western non-specialists regarding both past relations between Tibet and China as well as the pertinent work of ethnic Chinese scholars in China and the United States. While the book is not consciously written for either of these purposes, its conceptualization, the focus of many of its arguments, and even its subtitle reflect a deep engagement with the relevant scholarly discourse in China. These characteristics render Dai's book an opportunity for non-specialists interested in Tibet to understand the historical narrative and analytical context that informs domestic scholarly opinion on that region in China today.

Such an understanding is facilitated by the book's initial division into five chapters, which are ordered chronologically, mainly by reign period, to cover the Manchu Qing's conquest of China in 1644 to the end of the dynasty's expansionist phase in 1795. These chapters are mainly a political and military history of how Sichuan, a province of China proper with a majority ethnic Chinese ("Han") population, was reconstituted in the wake of this conquest to play "a critical role in Qing strategy with regard to Tibet" (p. 3). Among the many important operations packed into these chapters, one—the Jinchuan campaigns in northwestern Sichuan (1747–1749; 1771–1776)—exemplifies a central argument that the province was the prime economic beneficiary of Qing frontier policy. Jinchuan, part of a larger multi-ethnic section of eastern Tibet (Kham) annexed by the Qing in the 1720s to augment Sichuan's western marches by roughly a third, became the dynasty's most expensive war. This conflict devolved into a quagmire of insurgent indigenous peoples exacerbated by gross financial corruption that bogged down the dynasty's westward expansionary momentum. The costs of such nominal and unsustainable victories paid handsomely for Sichuan's development.

The province was both the logistical center for the Jinchuan, as well as other Tibetan operations, and the nexus for most of the related corruption as well. As Dai shows, Sichuan was the major beneficiary of dynastic expenditure, legitimate or not, for regional frontier expansion. Chapter six adds social and economic components to this complex process of Tibet's imperial incorporation via provincial mobilization to argue that, contrary to "conventional wisdom . . . that military operations are harmful to the local economy," those pursued by the Qing state between Sichuan and Tibet "provided vital stimuli to economic development" (p. 237). Sichuan nevertheless paid for these benefits, as detailed in chapter seven and in the epilogue, because the state refrained from interference with an increasingly corrupt local administration and chaotic society. Indeed, the state virtually condoned both these elements in exchange for an unbridled deployment of Sichuan-based military power into Tibet. The author's analysis thus can be read as interposing a third dimension of locality between the usual binary relations of Qing core and Tibetan periphery.

Dai strongly supports this analysis with a considerable range of primary and secondary sources in Chinese, English, French, and Japanese. Manchu, the dynasty's native language, especially of frontier administration, is unfortunately absent, but this is a general problem across the literature. This gap may be related to Dai's equally strong focus on Sichuan, where nearly the entirety of the Qing state's developmental stimuli was directed. This emphasis on Han development of frontier areas is an important theme of Chinese-language borderland scholarship that is also influential, if more qualified, in Dai's work. In the same spirit the vast expanses of western "Sichuan" that were really within a wider Tibetan sphere of cultural influence long after the 1720s are not explicitly engaged with in their diversity, appearing passively and intermittently in the book's socio-economic section. These relatively exclusive concerns are further reinforced in chapter seven, "The Benefit and Cost of Imperial Strategy," which departs from Tibet for a focus on the central state, Sichuan, the domestic grain trade, and destabilizing internal upheavals like the White Lotus Rebellion.

So, Dai's own strategy also has costs and benefits, but, like Sichuan, readers will ultimately find themselves in the black because the book is a fine example of how to traverse a not very tractable area of the frontiers of Sino-Western scholarship that is seldom explored in such detail.

DAVID A. BELLO
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HSIAO-TING LIN. *Tibet and Nationalist China's Frontier: Intrigues and Ethnopolitics, 1928–49*. (Contemporary Chinese Studies.) Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 285. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$32.95.

Hsiao-ting Lin's book presents much new information on and analyses of Sino-Tibetan relations in the period of Kuomintang rule in China. It is a welcome contribution to a small but growing body of literature on this period in Sino-Tibetan relations, supplementing the studies of Gray Tuttle, Fabienne Jagou, and others. Lin makes a strong case for one of his central assertions, that the Kuomintang's approach to the Tibet issue, while seemingly rooted in what many have tended to see as a uniquely irredentist claim to Tibet, was actually more nuanced and pragmatic than many have perceived. The Republic of China under Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang was often able to adroitly salvage advantage from its weakness, i.e., its lack of authority in places such as Tibet, where a Tibetan government ruled and administered the country in a manner wholly independent of the Republic of China.

In part, this attempt to retain some level of influence in the frontier regions of the former Qing realms often meant maneuvering against local warlords, who were themselves often unresponsive to central authority, by turning the nationalist card against them. The Kuomintang government was able to stand as a champion of Chinese territorial integrity against local powers who could be shown to be acting only in their own interests and not those of the nation. The *modus vivendi* that the warlord powers in the west had to entertain with Tibetan forces abutting their bases of power but beyond their control helped add to this impression. Thus, the central government's very impotence in these regions allowed it to lay the blame for China's powerlessness at the feet of the warlords. The government therefore benefitted from taking a firm and uncompromising popular stand on China's sovereignty on which it could not follow through. At the same time, and perhaps in a less visible way, it was free to act in a more practical manner than has been previously understood.

This sketch of Lin's thesis is necessarily less than complete, since the book also describes instances such as the Rwa-sgreng crisis of 1947, in which the Kuomintang had the opportunity to take serious action to enforce China's claims on Tibet and yet failed to act. Lin also adds much interesting interpretive material on the political interaction of the center with the warlord periphery more generally, without skimping on the story of the Republic of China's dealings with and attempts to draw Tibet into its orbit during the rule of the thirteenth Dalai Lama and the regents who followed him. Readers will find good sections, for example, on the activities of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, its bureaucratic heads, and its place in the Kuomintang government. Indeed, Chiang Kai-shek's choice of top personnel (e.g., Wu Zhongxin) for the commission is used to highlight the importance he attached to the Tibet issue. And of course, as Lin notes, the movement of the Chinese government to Chongqing during the Sino-Japanese War only served to make the significance of the unresolved issue of Tibet's status that much more obvious to his government.

The notion that the Republic of China was capable

of setting its formal stance aside and dealing with Tibet in a realistic way when necessary, while fleshed out here in very useful detail, is not completely new. Thus, the machinations by which China managed to deal with the Tibetan Government in Lhasa while still avoiding formal contact with the Tibetan Foreign Ministry that had been established in the 1940s are not unknown. Still, the author makes a number of important original contributions to our knowledge of the Republic of China's relations with Tibet. Indeed, even when he overlaps some of the topics dealt with elsewhere (for instance, the activities of Norla Hutuktu on the frontier; the local warlords' reaction to the Red Army's passage through their territories), he provides added information that will be of use to anyone interested in the larger subject.

These new pieces of information indicate one of the major strengths of this study: Lin has delved into previously unused Nationalist-era archival materials and thus has a significant amount of new material to present to readers. He makes ample use of many Chinese-language secondary sources as well, including memoiristic essays in the *rig-gnas lo-rgyus/wenshi ziliao* series published in Tibet. It should be noted, however, that he only uses Chinese versions of these materials (thus, readers may not realize that the Norla Hutuktu above is also Mgar-ra bla-ma in Tibetan sources). It must also be noted that there is a small but growing number of relevant works available in Tibetan, including an oral history series from the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives and several volumes on the history of eastern Tibet from the Amnye Machen Institute in Dharmasala.

In sum, the combination of new source materials and insightful analysis make this book a valuable contribution to the literature on Sino-Tibetan relations in the twentieth century.

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ANDREW G. WALDER. *Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movement*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 400. \$39.95.

Andrew G. Walder began this project on Red Guard factionalism in Beijing during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966–1968) under the dual influences of the widespread scholarly consensus on the topic that had developed out of research undertaken more than three decades earlier, and his own work on Chinese factories. Previous research had suggested that the factional divisions that characterized the Red Guard movement grew out of the social and political inequalities of Maoist China, that factionalism could be traced to the interests of different social constituencies, and that political status was defined by family heritage, enforced by the regime's reliance on household political labels. Walder's own work had revealed that authority in factories was exercised through a vertical hierarchy of social ties that linked the party organization to a net-

work of political loyalists among ordinary employees (pp. 8–9). His new book was to be an examination of these two standard interpretations—social categories defined by household labels or social networks defined by school power structures—that were familiar from the scholarly literature.

After conducting his research, however, he discovered a far more complex pattern, one in which the changing political choices that individuals face and the organized contexts in which they face them become crucial to determining factional affiliation. As he puts it, “a social interpretation must take into account the perceptions of actors, their interactions with authority figures, and the altered realities these interactions create” (p. 251). His central point is that the “identities and interests of the Beijing Red Guards were forged in a series of dramatic political interactions whose outcomes left participants on opposite sides of a new political divide” (p. 260). In seeking to explain one of the major puzzles of this movement—why the Red Guards refused to unite despite the increasingly urgent appeals from their elite sponsors—he notes that the persistence of factionalism reflected the desire “not to lose.” In a closed system in which educational and career success would accrue to the “winners” once the political order was restored, losing was an unacceptable option.

No brief review can do justice to Walder's careful research, and his account is likely to become definitive for understanding the Red Guard movement among university students in Beijing. Walder shows how political choices made in a dangerous environment of great uncertainty during the second half of 1966 affected the later factional affiliations of participants. But his account is not static; affiliations did change as new political choices were made in accordance with changing circumstances. He also introduces a great deal of new information, in effect reversing the verdict on some Red Guard organizations and some key events by revealing that previous conclusions had been based on a doctored record.

Given the fairly extensive literature that has been produced on the Cultural Revolution and the Red Guard movement, it is useful to examine Walder's contributions and the general applicability of his findings beyond Beijing and beyond university students. By making use of the rich collection of new documentary materials primarily focused on Beijing that had appeared by the late 1990s, Walder has given us the best account to date of the relationship between political elites and mass publics during the Cultural Revolution. The earlier researchers' work on the Red Guards was mostly done through interviews of former secondary school students who had made it to Hong Kong, and it focused primarily on the city of Guangzhou, giving us a “bottom-up” analysis primarily from the viewpoint of the “rebel” faction, which had been defeated by more “conservative” forces. By contrast, some of the best recent work on elite politics in the Cultural Revolution has used the new documentation to give us a far more complete picture of the politics at Mao's court.

Walder unites these two approaches to reveal the Red Guards not as a "mass movement" of conservatives and rebels but rather as a form of "mass participation in bureaucratic politics" (p. 173), with the national leaders whom Mao appointed to the Central Cultural Revolution Group seeking to "subvert the established order" in a manner similar to the Communist movement in its struggle in Nationalist-held areas before 1949 (p. 169). However, the very strength that enables us to understand the importance of political choices faced by the students limits the extension of his findings, since this intimate relationship between top officials close to Mao and their Red Guard agents occurred only in Beijing. Moreover, by focusing on Beijing's secondary schools only up through August 1966, he does not address later developments that would likely have revealed a pattern closer to provincial high schools than to Beijing's universities. None of these limitations diminishes Walder's achievement, which, given the truly impressive level of detail, can be appreciated most by those who have previously researched this highly complex period.

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SIGRID SCHMALZER. *The People's Peking Man: Popular Science and Human Identity in Twentieth-Century China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xix, 346. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$26.00.

In the past few decades, Sinology has arrived at a level of intimacy with its subject that would have been unimaginable to the founders of the field. Excluded from China and separated from the Chinese people by war and diplomatic tensions, many early China hands spoke little Chinese and relied on materials garnered from refugees, intelligence services, and incomplete archives. By contrast, to research this book, Sigrid Schmalzer was hosted by the Chinese Academy of Science's Institute of Vertebrate Paleontology and Paleoanthropology for over a year, conducted multiple interviews with most of China's prominent fossil experts, traveled to archeological sites and museums around the country where she was able to read guest books dating back decades, solicited a mail-in survey of fossil hobbyists by posting an ad in a magazine, read seemingly every issue of *Huashi* [Fossils] magazine from before the 1949 Revolution to the present, and consulted eight Chinese-language archives. Moreover, as her extensive footnotes demonstrate, she did so with a thorough grounding in the vast and sophisticated secondary scholarship of Chinese history and politics.

This book is an exhaustive treatment of an arcane subject. However, it is much more than an account of a group of early *homo erectus* specimens discovered in the 1920s in a suburb of Peking and mysteriously lost in 1941 while in transit to the United States during the war. It is also a complex investigation of the intellectual debates within the field of paleoanthropology in China and overseas; an exploration of the social construction

of what it means to be human; and a fascinating account of the political uses of paleoanthropology (Peking Man was defended as the ancestor of the Chinese people for nationalistic reasons, even as evidence concerning more recent African dispersion grew). The book also provides an insightful rendition of cultural differences between China and the West (for example, for the Chinese, the significant difference between humans and animals is labor; for the West, it is culture); a revisionist history of intellectuals and scientific elites in China with respect to their roles in the popularization of science and the struggle to eradicate "superstition," which seemingly offered Chinese scientists the promise of security in post-1949 China; and a Marxist critique of Maoism's failure fully to acknowledge the contributions of the laboring classes to knowledge, despite Mao's 1942 talks at Yan'an with respect to the mass line.

Schmalzer's anthropological insights are particularly fascinating, and elucidate her primary interest, the creation and dissemination of popular science. Her discussion of the legendary *yeren*, the Chinese yeti, is a celebration of the creativity of popular knowledge and imagination. In the public mind, the relationship between "wild man" science and Peking Man elite science is blurred, as are the lines between humans and non-humans. The tenacity of these populist stories presents a serious challenge to elite science and to the state's efforts to combat "superstition." Schmalzer explores the dependency of elite paleontologists on local people: their knowledge of "dragon bones," powdered for use in traditional medicines, has provided scientists with the locations of rich fossil deposits. She also notes the interesting relationship between ancestor worship and the ritualistic visiting of the graves of famous paleontologists at the Peking Man site at Zhoukoudian, another example of how "superstition" and elite science are entwined.

Culture plays a role in the discussion of how racism underlies Chinese resistance to the "out of Africa" recent dispersal theory, now widely accepted in other parts of the world. But the situation is complicated, for the theory is attractive to some Chinese intellectuals because it portrays a single global humanity, supporting beleaguered political theorists who have argued for a "humanistic" Marxism rather than one focused on class struggle. Moreover, the multiregional approach to human origins is politically complicated for the Chinese government, which struggles to persuade ethnic minority groups that they and the Han are all one family.

I conclude with a few minor critiques. The pinyin tone marks for romanized Chinese are largely welcome, but jarring when used for common names like Mao and Beijing. While this book is a tour de force, the debates are arcane and will seem far removed from the experience of most readers; Schmalzer does not provide even a basic introduction to paleontology, so this would be a poor choice for classroom use. Nevertheless, if you ever wanted to understand the importance of Friedrich Engels's contention that "labor created man," this is the book for you. It is indeed a sobering reminder of the

huge distance between our intellectual and cultural experiences that until recently, every Chinese story of humankind began with that simple assertion, while for most Westerners, it means nothing at all.

JUDITH SHAPIRO
American University

GUOQI XU. *Olympic Dreams: China and Sports, 1895–2008*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 377. \$29.95.

Once ridiculed as the “sick man of East Asia,” a confident China took the global center stage during the 2008 Summer Olympiad in Beijing. Xu Guoqi provides us with a well researched and even-handed book that traces how China has used sports to sustain its quest for international respectability. This quest has transcended differences among the Qing dynasty in its last gasps, the early republic, the republic under Chiang Kai-shek, and the People’s Republic of China (PRC). However, it has arguably gained momentum in the post-Mao years.

This book focuses on the political significance of Chinese sports, domestically and internationally. Xu’s top down approach might slight the tribulations and triumphs of Chinese athletes, as well as how ordinary Chinese people have been affected, for good or ill, by China’s “Olympic Dreams.” Nevertheless, it illuminates fascinating issues such as Richard Nixon and Mao Zedong’s “ping pong diplomacy” and how the International Olympic Organizing Committee (IOOC) and other world sports organizations have dealt with the conflicting claims of Chinese sovereignty issued from Beijing and Taipei, in addition to China’s efforts to stage the 2008 Olympic games.

Before 1895, Xu maintains, Chinese people participated in sports such as wrestling, foot racing, skating, and horse racing, but these and similar competitions were not integral to Chinese society. Their lack of centrality was due in part to the neo-Confucian inclinations of China’s elite, which frowned on physical training and athletic competition. That is, men should attend to civil service examinations if they wished a leg up in Chinese society, while women were expected to live contently with their feet bound.

This changed, Xu writes, because of China’s devastating 1895 thrashing in a war with Japan. Coming off humiliating defeats in the Opium Wars at the hands of the British and French, China had seemingly earned the epithet of “Sick Man of East Asia”—an epithet that at least a significant portion of China’s elite wished to remove by developing their country into a modern nation-state more along the models provided by the imperial powers of England, France, and Japan. By incorporating Western sports, therefore, China would find it easier, these elite Chinese believed, to build bridges to the West and solidify itself as a potent nation-state.

Such efforts, however, proved halting until well after World War II. The leaders of post-dynastic China viewed sports as amenable to a martial spirit that would help their country hold its own with Japan and other

potential threats to Chinese sovereignty. Thus, the YMCA was permitted to teach physical education and competitive sports such as basketball and volleyball to willing Chinese students. In the early decades of the twentieth century, China participated in the Far Eastern Games, an Olympic style event which invited competition from Japan, China, and the Philippines. And China gained membership in the IOOC. Still, Chinese participation in global athletic competition languished, Xu declares, despite the Nationalist regime’s “enthusiasm for international engagement through sports” (p. 45).

The communist regime continued to view sports as useful in infusing the Chinese people with warlike qualities. It also acknowledged sports could help invigorate Chinese nationalism. A Chinese ping pong victory over Japan was hailed by Mao’s government. At the same time, the PRC saw occasional defeats in athletic competition as a way of cementing international prestige. For example, Chinese athletes were required to refrain from dominating international competition. Indeed, when the U.S. ping pong team made its famed visit to China, the hosts allowed Americans to win a few games against the more experienced and talented Chinese.

Xu’s assessment of the handling of the “two-China question” by international sports organization such as the IOOC is fair. However, most of his criticism is leveled at the IOOC’s equivocation and ineptitude. Yet he seems to concede that the issue of whether athletes from the PRC or Taiwan would represent China in the Olympics, especially during the height of the Cold War, was a veritable political minefield difficult to negotiate under the best of circumstances.

Xu’s adept handling of the “ping pong diplomacy” that helped thaw relations between the PRC and the United States merits praise. He credits both the Nixon administration and Mao’s government for recognizing that the visits of an American ping pong team to China and the subsequent tour of the United States by a Chinese team would build a bridge between the two countries. Yet, Xu reminds us that Nixon and Mao were moved by pragmatic considerations, among which isolating the Soviet Union ranked high.

For post-Mao China, the staging of the Olympics in Beijing would crown the PRC’s efforts to achieve international legitimacy. Xu details the politics behind the IOOC’s awarding of the summer Olympiad to China in 2008, but the book was published before the games’ grandiose opening ceremonies. I hope that Xu’s fine book will be published soon in paperback so that in a postscript he can provide a judicious perspective on how it all worked out.

JOEL S. FRANKS
San José State University

NAOKO SHIMAZU. *Japanese Society at War: Death, Memory and the Russo-Japanese War*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, number 28.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 335. \$99.00.

Naoko Shimazu's book is a highly intelligent study of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), tracking the war's significance for Japan during the time of its occurrence, as well as during the time leading up to Japan's mid-twentieth-century war in Asia and the Pacific, and finally up through its recent centennial moment.

At the outset, Shimazu acknowledges her project's fortuitous timing, coinciding as it does with the war's hundredth anniversary and much interesting attendant discussion, yet she makes it clear that her main concern is to interrogate the materials—and really the materiality—of the historical moment that entrenched this war into its position of social prominence for modernizing and modern Japan. This discussion extends into a thoughtful examination of the war's hold on cultural memory in Japan today. Shimazu launches right away into an examination of the visual culture that surrounded the war in photography, film, and hometown parades, usefully offering not only a plethora of examples but also (and importantly) illustrations that span the political spectrum of the day (and one wishes that academic presses could afford color reproductions beyond the cover alone because Shimazu has located such detailed imagery).

Important to bear in mind, the Russo-Japanese War's battles—like those of the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) that preceded it—took place almost entirely abroad (save for the famous naval clashes of the Tsushima Straits, which remained nonetheless far from sight for most Japanese). Thus, it was the Meiji government's (1868–1912) responsibility to convince a newly nationalizing Japan that the price of such war—in terms of lives, resources, and capital—was worth the cost. By giving prominence of place to efforts to put this war on display (and giving equal place to how that created dissent), throughout the book Shimazu analyzes how descriptions of the war at home in Japan generated for the state at once a national public sphere, the space in which to blend the individual into the public sphere, and the techniques (in the Foucauldian *dispositifs* sense) with which to make the public believe it was one with itself (i.e., as Japanese).

On the whole, Shimazu's efforts succeed well. At times, however, the book is awkwardly organized with portions of previous chapters' analysis seemingly presented again in subsequent chapters (and here one really wishes that academic presses still did the global editing necessary for an author to become aware of his/her misplaced section before publication). Also, Shimazu only tentatively addresses the crucial importance of Japanese soldiers' and reporters' views of Asia and Asians to their audiences back at home (through letters, diaries, postcards, and newspaper accounts) in creating a more coherent sense of being Japanese. More could be made of these views, given the vital importance of "othering" Asia and the Asian at the time. Finally, she touches too cautiously on the whole topic and place of the Japanese emperor in the representation of the war, especially given her own urging to see the sig-

nificance of the imperial institution in the war's memory and its hold through the present.

These observations notwithstanding, anyone studying modern Japan and the workings of modern Japanese nationalism will find much to think about in Shimazu's thoughtful book. Above all, those with an interest in modern warfare and national identity formation should give this book a serious read, and preferably together with Drew Gilpin Faust's *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (2008), which arguably more than other books in the field of Japanese studies is the best companion and measure of Shimazu's work. In numerous and truly intriguing ways, Shimazu's and Faust's analyses of their respective wars overlap to make the key point that the way of dying in these wars fundamentally transformed the ways that Japanese and Americans would come to view how they belonged to their respective national bodies for the modern era.

Thus, on the whole, this is a very good book, raising many important points, giving us much to teach, and suggesting compelling problems for future work.

ALEXIS DUDDEN
University of Connecticut

MARK LINCICOME. *Imperial Subjects as Global Citizens: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Education in Japan.* (Asia World.) Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2009. Pp. xxxi, 193. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$29.95.

Mark Lincicome's new book opens with a fairly detailed discussion of contemporary policy debates in Japan regarding education reform. The depth with which Lincicome analyzes this public policy issue is unexpected for a historical monograph, but the relevance of the issue to his book becomes apparent when Lincicome whittles the current debate down to this central question: how should Japanese education—to use the terminology in recent policy discussions—"cope with internationalization"? As Lincicome demonstrates in this book, this has been a defining question in Japanese education, and indeed in Japanese politics and culture more broadly, ever since Japan's encounter with Western imperialism in the nineteenth century. This awareness of internationalization (to stick with that term) has produced various strains of nationalist ideology in Japan. But it has also produced the ideology of internationalism, a topic far less studied. Lincicome's book traces the development of this ideology in modern Japan, particularly as it influenced debates about education.

The book consists of four main chapters. The first surveys broadly the intellectual field in Japan during the nineteenth century, when the country experienced crisis, upheaval, and nation building under the threat of Western imperialism. This field was defined by the twin preoccupations of establishing the basis for Japan's national identity and articulating how the nation should engage with the rest of the world. Lincicome rejects the narrative in which the Meiji state unilaterally imposed, by around 1890, a nationalist orthodoxy centered on the

emperor that survived unchallenged until the wartime era. Lincicome demonstrates, through an exploration of texts relating to education policy, that in 1890 the debates about national identity and international engagement were just beginning. Should Japan's national identity be defined by citizenship? By culture? Ethnicity? And should Japan's interaction with the world be defined by the pursuit of national self-interest expressed through empire, or should it emphasize cooperation and interdependence, based on a recognition of shared humanity? Most historians of modern Japan now agree that there was no consensus on such issues, and that the state constituted only one of many voices in the debate; in this general sense, the arguments in the chapter do not break substantially new ground. Nonetheless, the focus on education is novel, and Lincicome succeeds in setting the stage for the rest of the book by identifying the unresolved issues that would be taken up more explicitly—yet remain unresolved—in the twentieth century.

Lincicome's focus narrows considerably in chapters two and three, in which he introduces the reader to a circle of intellectuals, government officials, and educators in interwar Japan who promoted the cause of "international education." These individuals shared the Wilsonian interpretation of World War I as evidence of the dangers of chauvinistic patriotism and the aggressive pursuit of national self-interest, and they criticized the Japanese education system for its role in fostering such a mindset. Accordingly, they espoused a vision of education intended to cultivate equality and liberty within Japan while also promoting peace and humanitarianism abroad. Lincicome does an excellent job of highlighting the differences among the individuals who found common cause around the goal of international education. He also explores the tensions within the movement as a whole, particularly regarding the implications of internationalist ideas for Japan's national identity and empire. Fundamental to Lincicome's discussion is the point that internationalist sentiments in Japan were not mutually exclusive to nationalism and imperialism, and did not serve as a bulwark against them. Remembering this point is essential to an understanding of the intellectual trajectories of the individuals in Lincicome's study, who in the 1930s became advocates of imperial expansion and loyal service to the Japanese nation. By highlighting the tensions within internationalism at its inception in the early 1920s, he offers a corrective to simplistic notions of *tenkō* (conversion) that were once used to explain the fate of liberals and communists during the mobilization for war in the 1930s.

A recognition of these tensions also helps to illuminate developments in the postwar era, when educators and government officials struggled with the question of how to foster a positive sense of patriotism while also cultivating an international identity and encouraging international cooperation. Lincicome traces this struggle through an analysis of changes in materials produced by the Ministry of Education (including sample

textbooks) since the 1950s. There are numerous scholarly studies of Japanese history and civics textbooks, but they tend to address only the recent past (the 1980s to the present) and focus narrowly on the issue of how textbooks represent Japan's wartime aggression. Lincicome provides a valuable service in tracing changes over the entire post-World War II period, and in using the issue of internationalism as a conceptual framework for understanding the current textbook controversies. This merit is true of the book in general: the combination of a broad chronological frame and a specific focus on the theme of internationalism enables the book to offer both novel insights into the history of Japanese nationalism and useful historical perspective on current policy debates on Japanese education.

BRIAN PLATT

George Mason University

ANN SHERIF. *Japan's Cold War: Media, Literature, and the Law*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 282. \$50.00.

Historians of other nations might be surprised to discover how little has been written in the West about Japan after 1945. Although the question of how a defeated, devastated Japan amassed such wealth only to risk it all now would seem the pre-eminent question for historians specializing in twentieth-century Japan, this topic attracts minimal attention. Political economists may nibble about the edges of that issue, but the focus of modern historiography on Japan in English remains trained on its turn to the West in the mid-nineteenth century and the subsequent consolidation of a modern nation-state, the rise and fall of the Japanese empire in World War II, and not much afterward.

The reasons why underscore the need for Ann Sherif's book and its announced theme of the "interaction between postwar Japanese culture and the global geopolitical and ideological conflict known as the Cold War" (p. 1). Post-1945 Japan does not yet fully present itself as a knowable object in the past, despite landmark efforts such as Andrew Gordon's edited volume *Postwar Japan as History* (1993) to make it so, in part because Japan as a Far Eastern bulwark in the post-1945 American world system continues to resist critical conceptualization in a U.S. academy that was often enlisted in the service of that system. Proof of this is found in the telling debate over just when the Japanese "postwar" period ends: in 1952, with the San Francisco Peace Treaty? In 1955, with the return to prewar levels of economic activity? Maybe in 2009, when the Democratic Party of Japan ended the Liberal Democratic Party's political monopoly? Or not yet—deferred, perhaps, until the end of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, or some future plebiscite on the U.S.-written 1947 Constitution.

Sherif circumvents this problem of an indeterminate "postwar" by focusing instead on the Cold War, specifically the "high Cold War" from 1945 to the early 1960s, excluding the 1945–1952 occupation period. Sherif considers the occupation period adequately

treated in the existing literature, but I do not. At the same time, I worry she stops too soon. Any definition of a "high" Cold War culture should include the Vietnam War and Japan's governmental support of it against popular opposition. But if Sherif's chronology is truncated, her definition of what constitutes Cold War discourse in postwar Japan is quite broad—namely anything that buttressed "Japan's transformation into a model capitalist liberal democracy . . . was a fundamental articulation of the Cold War" (p. 172).

This allows Sherif to cover a lot of ground, but she chooses her targets carefully in her book's four central chapters. While none is devoted to what she declares "the single most important product of Japan's Cold War culture," either "the movie monster Godzilla or perhaps the film *Hiroshima Mon Amour*" (p. 10), her topics are well known in Japan if not internationally: the obscenity trials over the Japanese translation of D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* from 1950 to 1959, the postwar career of A-bomb survivor-writer Hara Tamiki, the antiwar films of director Kamei Fumio, and Tokyo governor Ishihara Shintaro's youthful 1955 novel *Season of the Sun* (*Taiyo no kisetsu*). Each of these chapters allows Sherif to reiterate her central thesis that Japan's involvement in the Cold War ironically demonstrated that Japan was a liberal democratic state firmly in the tradition of the United States, even when its people professed to be partisans of a third-way "peace" more than of any American policy.

But there was also a Japan during these years that flirted with the Marxist utopianism of the Soviet Union, and the pan-Asiatic appeal of a Maoist China that brought the revolution closer to home. "It is easy to forget," Sherif admits, "the then powerful allure of the Soviet utopian vision and Marxist-Leninist thought during the 1940s and 1950s" (p. 7), but her book pays it little heed. She might have traced the political trajectory of well-known writer, playwright, and photographer Abe Kobo, who espoused the orthodox doctrine of the Japan Communist Party throughout the 1950s only to repudiate it at the cost of his expulsion from the party in 1962. A chapter on Abe would have illustrated the real debates that went on in Japan during the high Cold War over just who should win it.

Sherif's book will be widely read, not only because it is edifying but because, while a hundred thousand Okinawans protest the presence of U.S. military bases in Japan as I write this, the "high" Cold War with the USSR may be over, but the Cold War with the other acronyms PRC (People's Republic of China) and DPRK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) is not. The cultural history of this ongoing conflict may not finally matter as much as the diplomatic or the military history, but Sherif's timely intervention teaches us it is just as political.

JOHN WHITTIER TREAT
Yale University

MICHAEL W. CHARNEY. *Powerful Learning: Buddhist Literati and the Throne in Burma's Last Dynasty, 1752–*

1885. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Southeast Asian Studies. 2006. Pp. xii, 297. \$49.95.

This book represents an important contribution to the study of Burma's early modern history. It highlights the role of monastic and lay literati in shaping the intellectual production of knowledge on Burmese kingship, particularly in relation to the Konbaung kings (1752–1885). Western publications on precolonial Burma largely focus on historiography, kingship and state formation, monastic communities, and the relationship between the throne and monkhood (see the work of Michael Aung-Thwin, Victor B. Lieberman, and Thant Myint-U). Several Burmese-language publications by individuals like Maung Sandar and U Thaw Kaung focus on intellectuals such as Tun Nyo and Monywa Hsayadaw, but Michael W. Charney's book is the first English-language work to examine Burmese history from the perspective of a group of intellectuals, whom he terms "Lower Chindwin literati."

The approach is a refreshing one for Burmese studies, but it can be framed within the trend in the historical discipline to move away from text-centered research and toward the examination of the producers of texts and the contexts of their production. Charney embraces this latter trend by studying the role played by monks and lay literati whom he believes shared a common origin and tradition of scholarship.

This book's merit lies in its use of Burmese-language sources, which present not only Burmese writers' agendas and viewpoints but also provide intertextual context; their producers referred to one another and engaged in debates through texts. This topic is discussed sporadically but is not fully explored because Charney chose to focus on monastic genealogy, monastic debates, and a few producers of historical works.

The book can be divided into two parts, marking two phases in the development of the "Lower Chindwin literati" as an intellectual interest group in the Konbaung court. The first six chapters describe the emergence of a small group of literati in the under-populated Lower Chindwin Valley. The descriptions of these literati, their writings, and their interactions with the monarch are informative, although Charney relies on a few contemporary and mostly secondary English references for characterization and events during Alaungpaya's and Bodawhpaya's reigns.

Burmese documents are central to Charney's thesis: namely, that "Lower Chindwin literati," rather than the throne, took the initiative and created myths of legitimization. This assertion goes against the conventional view that privileges the sponsorship of histories by the monarchy. To demonstrate initiative on the part of the literati, it would be necessary to explore a larger selection of Burmese primary sources than is represented in this book. These documents should also be products of the members of the "Lower Chindwin literati" who were actively involved in producing myths of legitimization. The question of who influenced whom is perhaps less obvious than the author makes it out to be.

Whereas it may be possible to compare dated documents and detect when and where a particular idea first appeared, it is more difficult to prove initiative. The issue is further complicated by the fact that these literati were court officials; in the *Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* (1829), it is clearly stated that King Bagyidaw commissioned the work to be compiled by learned people of various types.

The final five chapters address the second phase of transformation among the Burmese literati (1820s–1880s) during which they found themselves having to juggle a declining Konbaung dynasty and the simultaneously attractive and threatening new ideas and technology introduced by the British. These chapters are full of details derived from various nineteenth-century Burmese and English texts. Nyeyya and Gaung are the two literati at the center of these chapters.

Charney's goal of examining precolonial Burma's interaction with British colonialism is laudable, even though the analogy he draws with other similar studies in Thailand and Indonesia is rather broad. Elaborating this comparison is perhaps one area in which the work can be developed further: the study of Konbaung Burma should be seen within the context of the Southeast Asian region. Is the prominent role played by the "Lower Chindwin literati" unique to Burma? Charney's argument makes it clear that this particular group of literati played a central role in the promotion of the Konbaung kings in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

As Charney points out in the book's conclusion, a possible criticism of his work is its focus on a relatively small group of literati. While his perceptiveness is worthy of praise, the main criticism that may be lodged against this work is its attempt to present the works of four individuals as representative of an entire group of literati who identified themselves as "Lower Chindwin literati" and saw themselves as representing the interests of their group. This influence is not convincingly substantiated. However, the focus on four main literati is interesting and fits well with the trend in historical research to focus on intellectuals and intellectual history.

GEOK YIAN GOH
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JOHN POWERS. *A Bull of a Man: Images of Masculinity, Sex, and the Body in Indian Buddhism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 320. \$45.00.

Masculinity, as John Powers points out, is an overlooked issue in Buddhist studies, and scholars of mainstream Buddhism have rarely considered it as a topic of inquiry. Now, for the first time, Powers's study presents us with a new perspective on the Buddha as an ideal, perfect man for others to emulate through his careful examination of masculinity in Indian Buddhist literatures. The author skillfully constructs a striking account of the Buddha in the first two chapters and of his monastic followers in the following three chapters in order

to show that masculinity played an important role in early Indian Buddhism. The final two chapters are a survey of the Mahayana and Tantrayana literatures, in which Powers examines the changing role of masculinity and the growing importance of femininity in Mahayana Buddhism—an important shift in conceptions of gender within Buddhism, and in Indian religions at large, when considered in the historical context of a male-dominated Indian society and environment. Of course, as Powers points out, these sources may not be an accurate reflection of Indian society or even of social dynamics within the Indian Buddhist community because we have no means to verify the descriptions of masculinity in these literatures, which covered a period of more than one thousand years of development from the fifth century B.C.E. to the sixth or seventh century C.E., when Tantrayana came into being.

Powers concentrates two-thirds of his study on the Pali literature, and the central figure he examines is the Buddha, who is often described in the Buddhist tradition as having the thirty-two major and eighty minor marks of a great man on his physical body. This ideal form of Buddha is perhaps a creation of Buddhist authors to show the rewards for past good deeds, as discussed in later treatises such as the *Mahavibhasasāstra*, rather than an ideal man in the ancient Indian tradition. Yet, as Powers demonstrates in his first chapter, the idea is attributed to the Brahmin tradition in the Buddhist literature. The physical beauty, strength, and good health of the Buddha and his disciples, however, are described as "a reflection of inner qualities" these men attained (p. 227). The most interesting section of the book is the study in chapters three, four, and five of the life and masculinity of the immediate disciples of the Buddha as a monastic community, as reflected in the Pali literature. Scholars often work under the assumption that Buddhist monks at the time of the Buddha generally traveled individually from place to place without a fixed abode, and that their lives were simple and uncomplicated by interpersonal relationships. But Powers's study offers the reader a fresh look from a community perspective of how the immediate disciples of the Buddha lived together and associated with one another, how they treated their bodies in private and in meditation, and how they interacted with women. Contrary to conventional understandings, Powers also shows that, as human beings, the Buddhist monks also built intimate friendships, valued companionship, and encountered challenges of various kinds. Thus, this book broadens our understanding of the foundational Buddhist community and the lives of its members.

The last two chapters are dedicated to Mahayana Buddhism, which technically also includes Tantrayana, and Powers has surveyed selected important literature within that field to illustrate the role masculinity played, as the Mahayana literature is too extensive for thorough study in a single book. Although the central figure is still the Buddha as the ultimate ideal model and perfect man, the concept has developed and changed from a physical and material notion to a philosophical and

conceptual one. As the Avatamsaka Sutra says, if one wants to know the Buddhas of the past, present, and future, one should observe the nature of the *dharma-dhatu*—that all are the creation of the mind. So, as Powers relates, there was difficulty in realizing the model of the ideal man in practice, even within the Buddhist community, and the Mahayana ideal figure has perhaps influenced more Chinese Buddhists than Indians. Powers also examines certain other ideal figures such as the Vimalakirti in his study. Ultimately, however, as Powers rightly observes, “the image of healthy, robust, clean Buddhist monks with dignified comportment is clearly designed to conform to Indian cultural ideals” (p. 228).

GUANG XING
University of Hong Kong

MICHAEL S. DODSON. *Orientalism, Empire, and National Culture: India, 1770–1880*. (Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. xiv, 268. \$74.95.

The most significant interpretations of mid-eighteenth to mid-twentieth-century South Asia in the last few years have been through the lens of orientalism, taking from Edward Said; colonialism, taking from Bernard Cohn; and modernity, taking from Michel Foucault. Orientalism has been seen to underlie both colonial and nationalist ideologies in India, sometimes more aggressively, sometimes more naively. Colonialism and its cultures, as policy and as discourse, has been understood to have produced all the most important changes—administrative, legal, educational, social, and discursive—that occurred in South Asia. The state’s power, it is believed, percolated to the most intimate levels, including personal relations and emotions, from the broadest, such as definitions of class, caste, and power.

After this grand interpretive vision has come a counterweight of questioning its simple dichotomies and a search for the complications within these apparently all-powerful processes. Some scholars have always seen more continuity and holism, such as Christopher Bayly, and there have always been those less interested in the state’s power than the people’s, such as the present reviewer. It is important to see this book by Michael S. Dodson as an intervention in the debate, although it eschews grand theory and even satirizes it. It is part of the scholarship whose agenda is expressly to challenge Said’s starkly unilateral vision of the West dominating the East through the power of knowledge. It presents us with a study of Indian intellectuals—the professional teachers, critics, and scholars working in Sanskrit called *pundits*—over the years 1770 to 1880. It asks, while Europeans acquired the knowledge of indigenous texts and sought to claim superiority over them, how did the *pundits* use the opportunity of their status and knowledge being recognized by the new rulers? Once new definitions of their own knowledge had been institutionalized, how did they employ the new structures and definitions to their own ends? On a larger stage, how

does knowledge get produced, continue, change, or get replaced?

Dodson provides a fascinating picture of the *pundits* by writing an intellectual history that looks not at “knowledge” but at the “knowledgeable,” and those who act “knowingly,” both colonial and Indian intellectuals. In the first two chapters, Dodson attempts to give the material, social, and political context of the intellectual work of these individuals. But his effort could have been more interesting still if filled out with a little ethnographic detail, to make the *pundits* seem more than brains that had bodies attached to them. Precisely because Dodson uses such rich archival sources, the reader misses a reconstruction of the humanity of his subjects.

In the next three chapters, Dodson describes how it was not only the British who had a plural understanding of indigenous knowledge and a convoluted relationship with it; Indians did as well. British orientalism included at different points, and with different nuances, an actual respect for Indian “tradition,” a strategic support of it, an enthusiastic rejection of it, and a plan to replace it with Western knowledge. Indeed, in the annals of history, no plot shines forth perhaps with greater clarity than the one to master Sanskrit learning in order to replace it with the “truth” of Western knowledge. To conclude from this, however, that it is the only story to be told is simplistic. For Dodson, there is no disjuncture between an older, appreciative orientalism and a newer, intolerant liberalism. In fact, the continuity produced a sharpening of the original agenda, as *pundits* became more rather than less influential. Dodson’s discussion of James Ballantyne, the Superintendent of Benares College from 1846 to 1861, gives evidence to this agenda of improving Indians through knowledge of Sanskrit and the *pundits* who used this language. Chapter five shows that Ballantyne’s preference for translation from English to a highly stylized Sanskrit vocabulary was not the preference of Indians, but that they still adopted the ideas of equating language with civilization and accepting language as a marker of progress.

The last chapter presents a critique of those who consider Sanskrit learning to have waned in the nineteenth century. Here we have the crux of Dodson’s thesis: the *pundits* were in fact pioneers in their formulation of a new knowledge that could engage with the European formulation. Dodson ends modestly, hoping for more research into the nineteenth-century Sanskrit base of contemporary Indian national culture. He has carved out a wonderful beginning for this and points out several important research agendas. He has drawn a careful historiographical picture, studded with archival gems, on how to uncover subterranean connections and to find agency in seeming weakness. He has posed an important question: was there continuity in Indian intellectual history or a rupture? Dodson has a brilliant answer that merited repeating at the end and should be considered by others for further investigation: there was a rupture, but not of the kind we have grown to accept. *Pundits* definitely took action under colonial-

ism, but larger social and political changes meant that they were not the sole authorities of knowledge any longer.

NITA KUMAR

Claremont McKenna College [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

RITU BIRLA. *Stages of Capital: Law, Culture, and Market Governance in Late Colonial India*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 346. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

The typical subject, in colonial studies in general and in studies on colonial India in particular, tends to be the middle-class intelligentsia. Ritu Birla's ambitious monograph places Indian capitalists—specifically, Marwari capitalists—squarely at the center of her study and uses them to study the formation of the modern Indian economic subject. In Birla's analysis, the world of India's "vernacular capitalism" was characterized by family firms that functioned within the "negotiable" spheres of personalized kinship and communal ties on the one hand and the material values of credit, trade, and investment on the other. The book explores the tensions inherent in colonial efforts to create a standardized, rational market through the formulation and implementation of laws relating to companies law, negotiable instruments, income tax, charitable giving, and pension funds, while at the same time pursuing a policy (particularly since 1858) of non-intervention in the cultural conventions and practices of their Indian subjects. The paradox of the Indian/Marwari family firm, which was an important player in the colonial economy and yet did not meet colonial/metropolitan standards of a rational, modern business organization free from ties of caste, community, and communal-corporate conventions, resulted in such entities being categorized as a familial institution. This categorization gave rise to the concept of the "Undivided Hindu Family" (UHF) which, as Birla shows, sat uneasily upon firms that straddled the spheres of business and family/community. This move, in Birla's analysis, created the blending of the public sphere—associated with the economy—and the private sphere—representing cultural matters—from which the colonial regime had announced its intention of staying away.

Birla's analysis questions the public/private and economy/culture dichotomies formulated by Partha Chatterjee's influential work on Indian nationalist discourse. She demonstrates that "the public/private distinction did not maintain an undisturbed and autonomous realm of indigenous authority" (p. 14). Chapters two through five of the book explore how the complexities and contradictions generated by the colonial project of rational market regulation affected Indian entrepreneurial communities that had hitherto successfully combined business practices with cultural conventions. Chapters two and three demonstrate how the colonial law on charitable endowments disturbed the

status of gift-giving practices within Indian business communities that had traditionally been perceived as private ventures fueled by a concern for *dharma* (righteousness/virtue) rather than the British understanding of philanthropy as public benefit and utility. Prior to the late nineteenth century, indigenous philanthropy was associated with a degree of self-regulation, but between 1870 and 1920, the application of the categories of public and private to charitable and religious endowments produced a cleavage between the political and social status of gift-giving on the one hand and the entitlement of autonomy on the other. Chapter four studies how indigenous speculative practices such as futures trading were perceived as both illegal and immoral by the colonial regime and resulted in a spate of criminal investigations of family firms by the government. The final chapter shows that as vernacular capitalists in India became increasingly involved in civic institutions and nationalist politics, orthodox Hindu segments of these entrepreneurial groups became vocal champions of the UHF. Birla describes the UHF as "an alibi for the family firm" (p. 203), particularly in its role as protector of women, while other segments conscious of the nationalist-reformist impulse cast it as an object of community regulation in the service of the public.

The concepts of "public" and "private" recur in this book, but Birla should have made a much more focused effort to clarify how these notions were understood—or, not understood—in the period immediately prior to the time on which this book concentrates. Similarly, the casual, almost throw-away observations on the right of indigenous philanthropists to self-regulate charitable endowments seem somewhat inadequate. A little more attention to these issues would have illustrated even more successfully how the colonial project of legislating into existence a standardized, rational market produced complications in an Indian entrepreneurial milieu in which the cultures of family and community undergirded commercial decisions and business practices. In the final analysis, this book represents a significant effort at combining a scholarly attention to the study of the market and the world of business and entrepreneurship in tandem with an attention to cultural issues and assumptions. As historians, many of us came of age at a time when economic history had been seemingly elbowed out by our collective interest in cultural history. Birla's work might be a pointer to how an awareness of culture can undergird a study about the production of a standardized market and thereby, perhaps, pave the way for the return of a very different kind of economic history.

KUMKUM CHATTERJEE

Pennsylvania State University

ROCHONA MAJUMDAR. *Marriage and Modernity: Family Values in Colonial Bengal*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 343. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

Arranged marriage and caste are the two institutions that continue to render Indian culture exotic to the wider world. While the last decade has witnessed a growing scholarship on caste, this book makes a pioneering intervention by situating the question of arranged marriage in the vortex of Indian modernity. By attending closely to the changing social, economic, and cultural practices with all their tensions and ambiguities that unfolded in late colonial Bengal, Rochona Majumdar posits that “arranged marriage in India and the family form that buttressed this kind of matrimony is very much a part of Indian modernity and modernization” (p. 1). Majumdar begins her discussions of this topic in the early 1870s and ends in 1956—a period stretching from the appearance of the first matrimonial advertisement in a Calcutta periodical and including the enactment of the Hindu Succession Act of 1956, which gave Hindu women some right to their paternal property. Majumdar profiles the transformations in marriage practices that were brought about by the proliferation of urban life, print media, Western education, marketplace practices, ideas about cultural capital, and law. This book debunks the positivist myth that modernization of families typically involved transition from an extended to a nuclear structure and from negotiated marriages to choice of individual partners. The modernity of arranged marriages is established through an examination of how market-related forces gave rise to debates about consumption and vulgarity in the conduct of weddings and, most importantly, legal regulation of family property and marriages from the 1870s through the 1950s that privileged a particular form of “joint family” over the individual, and particularly, women.

The transformations that the marriage market underwent—the dying yet important roles of Indian matchmakers, the proliferation of print culture, reliance on astrology—offer interesting vignettes of Bengali socio-cultural practices. But the work falters in providing wider contextualization beyond an informed Bengali audience. The declining role of women matchmakers in the face of loosening caste rules could have been better situated in the larger context of female occupations in Bengal, where women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were specifically pushed toward gender and caste specific jobs. The subsequent chapters chronicle the auto-critique of Bengali intellectuals like Rabindranath Tagore and dissident voices of women writers like Saratkumari Chaudhurani, and also trace the shifts and changes adopted by urban families in selection of brides and bridegrooms. This latter shift involved a new emphasis on spirituality and aesthetics of good taste, auspiciousness, and refinement over material goods and fortunes. By studying the debates on arranged versus love marriages and the changing ritual practices such as wedding poems, “*bashar ghar*,” and “*phul shojya*,” Majumdar illustrates how romance and companionship between husband and wife were celebrated as markers of modern marriages within the rubric of a joint family.

The critical role of rituals, communal identity, and

the importance of extended families in marriage legislation debuted in 1872 under colonial auspices and was reaffirmed in the Hindu Code Bills of 1955–1956. An examination of Act III of the 1872 Marriage Law and the conflict that split apart the Brahmos, the crucial movers behind the law, convincingly shows the inseparability of rituals and customs from matrimonial laws. However, these intimate details of Bengali life provoke curiosity about the rest of India, particularly in regard to state of Maharashtra, where women engaged in strong associative bonding and raised serious issues in matters of marriages and women’s rights in the process. Although such disparities in regional coverage largely remain unaddressed, the final chapter’s genealogy of the Hindu Code Bills transcends regional boundary and captures the tension surrounding questions of family, property, and women’s rights among the leaders of the newly independent India. The Hindu Code Bills established the centrality of family that “emerged as the propertied subject in immediate post-independence India” (p. 236). Furthermore, the analysis of women’s right to inherit natal property made clear that women’s interests featured in national debates as long as they did not jeopardize India’s economic development, a vision strongly endorsed by Jawaharlal Nehru.

The book is unique in creating its own archives by selecting quotidian sources from material culture, such as jewelry catalogs, wedding cards, invitations, poems, and photographs portraying the central role of the couple in Indian families. Rich in details and an enjoyable read, this work is a valuable contribution to the history of Indian families and colonial modernity. However, the study of an institution as important as marriage would have better served its historical purpose if it offered some cross-references to and comparisons with different regional, ethnic, and religious groups in India, particularly the Muslims. The lack of any reference to lower social groups who are equal participants in the universal and ubiquitous practice of marriage underscores our still limited understanding of modernity, with all its contradictions and ambivalence, as built largely upon the middle class, typically representing an urban literati from the upper echelons of society.

SWAPNA M. BANERJEE
City University of New York,
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SEKHAR BANDYOPADHYAY. *Decolonization in South Asia: Meanings of Freedom in Post-independence West Bengal, 1947–52*. (Routledge Studies in South Asian History, number 2.) New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. ix, 246. \$140.00.

This book is tightly focused on the five years that separated independence from the first elections in West Bengal, a region of particular interest as one of the frontier provinces formed in the wake of the partition of British India. In doing so, it builds usefully on the detailed analysis offered by Joya Chatterji’s *The Spoils of Partition: Bengal and India, 1947–1967* (2007) by

drawing attention to broader anxieties that shaped the field of political and social contestation in these years. Specifically, Sekhar Bandyopadhyay focuses on struggles over the meanings of “freedom” in a postcolonial context in which foreign domination, having come to an end, could no longer function as the stabilizing antithesis on which the unity of the “Freedom Struggle” could continue to hinge. This presumably is the level at which this case study articulates with the capacious scope implied by the book’s title.

Bandyopadhyay begins with a broad sketch of the passage from jubilation in the wake of independence to increasing discontent as the promise of freedom seemed to go unfulfilled in an age of food shortages, spiraling inflation, corruption, disease epidemics, the arrival of massive waves of refugees from the east, political and communal violence, and exercises of repressive state action of a kind that struck many as a continuation of the Indian state’s colonial forebear. The arrival of independence seemed to many to presage the abolition not only of British rule but also of the inequities, poverty, violence, and exploitation that were associated with it in its capacity as the reigning signifier of unfreedom. These expectations inevitably gave rise (as also in East Pakistan) to deepening political disillusionment, which Bandyopadhyay examines by focusing on worker unrest, peasant unrest, communal violence, and deepening middle class anxieties.

The ruling Indian National Congress organization struggled to contain its own internal ideological and factional heterogeneity as it transformed from an anticolonial umbrella organization to a disciplined political party, and turned to increasingly authoritarian measures to stabilize the political disorder that arose from the cacophony of competing political claims—measures that threatened to compromise its legitimacy. As Chatterji notes in *Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932–1947* (2002), the central Congress leadership’s preoccupation with maintaining internal discipline against ideological dissent had already been fully manifest in its relationship with the Bengal Provincial Congress since the late 1930s—although of course it had lacked the coercive apparatus of the state to back its demands and had never been able to form a government in the Muslim-majority province. What was new, as Bandyopadhyay notes, was the successful conflation of the Congress Party, the Indian nation, the Indian state, and the Congress’s correlative role as the custodian of freedom in suppressing the most fundamental threat to its power: the Communist Party, which in the face of Congress repression had launched a violent but unsustainable campaign of rural insurgency. Other leftist parties found it difficult to articulate a coherent ideological platform by which to distinguish themselves from the Congress, tending instead to emphasize their ethical superiority. They failed to cohere into an organized political opposition, especially in their broad-based repudiation of the Communists, unquestionably the single most significant leftist alternative to the Congress. Meanwhile, anti-Congress

opposition on the right was organizationally weak and internally divided. It was cast into disarray by the intensity of the public backlash after Mohandas Gandhi’s assassination (in which some of its members were widely believed to have been implicated). So when the first elections for independent India occurred in 1952, the Congress unsurprisingly won a majority of the seats but failed to win a majority of votes cast despite the enormous advantages that its candidates had in campaigning. The party that came a distant second—but far ahead of parties trailing it—was the Communist Party. In this sense, the 1952 election marked both the successful consolidation of Congress control over West Bengal and exposed the weaknesses that would ultimately see the party dethroned in 1967 by the forces of a unified leftist coalition. The Congress was never able, Bandyopadhyay suggests, to contain the range of political aspirations unleashed in the wake of independence.

While this book may be organized around the theme of competing ideas of freedom, Bandyopadhyay lapses at times into a detailed analysis of the political struggles of the first five years of independence in West Bengal. The narrative suffers from sporadic invocations of postcolonial theoretical concepts that are never developed and that serve primarily to distract rather than elucidate. The book’s virtues lie firmly in its strong archival engagement and detailed historical analysis.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

RICHARD S. HILL. *Maori and the State: Crown-Maori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950–2000*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 364. NZD60.00.

While we are currently saturated with texts about New Zealand in the nineteenth century, there is a comparative paucity of works on the country’s twentieth-century history generally, and fewer still on aspects that deal with an area as intricate yet as important as relations between the state and the indigenous Maori population.

Richard S. Hill has addressed this deficiency in a masterful fashion, producing a volume that is destined to become a standard text on this period. Hill has cast his net broadly, incorporating subject matter as diverse as treaty settlements, devolution, sovereignty, education, health, economics, and the way in which all these areas of concern reflect on the evolution of the Maori as a people. The potential compartmentalization of these themes dissolves in the way Hill develops the narrative as he demonstrates how they are all interconnected parts of an organic whole.

At around three hundred pages of text, the content is comprehensive but never descends into minutiae. A lesser historian may have been tempted to squeeze in as much material as possible on certain topics, but Hill

maintains his clear sense of proportion, resulting in a balanced treatment of most subjects in a way that is extensive yet never excessive, and which in many cases gives readers alternative perspectives on an issue. This is particularly notable in Hill's consideration of treaty-based discourses.

If there is an area where some readers might demur, it is in Hill's meta-analysis of the main topics he deals with. This has resulted in one of the overriding themes of the book being the struggle of Maori to assert their distinctive cultural and political identity "despite the relentless pressures of colonial and post-colonial policies" (p. ix). Elsewhere he refers to an "assimilationist onslaught" (p. 93) on Maori culture by the state. These types of statements are laden with presumptions about the role of the state which might best have been left for the reader to deduce, rather than being stated with such assuredness. They certainly do not apply universally throughout the period Hill is considering.

This mild asperity directed at state policies from the 1950s to the end of the 1990s is perhaps a hangover from Hill's previous volume covering the first half of the century, where the case for such a position against state policies is more easily made. In the current volume, however, Hill occasionally runs the risk of mistaking state lethargy for strategy. As some of his own evidence suggests, there were even times in this period when the state endeavoured to assist with more autonomous forms of Maori development such as in the provision of Maori health services, and other occasions when Maori initiatives were left to flourish largely unhindered by any overbearing external interference, as with the early years of the *Kohanga reo*—the "language nests" for pre-school children.

Certainly, state policies such as the extension of the jurisdiction of the Waitangi Tribunal—which since 1985 has been empowered to consider claims going back to 1840—could not easily be cast as one of those "relentless pressures" militating against Maori asserting their distinctive cultural and political identity. However, Hill later qualifies his initial position about the state's heavy emphasis on the assimilation of Maori by revealing how this approach was gradually displaced by a trend towards allowing greater degrees of Maori autonomy and self-determination: *rangatiratanga*. I suspect, however, that this transition was neither as smooth nor as consistent in reality as it sometimes appears in the book.

The modern virtue of the Maori renaissance is sometimes presented by Hill almost as an antidote to the ancient (and not-so-ancient) wrongs of the state's assimilationist policies. This ignores some of the more recent literature on the efforts at reconstructing Maori culture in an image that is not as authentic as has previously been presumed, although to be fair, this is possibly beyond the scope of this work.

Finally, one of Hill's great strengths is the way in which he presents evidence as if he was counsel for both the prosecution and the defence, and lets the reader act as jury. Far from being didactic, there are just enough

pointers along the way to guide readers and to help them evaluate the issues he sets before them. The country has been well served by this volume, and its stature is bound to grow as it establishes itself as one of the authoritative texts in its field.

PAUL MOON

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ELISE CHENIER. *Strangers in Our Midst: Sexual Deviancy in Postwar Ontario*. (Studies in Gender and History, number 32.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 294. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$35.00.

I read this important book about sexual deviancy in the postwar era at the same time that a high-ranking army general was charged with numerous local sex murders, the provincial government proposed and then quickly rescinded its new, more comprehensive sex education program due to public outcry, and the international cover-up of sexual abuse by Catholic priests was further exposed. Clearly, sexual deviancy continues to provide high media drama and to be of popular concern. Elise Chenier, with her strong knowledge of feminist theory and sexual history/politics, attempts to shed light on the theories, treatment, and public discourse on sexual deviancy in the postwar era. While her case study is situated in one geographic area, Chenier demonstrates that the study of sexual deviancy in Ontario was highly influenced by international sex experts and popular discourse far beyond its borders.

Chenier asks some critical questions about how our society views sexuality in its entirety through this case study. She casts a critical gaze on the entire system of sexual classification. As a result she considers people who molest children, who rape women, or who define as homosexual within the category of sexual deviance, just as the experts, media, and public did in the postwar era. In doing so, Chenier is able to reveal how all these people were viewed as sexual outsiders requiring medical treatment and/or imprisonment. As an historian with a vast knowledge of queer politics and history, Chenier is well placed to provide a careful analysis of this period that appreciates the injustice of condemning sexual minorities such as homosexuals, bisexuals, and transgendered peoples to the same fate as those who commit sexual violence against others. She carefully details how the public inquiries and news media easily slid from a discussion of child molestation to one of homosexuality. She demonstrates how media coverage and public panic about a child sexual assault case led to a police raid on gay bars.

Chenier's feminist historian's lens trains us to pay attention to how heterosexual violence has been normalized. She argues that compulsory heterosexuality shaped male prison sex culture as guards, administrators, prisoners, and experts all assumed that sex was necessary, assertive, and dominant for male prisoners. Consequently there was little attention to male prison-

ers who occupied a feminine role. Abusive sexual relations between male prisoners were, for the most part, unacknowledged and rarely recorded.

Chenier is also to be commended for her appreciation of the role of women in lobbying for policy change. Whereas much of the scholarship on the postwar era ignores or belittles women's role in society, Chenier appreciates their role as agents of change. She sheds light on how women—as housewives and mothers—formed important interest groups and effectively demanded change in the treatment of sexual deviants. Often these women are assumed to have been politically and socially conservative, but Chenier demonstrates that they were progressive in their approach to sexual deviants, demanding treatment where others had condemned them to banishment. This is an important insight and should remind all of us who are historians of the postwar era that those in domestic roles may also be shaping political history.

While the author has brought together important understandings of postwar culture with attention to gender and heterosexuality, there is a lack of attention to race. Critical race scholarship demonstrates that we cannot understand sexuality without appreciating the ways it interweaves with questions of race. The moral panics today tend to be around the white, middle-class man whom everyone assumes is a law-abiding, respectable citizen. No one considers for a moment that this man might be a sex criminal. If he was a man of color or an Aboriginal youth, then the “shock” would be lessened because of how we vilify those without societal privilege. Attention to race reminds readers that it is Aboriginal youth who are profoundly overrepresented in Canadian prison populations. Attention to race would acknowledge the legacy of colonial violence and its impact on Aboriginal men, women, and children. Addressing the intersection of gender, sexuality, race, and class is an important next step in the understanding of postwar sexual deviancy.

One of the most disturbing lessons from this book concerns the present era. Whereas in the immediate postwar years there was considerable hope that psychotherapeutic treatment would “cure” the sexual deviant, there is now little hope. Instead, the treatment approach has fallen out of public and political favor, and government at all levels now appears content to imprison sexual predators for as long as possible. Just as the Ontario public is uncomfortable with providing age-appropriate comprehensive sex education to public school children, the same public is uncomfortable in considering the sexually deviant. Keeping our heads firmly planted in the sand, we ignore how sex crimes are committed within a culture steeped in violent heterosexuality.

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BRYAN D. PALMER. *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of To-

ronto Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 605. Cloth £55.00, paper £22.50.

It is tempting, but inaccurate, to call Bryan D. Palmer's big, bold new book a biography of the 1960s. It does not really introduce us to the familial or intellectual roots of the decade, nor does it trace its development in minute details from infancy in 1960 to its demise in 1969 or 1970. There is not much in the way of salacious revelation from friends or acquaintances, or mournful eulogy at the funeral. But there is no doubt that the decade leaps into shape with this masterful analysis, dancing in its idealistic youth, raging at the failings of its precursors, and stumbling over its own enthusiasms. Palmer's encyclopedic research, his clearly focused lens, and his own obvious enthusiasm all serve to bring a decade to life, taking readers on a wonderful trip—at turns serene, psychedelic, or terrifying—through ten years of the coming of age of Canada. The decade of the 1960s found the perfect biographer in Palmer, and in return he offers an interpretation that will stand for decades to come.

Palmer begins with a straightforward proposition: for Canada, the 1960s was the decade that witnessed the “clash of the breakup of what was once thought to be and the development of an ongoing anxiety over what it was that indeed could be labelled Canada” (p. 21). The irony of idealistically tearing down what was outdated and colonial, and failing to adequately replace it with the new, modern, and postcolonial, provides the theme for much of the book's analysis. Using ten specific case studies, Palmer finds much that fits within the premise—the irony of conservative John Diefenbaker “carrying the torch of Canadianism” (p. 72) into the 1960s; the irony of the intermingling of sex, security, and politics in the scandals of the early 1960s serving as an introduction to the removal of the state from the bedrooms of the nation under Pierre Trudeau at the end of the decade; the ironic transformation of Victoria Day from a site of colonial fealty to an opportunity for youth “hooliganism” expressing a national identity in flux; the profound irony of “discovering” Aboriginal Canadians just as they discovered “a new and vibrant sense of themselves as something more” (p. 378). Palmer uses the idea of irony broadly, enabling him to capture such diverse subjects as both George Chuvalo's heavyweight boxing career and the various organizations and enthusiasms of the New Left within its rubric. But he also uses it convincingly, building his cases on staggeringly extensive research in both the contemporary and scholarly library, and painting a compelling portrait of a nation bent on rejecting the past but, ironically, uncertain about the future that would replace it. In the hands of a master historian, the idea of irony becomes an obvious way to understand the decade. While there are those who may debate Palmer's choice of particular episodes to include, there is surprisingly little that occurred in Canada in the 1960s that does not receive at least passing comment here, and there is even less that would not be clearer if viewed through Palm-

er's interpretive framework. That so many moments in the 1960s can be understood as ultimately ironic attests to the appropriateness of the concept as an analytical tool in understanding the decade.

If Palmer's exhaustive research and clever analysis provide the body of Canada's 1960s in this book, his style provides the soul. Rare is the academic book in which the cadences and staging of the narrative are as much a part of the argument as is the case with this study. In the first section, Palmer's measured tones explain with crystal clarity the devaluation of the dollar and Cold War anxieties, Canadian-style. His construction parallels the course of a staid nation, beginning to burst its colonial confines. But in part two, Canada's 1960s enter an adolescent phase, experimenting with sex, civil rights, and celebrity. The giddy tumble of words approximates the riotous colors and sounds of a decade on the edge of rebellion—or, at the very least, embracing modernity in a new and intoxicating way. Using language that provokes the senses, Palmer makes the 1960s leap into life. Shifting to an analysis of youth and workers, and utilizing most explicitly the Marxism that gently informs this study, his analysis mirrors both the idealism and the rage that inspired the counterculture, the strikers, and the New Left. By the time he reaches his penultimate chapter, on the tragic Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ) crisis, the psychedelic hues of earlier chapters have disappeared, replaced with a style that rushes, like events, headlong toward a dark demise. Concluding, awkwardly and almost as an afterthought, with a chapter on the "discovery" of the "Indian" is especially appropriate, reflecting the awkward relationship of First Nations to the rest of Canada that was first really confronted in the 1960s. The structure, or the order in which his cases are presented, and the style, or the way in which his sentences are constructed, are as much a part of the argument as the content of this book and go a long way towards sculpting a coherent narrative for the decade. The 1960s achieve in Palmer's capable hands, if not a biography, certainly a body and soul. It is perhaps ironic that the decade known mainly for its style should provide us, in this magnificent interpretation, with so much substance.

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ROBBIE ETHRIDGE and SHERI M. SHUCK-HALL, editors. *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2009. Pp. 526. \$35.00.

The century and a half between Hernando de Soto's expedition through the South and the English settlement of South Carolina has been a problem for scholars. De Soto's expedition encountered large populations of farmers settled in walled towns and organized in powerful, centralized chiefdoms—the economic, social, technological, and political system modern archaeologists have called the "Mississippian." But when trad-

ers from South Carolina entered the region in the late seventeenth century, they found small populations practicing a mixed hunting and swidden economy, and only loosely organized in clan and village-based confederations. What had happened in the intervening years to cause such a dramatic collapse of the Mississippian culture? Influenced by work on the Columbian Exchange, scholars like Henry F. Dobyns (*Their Number Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* [1983]) blamed the fall of the Mississippian on Europeans—perhaps even de Soto and his men themselves—who introduced communicable diseases into native populations with no inherited immunity. This thesis was attractively simple and direct, and made plausible by the better documented virgin soil epidemics that struck sixteenth-century Central America. But over the last couple of decades, as archaeological research has moved beyond the Mississippian mounds into later Native sites, and as more Americans have worked in French and Spanish records, the impact of epidemic disease remains difficult to assess, while other factors have moved into clearer focus. In this work, editors Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall gather fifteen essays that push a more complex analysis of the destruction of Mississippian society.

Along with her contributors, Ethridge, who pens the introduction and afterword, argues that understanding the post-contact South as a "shatter zone" explains the connections between the epidemiological, environmental, economic, military, and cultural disruptions that destroyed Mississippian society. Most of the scholars included are still willing to assign a major role to disease, although the one piece focused on that topic is given to prominent critic Paul Kelton, who argues here, and in *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492–1715* (2007), that disease did not impact the southern Indians until the very end of the seventeenth century. Instead, the authors look to other, better attested factors in the collapse of the Mississippian chiefdoms. As suggested by the book's subtitle, Alan Galloway's *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (2002) has had a major impact on the field, and Kelton and several other contributors analyze the role of slave traders from South Carolina and Native slave raiders like the Westo in destroying the Indian peoples of the southern piedmont and the Spanish-sponsored mission communities on the gulf coastal plain. Other contributors consider the impact of political upheaval, European trade, and intensified warfare (typically accompanying the slave raids) in destroying Mississippian chiefdoms.

Southern Indians were not just victims of this shattering, though. They responded with new political and cultural strategies to survive and prosper in a chaotic environment. These included judicious alliances with European powers, participation in the slave trade for some, creating decentralized economic and political systems better suited to regional upheaval and population decline, defending Mississippian political insti-

tutions among the Natchez, or maintaining a vigorous ethnic identity among the Shawnee. According to Ethridge, Shuck-Hall, Kelton, and several others, though, the most important survival strategy was the cultural and political flexibility needed to form shattered, exiled communities into new native polities that could replace the security and stability lost with the fall of the Mississippian chiefdoms. Groups that successfully practiced "coalescence," taking in refugees from the regional collapse and forming confederations for mutual defense, gave birth to the powerful, independent "tribes" encountered by Anglo-Americans in the eighteenth century.

This is an excellent snapshot of a welcome resurgence in sophisticated research on the pre- and early colonial South. By and large, the contributors do a good job crossing disciplinary boundaries and working within the "shatter zone" and "coalescence" concepts. Although the essays here are heavily weighted toward the latter half of the 1600s and the early 1700s when European records multiply, the focus of several authors on the English-driven slave trade and on coalescence as an adaptive strategy justifies that chronological emphasis. At the same time, the essay collection format lives up to its promise here, offering detailed studies of more Native communities and southern subregions than is typical of longer monographs, while maintaining a thematic and stylistic unity. In all, Ethridge, Shuck-Hall, and their contributors have offered a valuable reference to recent scholarship along with building dynamic interpretive concepts that offer opportunities for further research.

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ROBERT S. GRUMET. *The Munsee Indians: A History*. Foreword by DANIEL K. RICHTER. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 262.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2009. Pp. xxxi, 446. \$45.00.

The sale of Manhattan Island and the Walking Purchase are well known, but the Native people involved in these infamous land deals—the Munsees—remain relatively obscure. These Algonquian speakers who lived in the lower Hudson and upper Delaware valleys experienced succeeding waves of Dutch and English traders, settlers, soldiers, and colonial administrators and eventually gave up what has become some of the most prominent real estate in the United States. Anthropologist Robert S. Grumet, building on decades of painstaking research, does much to draw the Munsees from their obscurity and to establish their place in the historical record. While the volume leaves room for further research and analysis, it is unlikely that another book will soon supplant Grumet's coverage.

Grumet's work joins the modern historical literature on the Munsees first established by Allen W. Trelease (*Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century* [1960; reprint 2009]) and later joined by my

own work (*The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Hudson Valley* [2006]), both of which examine the Munsee experience in the Dutch period. Grumet's book not only covers the whole era of contact in the Munsees' ancestral homelands, 1524–1766, but pays particular attention to the frequently overlooked late seventeenth century. His methodology also contributes something new. Grumet has created what he calls the "Munsee File"—a cross-referenced collection of nearly every document including a named Munsee individual or a transaction involving traditional Munsee territory. Gleaned from these thousands of documents are over 10,000 Munsee names (many of them referring to the same persons) from which he distilled a list of 210 prominent individuals. This research has allowed him to draw important conclusions about Munsee leadership; lineages and family relationships; land ownership, control, and loss; and population changes.

Grumet argues that the Munsees were an "enduring people," that their identity "as a unique people and culture developed, persisted, waned, and recovered as the specifics of their lives—their tools, clothing, languages (both Indians and European), locations, religious beliefs, national allegiances, memories, even their names for themselves—changed." Furthermore, they "were not hopelessly outmatched by all-powerful Dutch and English hegemonists who could take their lands whenever they wanted" (p. 12). Indeed, Grumet clearly demonstrates through detailed analysis and excellent maps (which appear frequently in the text) that Munsee people did not quickly or naively sell their lands. He explains how and why land sales took place, and while he has not convincingly shown that "alert Munsee leaders . . . could exploit" opportunities created by conflicting Dutch and English colonies and priorities, it is nevertheless clear that Munsee people carefully made strategic decisions when selling their land. As Europeans acquired and settled upon Munsee lands, the Native people resisted wholesale alienation of their lands and asserted their rights to continue to live upon, utilize, and travel through ancestral territories. Grumet also clarifies the Munsees' matrilineal social organization, evolving and shifting leadership, and involvement with other native peoples and the major events of their days, creatively using his sources to highlight the ongoing and active role that the Munsees played in early American history.

Those looking for a thorough history of the Munsees in this era will be disappointed however. Part of that disappointment stems from the amount of space dedicated to events happening around the Munsees. Good historical context is important for establishing the extent to which the Munsees navigated the shifting sands of an early American frontier. But Grumet spends too much time describing what was happening among the Iroquois or explaining political shifts in England and the resulting administrative changes in New York. What could be summarized in a paragraph or two is covered by several paragraphs, leaving less space for a

discussion of the Munsees. Ironically, the very people Grumet intends to reveal are often overshadowed in his account by discussions of the Munsees' neighbors, antagonists, and others. Furthermore, much of the attention paid to the Munsees is limited to population changes and land sales. For all of the promise of Grumet's methodology, it has the effect of narrowing his focus to the exclusion of more substantial discussions of cultural change, individual Munsee agency, and so forth. To be sure, there are important moments when Grumet discusses the Munsees' rationale for selling land, cultural developments during contact with the Dutch, and encounters with Christianity, but these come too seldom to tell us all we would like to understand about the Munsees.

In the end, however, it is clear that Grumet knows more about the Munsees in the colonial period than any other scholar. Anyone wanting to understand the Munsees must avail themselves of this resource.

PAUL OTTO
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GUNLÖG FUR. *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters among the Delaware Indians*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 251. \$39.95.

The last generation or two of North American colonial historians have made it plain that it is the interaction between European and Native peoples that both defines and animates early American history. Scores of books on the subject have emerged, and several have defined the field in wholly new ways. Middle grounds, borderlands, and empire, agency or dependency—these terms have come to dominate our understanding of the indigenous-European encounter.

A few authors have addressed the gender inequities and gender opportunities of such economic, political, and cultural encounters. Whether dealing in the effects of colonization on actual women and men—their households, sexual practices, political authority, and institutions—or whether searching out the symbolic meanings of gendered speech and the gendered rhetorics of conquest, these authors have explored the ways in which women and men may have experienced colonial encounters in quite different ways. Women are variously seen as conservative cultural preservationists vigorously defending the old ways; as helpless and tragic victims as Western patriarchy extended its grip over traditional cultures; or as creative cultural intermediaries, “negotiators of change” located along these “gender frontiers.”

In her new book, Gunlög Fur contributes to scholarship that places gendered experience at the heart of colonial encounters. In a series of six chapters, she traces the experience of Delaware (Lenape) women through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Fur outlines the impact of colonization on this matrilineal and, in her assessment, largely egalitarian society, arguing for the importance of rewriting the history of en-

counter. Throughout she advocates for a representation of women's experiences that at least equals their demonstrable prominence in Delaware society. As with many colonial efforts, she says, Delaware women have experienced a double erasure, both as women and as colonized people, and this erasure has been perpetrated not only by the original European observers but also by their natural descendants—historians themselves. Fur offers several linked chapters related to this general interest. She traces the role of gender in the kinship system, explores kinship in a Moravian Indian convert community, and uses life histories to uncover the difficult and sometimes tragic lives of women converts—especially those who proved to be less than ideal Christians. Fur explores the “material processes” of gender, especially its role in the distribution of work, property, and power, both formal and informal. But she also investigates its links “to spiritual and ideological expressions to discover the role gender played in Delaware encounters with Europeans and in the understanding of what it meant to become Delawares” (p. 3). She begins and ends with the use of gendered language in diplomacy; the title is a play on an eighteenth-century Delaware quotation, “we are but a women nation,” and Fur ponders the various intentions wrapped up in this self-description (p. 1–3).

There is much to like about Fur's book. The corner where the present states of New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania meet is an understudied area of seventeenth-century America. This stems at least in part from the linguistic challenges of the sources—in Dutch, Swedish, or German, as well as English. The Delaware, too, have perhaps been neglected in favor of other, more glamorous or powerful Native groups. When they appear in our narratives, they are the “little brothers” of the Iroquois or the hapless dupes of the scandalous 1737 “Walking Purchase” as described in a thousand textbooks. Happily, Fur recovers Lenape experiences, placing their encounters at the center of her narrative. The travel narratives and Moravian materials offer a wealth of detail about women's lives and roles in the eighteenth century. Her chapter on women as visionaries successfully recuperates the role of dreaming and visioning as one that belonged as much to powerful Delaware women as to those men, such as Neolin, whose names have gone down in history.

But for all of its many contributions, the book as a whole would have benefited from more careful contextualization of the materials within the larger story of the region's colonization, a more careful chronological delineation (the bulk of the discussion focuses on the eighteenth century), as well as a more clearly honed thesis. While the book makes good use of the primary sources and secondary literature dealing with the Delaware, it neglects to place its findings in the context of many of the more recent contributions to American Indian gender history and often fails to build links for

these fascinating materials within larger currents of colonial gender history.

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SCOTT D. SEAY. *Hanging between Heaven and Earth: Capital Crime, Execution Preaching, and Theology in Early New England*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 217. \$36.00.

This short book effectively blends intellectual and social history in a way that sheds important light on early New England religion, political culture, and the processes of crime and punishment. Examining these topics from the founding of Massachusetts to the early national period, Scott D. Seay surveys what preachers at public executions said about the sources of crime (human sinfulness), the possibility of criminal redemption, and the responsibilities of civil government in the punishment of crime. In a conclusion, the author seeks to identify what can be learned by exploring the questions early Americans asked about these issues and the answers that they gave.

Seay begins with an excellent overview of the role that public education and execution sermons played in England and New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He explains the criminal procedure, the sentencing, and the rituals of the execution day and offers a clear analysis of such events as public spectacles that could draw as many as twelve thousand spectators, as was reported to be the case with a 1772 execution in Salem.

In dealing with the origins of crime, Seay starts with the charter period of Massachusetts history and a discussion of the Puritan, federal doctrine of original sin. This provided early preachers with a context for explaining the particular offenses that brought individuals to commit the crimes for which they were condemned. Ministers drew connections between the sins of those who were to be executed, the sins of ordinary individuals, and the restraining grace of God which preserved most colonists from committing such offenses. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries this understanding was challenged by the influence of Lockean ideas on the nature of human understanding and choice, which explained criminal behavior as the triumph of base passions over reason.

While most who listened to execution sermons were probably uninterested in theological explanations of the origins of sin, they were concerned with what Seay refers to as "the economy of conversion." Again, he begins with the first clergy and reviews their preparationist theology. For them, conversion and salvation were unlikely (but not impossible) for those sentenced to execution. Execution was necessary lest God punish everyone for society's failure to punish gross sinners. At the time of the Great Awakening more preachers began to suggest that God's glory was especially manifest in the conversion of such sinners. They labored to bring

the condemned to speak of their repentance while awaiting execution, for God's glory was magnified by the conversion of the worst of sinners. Later, in the early national period, liberal clergy placed greater emphasis on the rational steps that led to repentance. In all periods, however, a connection was drawn between submission to God and submission to earthly authority.

The execution sermons tell us much about attitudes towards government. The Puritans emphasized that civil authority was established by God to protect the church, uphold moral standards, and punish those who broke God's law. The covenant between God and his people required the enforcement of God's moral law. Mid-eighteenth-century notions of a more secular civil covenant emphasized the protection of property more than the preservation of religious orthodoxy. Simultaneously, most preachers expressed a higher assessment of human nature and reason than was to be found among their seventeenth-century predecessors. New Divinity clergy saw true virtue in benevolent behavior toward their fellow men and believed that civil government cultivated such virtue by punishing vice.

The last chapter discusses a variety of factors that brought public executions to an end. Seay explores the impact of the American Revolution, the Enlightenment, and Quaker moralism in emphasizing rehabilitation and the penitentiary as alternatives to execution. Increasingly, criminals were hung behind prison walls. Execution was associated with political despotism. Punishment, it was argued, should be proportional to the crime. The law should be geared to the reformation of the offender. When Massachusetts legislated that executions be conducted in private in 1835, an era came to an end. Hanging was no longer a moral lesson.

In his conclusion the author briefly examines later theological discourse through which some Christian churches condemned all capital punishment and others supported it. He argues that questions about crime and punishment that concerned those who believed in public executions in early America underlie public discourse today.

Seay has read widely in the literature of execution sermons and illustrates his points with pertinent examples and quotations. He has an excellent understanding of the theological context of the sermons and effectively ties them into broader intellectual currents of the time. While this study focuses on clerical understanding rather than that of the ordinary citizen, the fact that executions were popular spectacles and execution sermons sold well argues for the broader significance of this book. Though brief and focused on one aspect of the culture, it sheds important light on the broader world of early America.

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JAMES EMMETT RYAN. *Imaginary Friends: Representing Quakers in American Culture, 1650–1950*. (Studies in American Thought and Culture.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 285. \$26.95.

To adopt some of the occasional usage in this volume, I find the book under review a creative “imaginary” and likely to join the “archive” that analyzes American culture. Written by James Emmett Ryan, who describes himself as a religious “outsider,” the book offers a provocative but not necessarily surprising description of the way Americans have viewed members of the Religious Society of Friends.

Commentators, whether seventeenth-century politicians, eighteenth-century historians, nineteenth-century novelists, or twentieth-century filmmakers, Ryan avers, have seen or depicted Quakers as dangerous religious radicals who skirted the edge of respectability and were likely to topple into the abyss of excess. But failing to go over, they instead became people who stood as a judgment on the larger society for failing to live up to its own ideals. Quakers in novels, Ryan writes, “came to stand for the best people Americans could never become” (p. 185). Being too radical, the sect dwindled in numbers, became more than a little quaint and practically ineffectual, and drifted out of the mainstream.

Yet there is more to this study than merely surveying perceptions of the Religious Society of Friends. Ryan wants to challenge the received wisdom that the “American character” emerged out of the “Calvinist/Puritan” religious heritage (p. 6). He explores views of Quakers as a way into a “long and vexed conversation” among Americans about how the Christian religion helped negotiate among “competing pressures: domestic life, market capitalism, urban development, labor (including slavery), gender, and political activities” (p. 5). That Quakers took (and occasionally still take) radical positions on such issues makes them even more important in mirroring the adequacies and inadequacies of wider responses to them. Within the Christian community, they are almost unique in their stances even as they hover on the fringe.

I have no hesitation in endorsing Ryan’s creative approach. What emerges as he works through his thesis should have a long life and, unlike his subjects, remain profoundly influential. For those who want to understand Quakers better or who seek compelling insights into the molding of the American character, this readable work fills a gap. That scholars have ignored the lacuna only enhances the book’s importance and lends more significance to its insights.

That being said, I must question some of the techniques Ryan uses in presenting his thesis. As suggested in my appropriation of some of his usages, he occasionally uses words in an unusual and frankly bizarre fashion. This criticism may reflect a linguistic conservatism born of studying the past, but the book has other problems as well. First, the documentation is erratic and puzzling. It is as though Ryan throws in an endnote when, by some unstated standard, he thinks it is time for one. For one instance, in note 16 (p. 10) he asserts that he will use the words “Quaker” and “Friend” interchangeably, but he does not use the latter term in the paragraph cited. Its first use in the text comes four

pages earlier (p. 6). Also, relying on one of his oft-used secondary sources, he misdates the birth of the title “Religious Society of Friends” by one hundred years and misstates the page of his citation (it should be page 29, not page 19). His notes are at best troublesome and at worst untrustworthy.

Ryan strains to develop his thesis. It is almost as if he assumes that just because a work saw the light of day it must have been influential. The major historical source that he surveys is William Sewel’s *The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress, of the Christian People Called Quakers*, first published in English in 1722. While some non-Friends probably read this book—it appeared twice in American editions—Ryan mentions only essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson as being among the Americans who reached for a copy. Moreover, as Ryan concedes, Sewel devoted scant attention to Quakers in the colonies, preferring instead to concentrate on English Friends. Hence it seems a stretch to assume that this history helped to shape American perceptions of the peculiar people called Quakers.

The same thing is true of Ryan’s choice of *The Courageous Mr. Penn*, the American title of a forgettable British film released in 1942, during the height of World War II. He is on firmer ground when he focuses on immensely popular books like *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* and movies like *High Noon* that depicted Quakers. In another puzzling decision, Ryan only mentions *Friendly Persuasion* in an endnote, perhaps because it was released in 1956, past his ending date of 1950, though *High Noon* appeared in 1952.

In sum, the book is provocative for its thesis, but use it with care.

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THOMAS S. KIDD. *American Christians and Islam: Evangelical Culture and Muslims from the Colonial Period to the Age of Terrorism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 201. \$29.95.

Thomas S. Kidd begins and ends his fascinating book on American Christians and Islam with a look at sharp American reactions to the terrorist attacks of September 11. In Kidd’s opinion, negative American assessments of Muslims at that time brought to the forefront long-held opinions. While in the 2000s many Americans took exception to these volatile exclamations against Islam, Kidd asserts that merely a few generations earlier, people would have found such opinions routine (p. xi). The author moderately follows Edward Said’s thesis, as expressed in the seminal 1978 book *Orientalism*, which examined from a postcolonial perspective Western Christian constructions of the “Orient.” Like Said, Kidd approaches the history of opinions about Muslims and Islam as part of the study of Western, in this case American, Christian culture and not as a chapter in the study of Islam or its adherents. In its subtitle, the book claims to explore the development of views of Islam

among evangelical Christians, but in fact Kidd undertakes a much larger investigation, often drawing comparisons between conservative evangelicals and more liberal American Protestants.

Kidd begins this historical exploration by examining opinions about Muslims and Islam first in the English colonies that would become the United States and then in the early republic. During those periods American Protestants perceived Islam much as they did Roman Catholicism: as an enemy of the Christian society they were trying to build (p. 19). To begin with, Protestants considered their version of Christianity the only means for sinful human beings to attain justification. In addition, they constructed an image of Muslims based on the then popular genre of the captivity narrative. In these narratives Muslims were uncivilized and brutal, demonstrating cruelty toward those they kidnapped. While some Americans were actually taken hostage by Muslim rulers in "Barbary," the North African coast, most of the literature was fictitious (pp. 2–5, 20–26). A number of Americans wrote books about Muhammad and Islam that, as a rule, had little if any academic merit. "Mahomet" became a metaphor for diabolic intentions and was often used in internal Protestant debates to stigmatize dissenters or theological adversaries (pp. 13–17).

Kidd places particular importance on the role assigned to the Ottoman Empire in the end-time visions of newly formed or adapted American messianic faiths. The expectation that the empire would crumble played an important element in the eschatological calculations of American messianic thinkers and leaders such as William Miller, who led the Adventist movement in the 1830s and early 1840s. At the turn of the twentieth century, many conservative evangelicals adopted a futurist dispensationalist messianic faith. While dispensationalists have refrained from calculating the date for the Messiah's arrival, they have assigned Muslim nations a role in the apocalypse, often that of a hostile power destined to invade the Holy Land but ultimately to be crushed. For many conservative evangelicals who read the Bible literally, the Jews are heirs to prophetic promises about a restored Davidic kingdom in the land of Israel. Evangelicals have consequently supported the Zionist movement and—especially after the 1967 war in which Israel took over the historical quarters of Jerusalem—they have lent political and economic support to the state of Israel. A careful and balanced historian, Kidd points out that, while sympathetic to Israel, evangelical leaders have nonetheless insisted that Israel respect Palestinian human rights, and a number of American Christian representatives have stood on the side of the Palestinians in the Arab-Israel conflict (pp. 82–95).

Granted that the book does not aim to cover every episode in the development of Christian-Muslim relations, at times one still wishes that the author had extended his explorations. For example, the discussion could benefit from a look at the Christian and Missionary Alliance's (CMA) extensive evangelization efforts among Arab populations, efforts which ultimately

changed the group's theology and priorities. Motivated initially by a dispensationalist eschatology, early CMA missionaries wished to labor among the Jews of Jerusalem but shifted to working among Muslims, including Bedouins. Kidd's assessment of American missions to the Muslims would have also benefited from comparing missions to Muslims with missions to Jews. One characteristic common to both missions is an increase of converts following the adoption of a more open cultural attitude. An important factor in evangelicals' uneven attitudes toward Arabs and Israel that is largely missing from Kidd's account is the Cold War, which affected conservative American Protestants' views, including their eschatological scenarios, much more than the revolution in Iran, an event that Kidd highlights (pp. 132, 135). For decades evangelical writers expected the apocalyptic "Northern Power" to be the Soviet Union; only after its collapse in 1990 did they reassign that role, first to Saddam Hussein's Iraq, then to Hafez-el-Assad's Syria, and more recently to Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's Iran.

These remarks should not diminish Kidd's remarkable achievements. His is one of the most intelligent, balanced, and informed studies on interfaith relations I have ever read. It makes an important contribution to the study of American religion and culture as well as to the history of Christianity and its relations to other faiths. It is also well written. Kidd's style is concise and straightforward and at the same time captivating. This monograph contains so many fascinating, and often unexpected, developments, episodes, publications, and characters that it makes for particularly good reading. The book offers much more than an examination of different aspects and developments in the history of American Christians' attitudes toward Islam. It also tells us a great deal about the course of American religious history and the aspirations of members of a dominant, although not necessarily united, Protestant establishment, who ultimately had to compete and share territory with groups many of them did not care much for.

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KATHERINE CARTÉ ENGEL. *Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 313. \$39.95.

Katherine Carté Engel's study of the Moravian community of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, contributes to the growing number of English-language monographs that examine this small, evangelical German sect. Known variously as "Moravians" or the "Renewed Unitas Fratrum," the group was organized by the charismatic Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760). From neighboring Moravia, Zinzendorf invited a small number of German-speaking Protestants who had ex-

perienced severe persecution under the Habsburg Counter-Reformation. Figurative descendants of the fifteenth-century Czech reformer Jan Hus, these Moravians founded their first sectarian town, Herrnhut, on Zinzendorf's lands in the 1720s. Zinzendorf took inspiration from the German Pietist movement based in Halle, where he also attended school, and he sponsored Moravian residential and missionary communities to spread evangelical Protestantism. Chartered in 1741, Bethlehem was conceived as a missionary outpost for converting Indians.

Engel's monograph offers a fifty-year history of Bethlehem's growth and missionary work within the context of the Moravians' Atlantic community. As her title suggests, she frames the study with the Weberian thesis of a Protestant ethic, which invokes the Protestant and particularly Calvinist theology of predestination to explain the rise of modern capitalism. This sociology of religion has had its own American reception, shaped most significantly by Perry Miller, who propounded a theory of "declension" or secularization among New England Puritan communities whose Christian values of piety and charity were gradually displaced by the principles of free-market exchange (pp. 9, 250, 253).

The Bethlehem community is a marvelous candidate for testing such a hypothesis. Established as a communitarian missionary outpost, the town was owned and controlled by the Moravian Church and organized to generate profit for both regional and Atlantic world missions. As such, work and residency were communal. Crafts, trades, and services in Bethlehem belonged to the centralized church "Oeconomy," which underwrote and directed all economic activities (pp. 32–33). Non-Moravians were excluded from Bethlehem, except those who entered the town to trade. The Moravians also established communal living arrangements—the so-called choir system—which placed residents in dormitories based on age, sex, and marital status (pp. 58–61).

The missionary work of the Bethlehem community was initially impressive. The Moravians are credited for learning native languages and for respecting the Indians' dress and hunting patterns (pp. 86–87). By the 1750s Bethlehem had founded an Indian community, Gnadenhütten, which boasted a population of 125 converted natives and 25 whites. A small number of Indians was also integrated into the Bethlehem choir system and Oeconomy (p. 141). The global warfare of French and British colonial rivalry struck the Bethlehem community in 1755, however, when Gnadenhütten was attacked and destroyed by Delaware Indians (p. 142). Thus began a process of polarization that cemented the division between white and Indian populations in the Mid-Atlantic region. Sadly, the Moravians in Bethlehem were unable or unwilling to resist the exclusion of their own Indian converts. As Engel explains, the division between European-Moravian congregations and the Indian missions was "racial" (p. 91). In 1764 Bethlehem's last Indian residents—Moravian converts, fully integrated into the Bethlehem choir system—were

resettled out of town and eventually forced to join a larger Indian internment camp in Philadelphia. The exclusion, segregation, and periodic resettlement westward that followed did not spare the Moravian Indians. The most grievous event was the 1782 slaughter of over ninety Moravian Indians in their Ohio Valley settlement at the hands of American militia (pp. 233–234). Engel explains that the Moravians acceded to the pressure exerted by non-Moravian whites (pp. 145–146, 188).

Colonial conflicts transformed the economy and religious status of Bethlehem. Under financial pressure from Herrnhut, Bethlehem finally abandoned the Oeconomy in 1762 and allowed individual Moravians to pursue their own business affairs. Although Bethlehem's leaders established trade guidelines and adjudicated disputes, Moravian craftsmen could now work as self-employed entrepreneurs, taking on apprentices, competing for market share, and accruing wealth and capital. Inevitably, this allowed some to advance quickly while others remained dependent on employers or even poor relief (pp. 170, 205–216). In 1764 the Moravian leaders in Herrnhut changed Bethlehem's status from that of a missionary outpost to the more conventional "congregation town," meaning that Bethlehem was no longer responsible for fielding and supporting missionaries (pp. 170, 195). One striking effect of this shift was the dramatic decline in the number of Bethlehem men involved in religious or missionary work (pp. 198–199).

Engel summarizes this transformation with several trenchant observations. She eschews the Weberian model of religious decline proposed by Miller and argues instead that the economic and religious worlds of the Bethlehem Moravians remained intertwined throughout the period of her study. Isolating an ethos that characterized profit-driven business is not useful here, she argues, since the Moravians never lost sight of their spiritual values even as they carefully observed the bottom line. Engel also claims a broader Atlantic perspective for sizing up the Bethlehem Moravians, who understood their work within the larger context of the Moravian Church. She suggests finally that early American history should be studied within this larger global context. Local economies and communities in North America were never closed systems but always part of a broader network of Atlantic trade and religious groups (pp. 252–253).

What Carté Engel's analysis intimates but never articulates explicitly is the value of a different theoretical perspective based on an analysis of *diasporas*. Unwittingly, she reproduces the critique of Weber, proffered one hundred years ago by Werner Sombart, who argued persuasively that the mercantile success of dynamic Protestant groups reflected persecution, minority status, and a network of trusted coreligionists seeking spiritual and economic freedoms, not some cultural value based in religious doctrine. English Puritans, Quakers, and other nonconformists built Atlantic trading networks beginning in the seventeenth century. The

French Calvinist Huguenots settled in the major continental and New World entrepôts when they fled France in 1688 after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. One of Weber's own examples in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904) was the small but wealthy Mennonite community of silk merchants in the western German town of Krefeld. (This illustration revealed Weber's ignorance of Protestant theology since the Mennonites, as Anabaptists, rejected infant baptism and the Calvinist doctrine of predestination.) As a framing device, diaspora also avoids Weber's anti-Catholic bigotry while considering non-Protestant trading communities, including the Sephardic Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 or more contemporary examples like the Armenians, the Maronite Christians of Lebanon, or the Chinese. Indeed, are the Moravians not simply one of the many religious minorities whose diasporic settlements contributed to the colonization of the Atlantic world?

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BRIAN BALOGH. *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 414. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$23.99.

Though focused on the nineteenth century, Brian Balogh wrote this volume with current-day problems in mind for the purpose of persuading contemporary progressives to return to a forgotten political strategy. It is Balogh's contention that "the battle between 'big' and 'small' government is grounded in a false historical premise" (p. 379) and that today's progressives need to recover the insight of their early twentieth-century forebears that "governance out of sight 'works' in the sense that Americans accept" and "demand it" (p. 397).

To demonstrate that this is so and why, Balogh surveys statecraft during the American Revolution, the critical period, the early republic, the Jacksonian period, the Civil War, and the Gilded Age; he then outlines in celebratory fashion the thinking of the Progressives and ends with an exhortation focused on the New Deal and what came after. The chapters that he devotes to American statecraft in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries rely heavily on the work of other scholars, and Balogh is meticulous in acknowledging his debts. Prior to his discussion of the Progressives, he rarely cites primary sources without also specifying the secondary work from which he has lifted the material he quotes.

This procedure serves him reasonably well. Balogh demonstrates that, within a circumscribed but centrally important sphere, the federal government unobtrusively directed the country's development and did so on the cheap: providing for the common defense and negotiating the terms of international commerce; acquiring a vast expanse of land and seeing to the government of the territories; policing and negotiating with aborig-

inal Americans; clearing space for settlement and managing the sale and distribution of land; making rivers and harbors navigable; building roads, canals, and light-houses; funding and promoting other internal improvements; constructing a postal network and encouraging the dispersal of newspapers; eliminating obstacles to interstate trade and imposing tariffs favorable to the growth of manufacturing; establishing a Marine Hospital System and, on three separate occasions, a national bank; purchasing land for the foundation of Liberia and helping fund the American Colonization Society; subsidizing the building of railroads and paying pensions to veterans of the Union army; supporting the emergence of a national market, stabilizing the value of the currency, and superintending the emergence of the modern corporation. Balogh does not quote Alexis de Tocqueville's observation that, in America, he found a centralized government without a centralized administration, but he shows that this was so.

On occasion, Balogh stumbles. Thomas Paine did not serve "multiple terms as governor of Virginia" (p. 24); John Locke was not one of the "Scottish moral philosophers" (p. 278, n. 1); and John Marshall's articulation of the doctrine of judicial review in *Marbury v. Madison* was in no way provocative and did not assert "the Supreme Court's right as the final arbiter and interpreter of the Constitution" (pp. 252–54, with n. 78). The Supreme Court first advanced the doctrine of judicial supremacy in 1958.

Balogh errs in taking at face value J. G. A. Pocock's depiction of James Harrington, the authors of *Cato's Letters*, and England's radical Whigs as exponents of classical republican virtue. He also gives excessive weight to Gordon Wood's account of the concern with republican virtue evidenced by Americans in the 1770s and the early 1780s; and he resurrects the myth that, within American politics, there was an abiding tension between liberalism and republicanism. Had Balogh recognized that, in America prior to the twentieth century, virtually all liberals were republicans and all republicans, liberals; that, apart from the proslavery southerners and their northern supporters, next to no one rejected the natural rights teaching of the Declaration of Independence; that, except in wartime, very few thought heroic virtue indispensable; and that, at all times, Americans agreed with Locke, David Hume, and Adam Smith in supposing frugality, industry, sobriety, chastity, honesty, decency, self-discipline, and a respect for justice essential for the maintenance of self-government, he would have had to acknowledge that the Progressives' repudiation of the natural rights teaching of the Declaration of Independence and their advocacy of administrative centralization and a redistribution of wealth marked a radical break with the American tradition. As Abraham Lincoln understood, to be acceptable to the American people, government—whether big or small, conspicuous or out of sight—must be consistent with the country's founding principles.

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FRANK POMMERSEHEIM. *Broken Landscape: Indians, Indian Tribes, and the Constitution*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 414. \$35.00.

Interestingly, one of the two individuals to whom Frank Pommersheim dedicates this book is the late Vine Deloria, Jr., arguably the single most important figure in modern indigenous affairs. Vine's brother, Philip (Sam), is the other dedicatee. Having Vine as one of the dedicatees is interesting because he frequently criticized the way law was taught and casebooks were organized, and he sometimes castigated those who refused to question core legal doctrines that have devastated the political, legal, and cultural standing of Native nations. In fact, one of his most spirited descriptions of "federal Indian law" is that it "is a mythical creature because it is composed of badly written, vaguely phrased and ill-considered federal statutes; hundreds of self-serving Solicitor's Opinions and regulations; and state, federal, and Supreme Court decisions which bear little relationship to rational thought and contain a fictional view of American history that would shame some of our country's best novelists" ("Laws Founded in Justice and Humanity: Reflections on the Content and Character of Federal Indian Law," *Arizona Law Review* [1989]: 203).

Pommersheim has concentrated most of his research and writing in federal law as applied to Native peoples. This book examines the distinctive constitutional and extraconstitutional status of indigenous nations from an "outside-in complimentary view that strives to demonstrate how so much has gone wrong within the field of Indian law at the national level because of Congress and the Supreme Court's continuing failure to identify a satisfactory constitutional basis from which to proceed" (p. 6).

The book incorporates a healthy and necessary dose of historical data, not a common feature in the writings of many legal authors, and is divided into three major parts. First, Pommersheim examines the early historical, institutional, and philosophical development and evolution of several of the key federal creations—i.e., the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution, the Marshall Court's major cases—and he addresses the birth of the plenary power doctrine. Second, he looks at the unique status of individual Indians and assesses how the federal judiciary and the Congress have addressed the right to vote and freedom of religion. Finally, the contemporary situation is explored, featuring a good analysis of the major court cases and a surprising and refreshing chapter on international law. In his conclusion Pommersheim gives his take on a proposal that has been made by several others: namely, why a constitutional amendment is necessary to stabilize and clarify the status of Native nations and individual Indians in the United States.

In all, while the structural arrangement was appropriate, some of the book's contents and analysis left me unsatisfied and sometimes frustrated on several levels. First, Pommersheim, like many law professors who

work this complicated political and legal terrain, remains overly smitten and extremely devoted to the U.S. Constitution's founders and its early interpreters, particularly the first chief justice, John Marshall. Pommersheim presumes that these early historical figures and the philosophical views and legal doctrines they devised, while imperfect, still form a solid paradigmatic legal foundation that current justices and congresspersons have wrongly moved away from in recent decades.

As the author notes in his conclusion, "the current Supreme Court created these plenary doctrines and is therefore an unlikely source to disavow them. Congress, for its part, has shown little inclination to get involved. As a result, the *foundational principles of Indian law* are gravely at risk as both promise and law" (p. 301). Thus, the main title of the book is a misnomer because it presumes that the landscape was once solidly in place, which has never been the case, as much of the historical data he analyzes reveals.

Second, I was also troubled by the fact that the author writes as if he were the first person on the constitutional scene. For example, he inaccurately states that "there has been almost no in-depth constitutional exegesis that elucidates how these [commerce and treaty clause] provisions either protect tribal sovereignty or set boundaries for federal authority in Indian affairs" (p. 4). Vine Deloria, Jr., in fact, co-wrote a book that critically examined how the U.S. Constitution has and has not applied to indigenous peoples. Further, Pommersheim wrongly declares that virtually no one has argued that the 1871 law that theoretically ended treaty making is probably unconstitutional. G. William Rice wrote an article to this effect in 1977, and Vine Deloria, Jr., and Raymond J. DeMallie also suggested as much in their impressive treaty volumes (1999).

Third, while he has some excellent discussion about the antidemocratic and clearly extraconstitutional plenary power doctrine—when it is defined as virtually limitless—and the Supremacy Clause—which he correctly notes did not apply to Native nations—Pommersheim unfortunately joins in the chorus of those who simply assume that over time the federal government through some kind of political accretion process acquired inordinate power over Native peoples, notwithstanding the fact that nothing in the treaty record or tribal or federal constitutions expressly or even implicitly warrants such extensions.

In sum, this is a useful study despite its flaws, and one that adequately conveys some of the fascinating difficulties and conundrums that severely complicate the relationship between indigenous nations, their tribal citizens, and the United States.

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DANIEL H. USNER, JR. *Indian Work: Language and Livelihood in Native American History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. 202. \$49.95.

What is it about *Indians* and *work*? What happens when those terms are juxtaposed against one another? What is described, obscured, represented, and misrepresented? And what are the consequences?

Daniel H. Usner, Jr. seeks to explore the tangled history of Indians and (as well as *in*) the workforce as experienced by Native people and as observed by non-Indians of various stations and through time. It is a complex story shaped at once by dependency and racism, by practices and forces that drove Native peoples to the margins and destroyed their economies, and by policies—the overtly malignant and seemingly benign—that erected conceptual and ideological barriers between Indians and the world of work.

It is partly a familiar story, as more than a decade of research into Indians and labor has amply demonstrated. But in Usner's hands, "Indian Work" is both a condition of being and a matter of observation and interpretation. Uniting social history and cultural history in ways that will remind readers of Philip J. Deloria's *Indians in Unexpected Places* (2004) and Paige Raibmon's *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (2005), Usner "explores the complicated dialectic between ideological representation and economic interaction" in order to "capture both the pursuit of livelihood and the production of language as they intersected" (p. 2). That they intersected is important because this "plethora of language about Indian livelihood," constituting "a mighty force in itself against which Indian people had to work," shaped "how Indians sought work in and brought goods to spaces that were vulnerable to disapproval or reproach, especially under circumstances of economic transition or crisis" (p. 3).

Reproach and disapproval are significant to the story Usner develops. So too is a cruel paradox. Non-Indians viewed Native adaptations to markets as evidence of cultural disintegration, a condition reflected in the work of historians, anthropologists, and policy makers. At the same time, characterizations of Indians as operating largely *outside* the world of work reified distinctions between modernity and primitivism and ultimately underwrote a powerful critique of social welfare policies that cast Indian reservations as the perpetually impoverished consequences of a misguided philanthropy.

Although united by a central set of concerns, this study is structured as a series of linked essays. Usner takes us from Iroquoia in the early national period to D. H. Lawrence's exotic southwest more than a century later. In between are two excursions to the lower Mississippi and ruminations on intersections between Indian policy, reservation poverty, and welfare programs, inside and outside Indian communities.

The middle chapter, "The Discourse over Poverty: Indian Treaty Rights and Welfare Policy," functions as the book's conceptual spine. Here, Usner focuses on the varied meanings of treaty rights and welfare in the context of Indian poverty, and American prosperity. He concludes that the development of U.S. social welfare

policies and assistance programs for Indians are related, but in often destructive ways. By conflating treaty rights with social welfare, critics and supporters of Native uplift have confused the constitutionally protected exercise of tribal sovereignty with programs designed to ameliorate conditions afflicting the poor. This has had deleterious effects upon support for anti-poverty programs on reservations, it is true, but also complicates public reception of gaming and other activities that seemingly confound the expectation of "Indian as idler." What is more, as Indians were identified with poverty, their supposed characteristics—savagery, laziness, indolence—were applied to other non-whites, thus further confusing, and racializing, conditions of dispossession.

Other chapters elaborate the central paradox of Indians and work. Americans of the new republic consistently misinterpreted Iroquois determination to preserve their hunting grounds as evidence of primitive stubbornness. This occurred in spite of the observed reality of extensive agriculture across Iroquoia, a fact that proves "how dubious the Enlightenment's theoretical opposition between farming and hunting actually was" (p. 34). In eighteenth-century Louisiana, the trope of disappearing Natchez Indians effectively obscured Choctaw efforts to eke out a living on the margins of the local and regional economy. Readers familiar with the broader literature on Indian craftwork will appreciate Usner's discussion of Chitimacha basketry, which weaves together the activities of wealthy patrons like Sarah Avery McIlhenny (of the pepper sauce family), anthropologists, collectors, and Native women themselves, whose craft work was too frequently interpreted through the lens of primitivism that "nearly erased from the record an adeptness and adaptability of Indian basket makers" (p. 116). Lawrence took this a step further by fantasizing about the dark souls of the primitive while denouncing Pueblo engagement with tourist markets.

Usner wants us to think about connections between language and livelihood. "To have been stuck for so long inside an invented opposition between authenticity and annihilation is one of the most enduring and enigmatic legacies of colonialism," he writes. "Timeless culture, although admired and even imitated by non-Indians in various ways, purportedly hinders successful change among Indian societies" and ultimately conceals how "American Indian engagement with commerce through numerous and various means, over a long span of time, has consistently defied the narrow choices that observers insisted upon seeing" (p. 146).

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IZUMI ISHII. *Bad Fruits of the Civilized Tree: Alcohol and the Sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation*. (Indians of the Southeast.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 260. \$45.00.

A fresh approach to the various uses, not necessarily abuses, of alcohol, Izumi Ishii's monograph traces how alcohol played pivotal roles in determining economic, social, and political agendas for one particular group: the Cherokees, a southeastern tribe. From 1700, when first introduced by Europeans, to some two hundred years later in 1907, when Indian Territory became the state of Oklahoma, Ishii pinpoints tensions that arose over who would regulate alcohol: first between colonial Europeans rivals and later between the U.S. government and the Cherokee Nation. Even when caught in a cauldron of competing powers, Cherokees were able to foster sovereignty and manipulate alcohol as an issue when seeking control of "spirituous liquors." In addition, possessing a moral compass, Cherokees in 1829 established the Cherokee Temperance Society, the first among Indian nations.

However, Ishii cautions that scholars interested in establishing the veracity of Cherokee history with alcohol encounter a major obstacle. Indian consumption of alcohol led to stereotyping of Indians as irrational, decadent, and addictive. For example, John Gerar William De Brahm, the mid-eighteenth-century surveyor general for southern colonists and steward of Englishman Bernard Romans, wrote of a Native "love [of] strong Liquors, especially rum or Brandy, at all times, which they prefer to anything in the World" (p. 13). So extensive were the accounts written by historians, travelers, missionaries, reformers, and U.S. officials that Ishii must challenge readers to re-examine the historical connections Cherokees had to alcohol.

Ishii debunks the notion that Cherokees only drank to become inebriated. Decades before the American Revolution, competing European powers introduced rum, brandy, and other hard liquors to Cherokee country. Ishii scrutinizes why Cherokee traders viewed liquor as an exotic good when exchanging deerskins for alcohol, suggesting that, even then, Cherokees could envision "firewater" as spiritual. Other spiritual connections included the use of alcohol in preparation for war. During the Green Corn Ceremony, an observance celebrating the harvesting of the first mature corn, some Cherokees replaced the traditional Black Drink with alcohol for purification purposes.

While alcohol's spiritual significance never completely abated, Cherokees gradually began to accept a wider use of alcohol—still not a pervasive problem—by the first decade of the early republic. Simultaneously, Cherokee participation in the government's beneficent but imperialistic "civilization" program dramatically altered their economic and political traditions. Cherokees mirrored their white counterparts in having a centralized, republican-style government, and some Cherokees produced cotton on slaveholding plantations. Facilitating this transition were U.S. financed negotiators of change, missionaries, Indian agents, and trading post managers. As a part of the "civilizing" process, U.S. policy makers overtly tried to regulate the alcohol trade within the Cherokee Nation. But the indigenous nation viewed U.S. interference with internal

business as a reason to assert dominance over its own affairs. In contrast, the uncontrollable adverse publicity of the "drunken" Indian and the 1830 Indian Removal Bill, displacing all southeastern tribes to Indian Territory, frustrated Cherokee resolve. The Cherokees counteracted the "drunken" image by establishing a tribal temperance association but could not withstand an aggressive U.S. government or prevent forced removal in 1838–1839.

Deftly, Principal Chief John Ross solidified the Cherokee Nation in northeast Indian Territory and led the nation into a renaissance before the Civil War. During these years in Indian Territory, from 1861 to 1907, Ishii's argument that juxtaposes control of alcohol with Cherokee sovereignty becomes ambiguous. Extenuating circumstances frustrated Cherokee attempts to attain self-determination. The debilitating effects of the Civil War, land grants for railroads, the 1887 Dawes Allotment Act disbanding tribal bases, the 1898 Curtis Act dissolving tribal governments, and Oklahoma statehood in 1907 cumulatively dealt a massive blow to Cherokee sovereignty. Disruptive forces also destabilized the Cherokee Temperance Society, leading to tribal factionalism. Although initially an effective movement incorporating Cherokee women, who also belonged to the national Women's Christian Temperance Union (1874), the Cherokee Temperance Society lost its impetus in 1906 when male Cherokee political leaders failed to back prohibition as advocated by reformers.

Passionately and meticulously, Ishii has recognized and historicized Cherokee agency. This reviewer finds her soulful narrative so compelling that it is a must read for general and scholarly audiences. *Bad Fruits of the Civilized Tree* certainly complements other path-breaking monographs, Peter C. Mancall's *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (1995) and W. J. Rorabaugh's *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (1979).

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GRAHAM RUSSELL GAO HODGES. *David Ruggles: A Radical Black Abolitionist and the Underground Railroad in New York City*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2010. Pp. 266. \$30.00.

David Ruggles has long remained little known to most students of antebellum America other than for the role he played in 1838 in helping fugitive slave Frederick Douglass escape from New York to safety in Massachusetts. Graham Russell Gao Hodges's biography of Ruggles will go a long way toward making Americans aware of this long-neglected reformer. He was in fact a significant black abolitionist who helped as many as 600 former slaves to freedom. As the founder of the New York Committee of Vigilance, he practiced direct confrontation with slaveholders and their many northern allies. He thus assured the safety of free blacks who might be kidnapped into slavery and of fugitives escap-

ing from slavery. He led the fight against the racist attitudes and actions of white New Yorkers. Yet in describing Ruggles's life, Hodges may be guilty of too much speculation and of claiming too much for his subject.

Ruggles was born in 1810 near Norwich, Connecticut, and moved to New York as a teenager. There he quickly settled in the black community, working in the grocery business before opening a bookstore in 1834. Because of the lack of primary sources dealing with Ruggles's early years, Hodges is forced to speculate on many of his activities. He may have worked on a coastal vessel where he may have met black sailors from the South. He may have attended the black celebration at the time of the ending of New York slavery in 1827, while earlier in Norwich he may have met the Marquis de Lafayette during his American tour in 1824. Such speculation, while understandable, weakens Hodges's otherwise convincing study. Once Ruggles was directly involved in abolitionism and began to produce significant writings of his own, the author is on more solid ground. While there are no Ruggles papers, his many broadsides and magazine and newspaper articles as well as the writings of others, especially the newspaper *Emancipator*, provide abundant material for a biography. Hodges's use of relevant primary and secondary sources is in fact impressive.

New York City had become a dangerous place for both fugitives and all African Americans, and it was the race riot of July 1834 that galvanized Ruggles into action. By the end of the following year he had organized the New York Committee of Vigilance and was writing pamphlets attacking the American Colonization Society, the churches, and the racist views of leading New Yorkers. He combined abolitionism with women's rights and fought for black education, always challenging the patriarchal views of many black and white abolitionists. His confrontation of visiting slaveholders and their agents included publishing their names in the *Emancipator* and arresting three sea captains for slave trafficking. He called on kidnapped blacks to use force against their captors and sought the right of trial by jury for those arrested. He sporadically published a magazine, *Mirror of Liberty*, and his Vigilance Committee gave cash and food to fugitives. His home on Lispenard Street in lower New York soon became a significant depot on the Underground Railroad. From there he sent countless fugitives, including Douglass, to safer spots in New England or upstate New York. Hodges suggests that Douglass, while literate on his arrival, had much to learn about abolition and that Ruggles was one of his key tutors, something usually ignored by Douglass's biographers. He speculates that Douglass may even have given up drinking in favor of temperance due to Ruggles's guidance.

Because of his confrontational style, more conservative black leaders like Samuel Cornish, who favored a slower, more cautious approach, were often at odds with Ruggles, and he often found himself in serious disputes with fellow abolitionists. His effort to organize a

blacks-only convention in New Haven in 1840 to counter the patronizing actions of white abolitionists met with little success, yet he continued to hold an "exalted position" among young black activists (p. 164). Declining health and approaching blindness due to cataracts forced Ruggles to move to Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1842, and there he resumed his fight against northern segregation practices on railroads and steamboats. Hodges suggests that it was largely due to Ruggles's "courageous example" that by late 1843 Massachusetts blacks "could sit where they pleased" on such carriers (p. 167). He lived in a communal society in Northampton and became a major proponent of hydrotherapy. He opened a hospital where he treated many, including Sojourner Truth and William Lloyd Garrison, with his water cure methods. He supported the Free Soil Party in 1848 and continued his aggressive, confrontational style until his death in late 1849 at age thirty-nine. Thanks to the efforts of Hodges, David Ruggles will no longer remain a largely unknown abolitionist but rather will be seen as having played a significant role in the struggle against the slaveholding South and the segregated North.

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CHRISTOPHER MALONE. *Between Freedom and Bondage: Race, Party, and Voting Rights in the Antebellum North*. New York: Routledge. 2008. Pp. xi, 253. \$28.95.

Christopher Malone's study of black suffrage in the antebellum North argues that "there was no long steady march toward democracy for northern blacks" (p. 5). Instead, black voting rights, when perceived as threatening to the white majority, a liability to party hegemony, or counter to racial expectations dictated by the dominant ideology, were anything but inalienable. By challenging popular historical narratives that portray American political development as the progressive expansion of voting rights to all members of society, this book provides a sobering tale of how, under certain circumstances, a democratic society can redefine the meaning of citizenship for some of its members and deny them access to rights they had previously enjoyed.

The four chapters that comprise the body of this study recount the trajectory of black suffrage in antebellum New York, where the Constitutional Convention of 1821 raised property qualifications for blacks while dropping them for white males, effectively making the right to vote a white privilege; in Pennsylvania, where blacks, who had held the right to vote since independence, were disenfranchised after the Constitutional Convention of 1837; in Rhode Island, where in 1843 blacks regained the right to vote in the wake of the Dorr War, when black militiamen helped to suppress a small revolt aimed at expanding white male suffrage; and in Massachusetts, where blacks kept the right to vote throughout the antebellum period. While the circumstances that framed debates and policy on black

suffrage differed from state to state, Malone contends that "what happened in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island was indeed structured and the product of similar social, economic, and cultural undercurrents" (p. 6). His purpose with this study is to uncover those common undercurrents and offer a framework that explains what conditions were necessary to the enactment of black disenfranchisement.

Malone bases his explanatory model on the concept of race formation. He expands Michael Omi and Howard Winant's definition of race formation as the "sociohistorical process by which categories are created, transformed, and destroyed" to include "an overtly 'political' process of how decisions on race get institutionalized by political actors" (pp. 7–8). Thus, the translation of the meaning of racial categories existent within discursive practices into social and political experiences was, for him, partially the result of decisions made and institutionalized by political figures and elected officials. He proposes further that the impact race formation had on black voting rights relied on three key variables: demographic changes that affected socioeconomic competition, the changing politics of partisan organization and affiliation, and fluctuations between a dominant racial ideology based on paternalism (the notion that the betterment of blacks was a white responsibility) and one based on ascriptivism (the notion that blacks' innate inferiority made them unfit for citizenship). Focusing his analysis on the socioeconomic, partisan, and ideological developments that framed race formation in each state, he concludes that black disenfranchisement was enacted when economic competition produced racial conflict, parties capitalized on racial conflict to gain political advantage, and racial ascriptivism became the dominant ideology informing views on black citizenship. By demonstrating the presence of these three conditions in New York and Pennsylvania in 1821 and 1837, respectively, and the absence of one or more from Rhode Island and Massachusetts, he explains why each state adopted a different policy on black suffrage.

This study offers an effective examination of the socioeconomic, partisan, and ideological contexts that informed political opinion and policy on black suffrage in the antebellum North. Yet the author's unrelenting focus on developing his explanatory model might frustrate readers hoping for richer analyses of the historical processes that shaped the contexts he describes. His discussion of the ideological tendencies of each state, for instance, is often limited to reproducing racial language used by political actors and identifying it as paternalistic or ascriptivistic, barely addressing how or why certain views gained or lost popularity. Also lacking is an adequate discussion of the political opinions and actions of those most affected by its subject matter: blacks. To be fair, Malone explains that he engages "so few black voices" because his focus is on "how political actors and party leaders responded to the changing landscape" (p. 19). Still, one wonders if the two were not at times connected. Were not the efforts of New

York and Pennsylvania free blacks to affirm their autonomy from whites by establishing independent households and communities influential to the ideological shift from paternalism—which believed in blacks' inevitable dependency on white assistance—to ascriptivism—which called for black subjection to white dominance? As Malone himself states, current works of scholarship on blacks in the antebellum period have contributed to solidify the idea that "black history in America is American history" (p. 19). Is Malone's version of American history, however, an adequate account of black history in America?

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HILARY J. MOSS. *Schooling Citizens: The Struggle for African American Education in Antebellum America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 274. \$37.50.

In this book Hilary J. Moss provides a broad-based and nuanced analysis of the connections among race, citizenship, and education in the United States between 1827 and 1855. By focusing on three cities, she is able to explore regional differences and identify the specific factors that determined the extent to which whites supported or opposed black education. The case study approach also facilitates an in-depth examination of the strategies employed by African Americans, who were vitally concerned with collective advancement but did not always agree on the best way to achieve it.

The book is divided into three parts, with two chapters on each city. The first part, on New Haven, Connecticut, finds two major reasons why white residents were especially hostile (sometimes violently so) to black education. The city and the state were strongholds of the colonization movement, and as long as black education prepared students to lead and convert Africans and African Americans abroad whites supported it. White support declined, however, as momentum shifted from colonization to the more radical abolition movement and it appeared that blacks were to be educated for American citizenship. In addition, gradual manumission laws provoked white fears of growing African American independence and increased economic competition, both of which could be curtailed by denying blacks educational opportunity. In Baltimore, Maryland, by contrast, black education met with virtually no white opposition. As part two shows, the declining importance of tobacco in the local economy led to diversification and the manumission or hiring out of slaves. White employers engaged in this latter practice valued black literacy because it profited them, and it was not particularly threatening to white social and economic control because of the restraints that slavery imposed on all African Americans. Laws subjected both slaves and free blacks to curfews and restrictions on possession of alcohol and firearms, for example, while occupational segregation denied them the full value of their educations. In part three the author turns to Bos-

ton, Massachusetts, a city in which the absence of slavery did not equate with equal educational opportunity. Although white Bostonians were not as violently opposed to black literacy as whites in New Haven, they pursued policies of exclusion, neglect, and discrimination so damaging to African American education that black citizens launched multiple campaigns for desegregation in the 1840s. Ironically, the rationale of the common school movement militated against their success; claims that universal education was the key to maintaining a virtuous citizenry and efficient industrial work force could not justify black education, as whites did not regard blacks as citizens and mostly excluded them from factory work.

Moss fills an important gap in the historiography by taking themes central to studies of postbellum education and tracing them back to the very origins of public schools. The common school movement was predicated on the dual beliefs that literacy was central to citizenship and that universal education was necessary to maintain a common national identity, and in antebellum America both whites and blacks realized the profound implications of equal access for the racial order. As the free black population grew, so did white efforts to ensure that "American" and "citizen" were synonymous with "white." Educational discrimination played an essential role in those efforts, laying the groundwork for the triumph of segregation and a racialized national identity later in the century. Blacks fought back with a variety of strategies, from founding their own schools to submitting petitions and filing law suits asserting their citizenship rights. Then, as later, they were torn between the benefits of deference and separatism versus the need for militancy. The failure of common school movement leaders such as Horace Mann—an avowed abolitionist and private advocate of integration—to publically support blacks in their desegregation campaigns presaged the similar failures of white officials and educators during Reconstruction and Progressive-era reforms. Even though Mann could have exerted considerable influence as secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, he chose to avoid controversy by remaining silent during all three campaigns waged by his state's black residents.

While the author proves her point that American educational history must include African American perspectives and experiences, she misses an opportunity to enrich and deepen her analysis by incorporating gender more consistently. Other than a passing reference to the impact of the American Revolution on female education, there is little consideration for the significance of gender, even though it was intimately tied to white racial identity and notions of citizenship. The reader is left to wonder at the role that gender and sexuality may have played in white opposition to black literacy and its potential result, black men's political empowerment through inclusion in the body politic. Hopefully that

line of inquiry will be pursued in future studies, for which Moss has provided a useful model.

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HOWARD JONES. *Blue and Gray Diplomacy: A History of Union and Confederate Foreign Relations*. (The Littlefield History of the Civil War Era.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 416. \$30.00.

In what Howard Jones aptly termed a "daunting task" (p. 6), he has written the first inclusive history of Civil War diplomacy in more than four decades. Drawing on extensive primary research in U.S.-British relations, the Union's diplomatic correspondence with France and Russia, the foreign relations records of the Confederacy, and the vast secondary literature, Jones succeeds admirably in providing an engaging, analytical, and compact assessment of the complex and inseparably interrelated foreign relations of the Union, Confederacy, Great Britain, France, and Russia. He conveys this assessment through a narrative account of the thinking and actions of the principal foreign policy participants in each of these countries, seeking quite successfully to portray situations and decisions as the men of the 1860s perceived them. While this methodological approach affords readers a revealing contemporary perspective, it also necessitates greater repetition than a more topical presentation.

Jones appropriately directs the bulk of his attention to Union and Confederate relations with Great Britain, since British diplomatic or military intervention in the American conflict might well have led to the South's independence. In so doing, he renders clear and persuasive judgments on important, long-standing historiographical issues. Lord Palmerston, the British prime minister, and Lord John Russell, the foreign secretary, cared little about which side won and far more about safeguarding British interests. Their concern over access to southern cotton and the commercial stability of the Atlantic world, over their perceived humanitarian duty to halt the war's ghastly suffering, and over their interpretation of international law that allowed a neutral country to act to safeguard its own well-being initially pointed toward intervention.

Despite the pressures for intervention, Britain refrained, a decision Jones deems historically unusual. British leaders identified no interests worth risking a war with the United States, which Secretary of State William S. Seward persistently threatened against any nation that aided the Confederacy. In addition, Abraham Lincoln, an "innate and consummate diplomatist" (p. 21) and ever the pragmatist, progressively and successfully tied the ending of slavery to the preservation of the Union and unconditional Confederate defeat, thereby erecting a major ideological barrier against European intervention. Majority opinion among British textile workers and citizens more generally also sided

with the Union and democracy and against slavery. Given these counterpressures and unmoved by what Jones rightly judges as inept Confederate diplomacy, Palmerston and a more reluctant Russell awaited clear battlefield evidence signifying southern independence and national viability, evidence that never materialized. As Jones deftly notes, to gain diplomatic recognition, the South "had to win in battle; but to win in battle, it had to have the foreign aid that could come only from recognition" (p. 324). In the absence of direct intervention, Britain adopted a pro-Union neutrality by limiting communication with Confederate diplomats, recognizing the North's naval blockade, banning privateers from British waters, and ultimately halting the building of ships for the South.

Russia's unwavering support for the Union and refusal to join all multinational intervention projects had reinforced the British leaders' decisions, as had their profound distrust of the mercurial Napoleon III. The French leader, who periodically advocated diplomatic recognition of the South but ultimately refused to act without British concurrence, saw the American war as the opportunity to implement his Grand Design (p. 294). In what Jones terms, "an even greater threat to the United States and the hemisphere than did England's flirtations with intervention" (p. 320), Napoleon sought to control Mexico via a puppet regime, block further U.S. or Confederate expansion, possibly gain control of Texas and Louisiana, and become the champion of Latin peoples in both Europe and the Americas. But he too backed away in the face of French domestic support for the North, Confederate battlefield losses, and U.S. threats of attack both during and after the war.

Given the dubious feasibility of the Grand Design, one might question whether it actually constituted a greater threat to the preservation of the Union than the *Trent* affair, "the best chance for southern independence" (p. 159) prior to 1862, or the crucial British deliberations during the latter half of that year following the Confederate victory at Second Bull Run, the South's failure to invade the North at Antietam, and Lincoln's announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation. Similarly, Jones might have given greater relative weight to British and French concern, at times primary concern, over European matters, in deciding against intervention. But these matters of emphasis do not detract from a laudable and most welcome account of the international diplomacy of the American Civil War.

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JEFFREY W. MCCLURKEN. *Take Care of the Living: Reconstructing Confederate Veteran Families in Virginia*. (A Nation Divided: Studies in the Civil War Era.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 239. \$39.50.

Despite numerous studies addressing the lives of Civil War soldiers, most terminate with the conflict's conclusion. Few give more than a cursory look at their post-war lives. What challenges did they face? How did they recover economically and psychologically? How did they reconnect with their families? And what were the experiences of those families? Jeffrey W. McClurken explores these questions the book under review.

Although its subtitle suggests that the monograph covers Virginia as a whole, it is in fact a close study of a single locality: Pittsylvania County and, within it, the independent city of Danville. McClurken does not make a case for his selection of Pittsylvania, but he does consider it an "ideal" location because nearly eighty percent of its men of military age served in front-line Confederate units, twenty-five percent of those who served died in service, and fifty percent of those who survived suffered wounds, imprisonment, or serious illness. In short, this was a community hard hit by war, and McClurken supposes that the travails of its Confederate veteran families probably mirrored those of similar families throughout the South.

This is a bit difficult to accept. In broad outline McClurken may be correct, but the South was hardly homogeneous, and McClurken himself employs Stephen Ash's taxonomy of three distinct Confederate experiences: communities under Federal occupation, communities in "no man's land" (areas contested by both sides in which normal governmental control did not exist and which tended to suffer the most extensive destruction), and communities in the "Confederate interior," which remained under firm Confederate governmental control and were the most insulated from the war's devastation. The wartime experience of Confederate *soldiers* may have been similar, but surely they returned to families and property that had encountered the war in substantially different ways.

The foundation of the study are two impressive databases: one of individual records of 3,453 soldiers from Pittsylvania County and Danville; the other constructed from the 1860 and 1870 population censuses and 1860 slave schedules. Inevitably, these records are incomplete, but McClurken is able to show how precipitately the wealth of families in Pittsylvania County and Danville declined as a result of the war, by eighty-eight percent in the case of slaveholding families (much of it from the loss of slaves) and thirty-seven percent in the case of non-slaveholding families. Since the latter families tended to have more modest means in the first place, that thirty-seven percent drop was devastating.

To reconstruct their economic lives, Confederate veteran families attempted a variety of strategies. When self-help proved inadequate, many turned to local churches for assistance; McClurken documents in detail the aid provided by the Baptist denomination. Others approached wealthy elites—sort of. McClurken devotes a whole chapter to the supplications addressed to William T. Sutherlin, the wealthiest citizen in the county. He subjects the reader to an extended exposition, based on surviving petitions to Sutherlin, of the

ways in which supplicants presented their cases, how many people Sutherlin helped, how much he gave, and why. The implication is that Sutherlin exemplified other wealthy elites, but at the chapter's conclusion one discovers that he was an aberration: practically the only man in the county still wealthy enough to provide significant aid.

The mainstay of McClurken's argument is that, as private sources of aid proved inadequate, the state of Virginia increasingly undertook to provide the needed assistance, usually on the basis of poverty and combat injuries that compromised a veteran's ability to work. As this argument fully emerges, the focus widens to address the experience of Virginians in general: persons institutionalized as a result of psychological trauma attributed to "the War," amputees in need of artificial limbs, other injured men who received modest one-time payments ("commutations"), and eventually the emergence of pensions for veterans and widows as well as soldier's homes for veterans in their twilight years. Although far more modest than the impressive Federal pensions for Union soldiers—and usually means tested rather than bestowed as outright entitlements—McClurken finds that Virginia did about as much as other former Confederate states and that its "expanded state-based system of support, at least for veterans . . . foreshadowed the rise of twentieth-century government assistance" (p. 173).

As usual when one reads studies of specific localities, one wishes for a robust comparative perspective—an easy thing for a reviewer to prescribe, but surely an unrealistic expectation for a young scholar writing a dissertation and then revising it into a book as the tenure clock inexorably ticks away. The only viable solution is to satisfy that wish through comparison with other community studies, some already published and others in the offing. McClurken's book will be a worthy contribution to this larger dialogue.

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CHRISTOPHER M. SPAN. *From Cotton Field to Schoolhouse: African American Education in Mississippi, 1862–1875*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 252. \$35.00.

The ironic saying "Thank God for Mississippi" has long provided comfort to other southern states: no matter how bad their own rankings in national tables of income, education, and health, they could count on Mississippi to come last. Yet, as this impressively researched study reminds us, Mississippi was once one of the wealthiest states in the Union. Moreover, for a few years after the Civil War, former slaves' thirst for education helped to create a public school system that was, for its time, one of the best in the South. We all know how, after the demise of Reconstruction, neglect of black schools buttressed white supremacy and promoted the poverty and illiteracy for which Mississippi became a byword. By focusing entirely on the period of

federal occupation and Reconstruction, however, Christopher M. Span emphasizes the potential of the educational movement that accompanied emancipation.

Span points out that histories of Reconstruction-era Mississippi have paid relatively little attention to education. Still, the outline of his story conforms to what regional studies of freedmen's schools have already told us, and his main argument—that black initiative was more important than white aid—reflects the work of James Anderson and Heather Williams. It is nevertheless valuable to have a state study that provides such convincing detail. By 1865 blacks had already created a "network of virtually independent schools" in the Union-occupied parts of the state. Even when the northern missionary and secular freedmen's aid societies entered the field, three-quarters of all black schools between 1867 and 1870 were "native schools," taught by black instructors who received no assistance from the Freedmen's Bureau. The predominance of these "native schools" reflected, in part, the reluctance of northern teachers to work in the hostile rural hinterland; indeed, Mississippi received fewer northern teachers than any other southern state. Yet it also appears that many freedmen preferred black teachers, even if, in the judgment of northern whites, they appeared barely literate and incompetent to instruct children. That preference, Span suggests, had to do with white teachers' disdain for the "cultural attributes" of the freedpeople. It also, he contends, reflected blacks' expansive view of education as a path to equality, which contradicted the more limited goal, espoused by most northern teachers, of training freedmen in the discipline of free labor. Not mentioned by Span, but equally important, was the competition between northern-based churches and native black preachers, usually Baptist, for the allegiance of black Christians.

It will come as no surprise that few white Mississippians approved of schools for blacks and that even fewer actively supported them. Indeed, Span provides chilling examples of whites setting fire to black schools and attacking, even murdering, freedmen's teachers. Even though such violence subsided, the institution of a statewide public school system in 1870 triggered a wave of Ku Klux Klan violence directed against black schools. Although he acknowledges that the new system placed "inordinate demands upon the state's limited tax resources," Span argues that this Klan campaign was less a revolt of disgruntled taxpayers than a rejection of the fundamental principle that the public schools should afford black and white children "equal advantages." Once again, the violence died down—"most white Mississippians detested the Klan," writes Span—and by the end of Reconstruction, Mississippi had a functioning system of public education that included about 5,000 schools as well as a college to train black teachers. Freedmen's education had been transformed: in 1875 almost half of black children were enrolled in schools, a tenfold increase over five years. Nevertheless, whites accepted the new system grudgingly and, Span

concludes, most never reconciled themselves to the idea that they should bear any responsibility for the education of blacks.

What this otherwise solid study lacks is an extended discussion of what went on inside the classroom. We learn little about teachers, curriculum, and pedagogy. Given the book's emphasis on "native schools" in the period before 1870, it is disappointing to find relatively little information about the black men and women who taught them, especially if one considers the fact that Mississippi had only 773 free people of color, and a slave population of 437,000, on the eve of the Civil War. The relationship between schools and the wider black community also remains relatively unexplored. In short, this is a book about the politics of education rather than the content of education.

Two misstatements merit comment. The author's reference to the "peonage system of sharecropping" makes the unwarranted assumption that all forms of sharecropping were tantamount to peonage. The other error entails a misreading of evidence. Span takes at face value the intentionally ironic statement of the ex-Confederate general Richard Taylor that "From 1865 on the white race of the South devoted itself to the killing of Negroes." Taylor was clearly implying that Republican charges of this kind were hugely exaggerated. Nevertheless, Span's study is an important contribution to the overlapping literatures of freedmen's education and Reconstruction.

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BRUCE E. BAKER. *What Reconstruction Meant: Historical Memory in the American South*. (The American South Series.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2007. Pp. x, 234. \$35.00.

Unlike the Civil War, events of Reconstruction seem to have been difficult to render suitable for the late nineteenth century's culture of reconciliation. Its restructuring of federalism was too pointed, its departures from citizenship premised on white manhood too stark, its elections too deadly, and, most importantly, its consequences too unresolved for Reconstruction to come to occupy a discursive space beyond contestation. David W. Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (2001) has memorably explored the cultural production of depoliticized narratives of Civil War on the terrain of reconciliation. But if such a culture of reunion silenced matters of slavery and race, they remained central to the emerging culture of aggressive public opposition to reconciliation whose contours are explored by Bruce E. Baker. For nearly a century after violence, fraud, economic intimidation, and cold-blooded murder brought down the first Republican governments in the southern states, Baker argues, mainstream southern white Democrats used Reconstruction to justify racial subordination in economic and political life, to oppose the expansion of social welfare by an activist state, and to endorse violence in de-

fense of racial hierarchy. From a focus on the aftermath of Reconstruction in South Carolina, the book explores changes in the uses and meanings of Reconstruction from the 1890s through the 1960s, proceeding along three principal lines of inquiry. First, Baker identifies the practices, structures, and cultural forms by which a white supremacist vision of the illegitimacy of Reconstruction governments and the inherent unfitness of black Americans for citizenship became "as close to hegemonic as any part of American historical memory had ever been" (p. 69). Second, he traces how the institutions, public celebrations, and distinctive radical traditions in African American life and letters became linked in the 1930s to a multiracial intellectual field that created a vital counter-memory of Reconstruction as part of its campaign to end disfranchisement, build a strong labor movement, and stop lynching. This counter-memory remained in some ways hostage to the "obstacles, practical and intellectual, it had to surmount to merely survive, much less to emerge back into public discourse," he observes (p. 88). Nonetheless, it ultimately managed, during the 1950s, "to mount a credible challenge to the white supremacist view of Reconstruction" (p. 88). Such changed conditions of possibility notwithstanding, Baker makes no claims for redemptive history. Not all of Reconstruction's counter-narratives, he observes, gained representation. He suggests, for example, that Reconstruction's violence was "the part of African Americans' experience of Reconstruction that suffused their counter-memory, yet could not be incorporated into public discourse" (p. 84). Baker's delineation of the shifting political weight of dominant and counter-narratives of Reconstruction demonstrates his larger claim that social movements look to change how the past is mediated no less than how the present is lived. Therefore, a third line of investigation argues for the importance of a historical approach to the study of social memory. As historically conditioned changes in law and resistance subverted the social order of Jim Crow, Baker contends, the white supremacist narrative became ever more unable to explain the surrounding postwar world. Over time, he suggests, "The white supremacist narrative of Reconstruction changed from a confident jeremiad to an elegiac recollection, often skirting dangerously close to nostalgia and sentimentality" (p. 160).

A short review cannot adequately convey the myriad contexts in which Baker reveals the deployment of anti-Reconstruction rhetoric. In South Carolina, movements for women's suffrage, a federal anti-lynching bill, fair employment legislation, annexation of the Philippines, Congress of Industrial Organizations-led union organization, Theodore Roosevelt's attempt to intervene in Democratic primaries, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People-sponsored voter registration initiatives, and school de-segregation all precipitated warnings against the perils of a "Second Reconstruction." Indirectly these reactionary and often demagogic uses of Reconstruction sloganeering suggest the portentous conflicts about citizenship opened by

the era. However, identification and analysis of the production, use, and reception of political speech can tell us little about the conditions under which and for whom its claims took hold. The complexities of political alliance in which southern Democrats deployed anti-Reconstruction rhetoric might have been more critically examined. But in the end, this book is a significant and interesting contribution to studies of the relationship between discourse and power. Moreover, some transformations of anti-Reconstruction denunciation that Baker describes are recognizable in current popular forms of protest outside the South. To the extent that, as Baker suggests, Cold War anti-Reconstruction imagery discovered metonymic similes for illegitimate difference, adopted the guise of restraint to threaten violent assault, and stood for the principles of 1776 rather than those of 1876, an analysis of the mechanisms by which racialized opposition to state activism were transmitted beyond the southern states would enhance understanding of an ongoing discourse about national identity, violence, and race.

JULIE SAVILLE
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LESLIE A. SCHWALM. *Emancipation's Diaspora: Race and Reconstruction in the Upper Midwest*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 387. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

For a region including few blacks, the Upper Midwest states of Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin in the late nineteenth century have yielded a rich historiographical lode to the persistent and wide-ranging explorations of Leslie A. Schwalm. Tracing the fortunes of the African-American migrants who arrived during the Civil War, this study sheds new light on Reconstruction as a national phenomenon, race relations in a supposedly racially liberal society, and gender relations within the communities the migrants created.

The book begins by demonstrating that, while the 1787 Northwest Ordinance in theory defined freedom as the normative status in the antebellum Upper Midwest, white racism made a form of bondage for blacks too often the practice. Through a heritable form of indentured servitude, slave-owning privileges for army officers, and loose adoption laws, whites succeeded in holding African Americans to long terms of service. All three states disfranchised blacks and banned them from jury service; Iowa also adopted statutes prohibiting black settlement, testimony against whites, militia service, practice of law and intermarriage with whites, and requiring school segregation. "Racism," Schwalm concludes, "was not imposed on Midwestern whites by outsiders; it was integral to the region's history and development" (p. 29).

Emancipation, which was brought to the Upper Midwest first and foremost by the migration of former slaves, forced whites to confront their history of racial discrimination. "Just as American slavery defined the

meaning of freedom for all Americans, so the destruction of American slavery reverberated across the nation and shaped the historical experience of what race was understood to mean for all Americans" (p. 266). The army's need to transfer its black followers to the free states and the labor shortage in those states produced counterpressures to racism, while rapidly growing black communities launched campaigns for full citizenship. Black military service, which Schwalm shows to have included significant numbers of women who provided critical field support to the soldiers, magnified these counterpressures.

Midwestern whites generally managed to hold the color line in the world of work, limiting both African American men and women to the lowest rungs on the occupational ladder. Here, as in other midwestern states, African Americans turned to community-building, organizing churches and fraternal and sororal associations both to knit together their communities and to build a foundation for resistance to whites' denial of equal rights. In these efforts, men put forward a masculine ideal of strength, integrity and control, but women, whose contributions were crucial to the churches' survival, were unafraid to challenge men who were perceived as exploiting their positions of leadership.

Led by black veterans, African American men demanded the rights of a full citizenship that included, but was not limited to, the franchise. Male suffrage was achieved by court decision in Wisconsin in 1866 and by referendum in Minnesota and Iowa two years later. African American women supported men in their campaigns but also acted on their own behalf in struggles for equal access with whites to public education and public accommodations. Such broad-based campaigns represented "new directions that laid the groundwork for the civil rights movements of the twentieth century" (p. 180). Since blacks would not be hired to teach white students, successful public-school desegregation campaigns meant that African American women sacrificed their only avenue to professional employment in order to gain equal access for their children.

The book's final chapter examines contests over the public memory of slavery and emancipation extending into the mid-twentieth century. Through Emancipation Day celebrations, Grand Army of the Republic commemorations, memoirs in pension applications and depositions and slave narratives, African Americans countered the moonlight-and-roses picture of slavery and the white-centered images of the Underground Railroad and emancipation that were produced by whites' powerful impulse toward sectional reconciliation. Schwalm demonstrates that African Americans defined "slavery and emancipation as national events with inseparable national consequences. Modern historians," she notes, "would do well to follow their lead" (p. 263).

For Iowa, this book provides a useful complement to Robert Dykstra's *Bright Radical Star: Black Freedom and White Supremacy on the Hawkeye Frontier* (1993).

Not only does Schwalm approach issues of race relations from a somewhat different angle, but she also has widened her scope by conceiving of her examination of a migration and its consequences as a regional study. This choice does not cause cross-state comparisons to figure prominently in the analysis. Iowa received a larger migration stream than the other two states, but the patterns of race relations across the region seem to have been more similar than different, thus restricting opportunity for comparison. But inclusion of three states rather than one lends greater authority to the book's conclusions. Another highlight is Schwalm's creative use of military pension application files, which she employs not only to build biographies of the applicants, their families, and their testamentary witnesses, but also to illuminate memory. Breadth and ingenuity in research, historiographical sophistication, and a lucid prose style make this study a major contribution.

JACK S. BLOCKER
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RICHARD STOTT. *Jolly Fellows: Male Milieus in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Gender Relations in the American Experience.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. 376. \$55.00.

Richard Stott's book is both a detailed description of a pattern of nineteenth-century male behavior called "jolly fellowship" and an account of why it declined. Stott defines jolly fellowship as "a distinctly male comportment that consisted of not just fighting but also heavy drinking, gambling, and playing pranks" (p. 1). He theorizes that jolly fellowship existed by the beginning of the nineteenth century as an uncomplicated expression of male friendship and high spirits. In response to antebellum moral reform and other factors, jolly fellowship became more self-conscious and more localized in certain spaces like cities and the American West and developed into a resistant subculture. Ultimately, in the later nineteenth century, even jolly fellows themselves came to see self-control as natural behavior and conformed. Yet as the practice of jolly fellowship declined, jolly fellowship as a symbol and literary construct flourished in popular cultural genres as diverse as local color fiction, vaudeville, comic books, and Hollywood.

This book is the product of many years, much care, and an unusually flexible and creative approach to research. Stott engages not only with past and recent historical work but also with literary criticism, sociology, and other fields, and with histories of other times and places that he sees as thematically relevant. As a result, the book is distinct and exciting, brimming with new approaches, ideas, and analyses.

Some readers will find the often-nostalgic tone of the book problematic. Stott repeatedly wonders whether "the psychological pleasure that men once received from actually drinking, fighting, and playing practical jokes [could] be obtained to some degree by reading

about and watching characters doing these things?" (p. 278), and this book, in addition to analyzing jolly fellowship, is also intended to provide a vicarious experience of a bygone manly mode, which, while it had deeply problematic aspects, was also compellingly vital.

Stott is careful to remind readers of jolly fellowship's dark side. The community of jolly fellows depended upon the sometimes violent exclusion, abuse, and exploitation of outsiders. Men of color, while occasionally themselves participants, were much more frequently victims of jolly fellows' cruel pranks. Both white women and, particularly, women of color also suffered rape, humiliation, and neglect at their hands. This violence, often intended to entertain the fellows as much as to harm the victim, could take particularly sadistic forms. Stott's many accounts of this violence, along with several examples of extreme cruelty to animals by these jolly fellows, will no doubt linger in many readers' minds.

The book is a fascinating exploration of the relationship between a powerful cultural symbol and those who embodied it, and of the challenges involved in extracting the latter from the former. As Stott illustrates, coming together to drink, gamble, play pranks, and fight was a great nineteenth-century manly tradition. An integral part of this tradition, however, was telling stories exaggerating, fabricating, or idealizing drinking, gambling, pranks, and fights. Stott is keenly aware that the jolly fellowship he described was intertwined with writers in the tradition of George Washington Harris and Mark Twain, who loved above all else writing embellished accounts of it. In fact, one of the book's strongest chapters, "Cultural Connections," traces the many relationships of minstrelsy and southwestern humor to the tradition of jolly fellowship.

It is difficult to write a cultural history of a group of liars, and Stott does not get it quite right. Stott regularly adopts the claims made by jolly fellows as if they were straightforward historical description. So, for instance, he uses a 1915 book called *The Jonny Cake Papers of "Shepherd Tom"* as a source for his description of gang life in Newport, Rhode Island, to back up his claim that there were gangs even in smaller antebellum cities. Simply by singing a certain "insulting ditty" and substituting names referring to certain parts of town, Stott claims, a Newport man could "solicit a brawl" (p.16). Like many of Stott's sources for his richly evocative depiction of jolly fellowship, *The Jonny Cake Papers* are self-consciously fictionalized. Stott hopes to reach through the literary construct of the jolly fellow and retrieve the man himself, but I suspect that a better approach would be to admit that such an extraction would kill the patient. While, as Stott shows, there were many men—"sporting men," fighters, gamblers, bodybuilders, urban politicians, local color writers, minstrel performers—who embodied jolly fellowship, their lives seemed interesting to themselves and others, and are accessible to us now, largely to the extent to which they conformed to the trope. Tall tales constituted the jolly fellow.

Yet Stott's approach may be the best way to deal with

the jolly fellow. Read with care, Stott's book gives a fuller and probably more accurate sense of the culture of jolly fellowship than those of many other historians who have largely ignored this body of lore. The humor of tall tales was always in their exaggerated expression of fundamental truths. Interestingly, in retelling them, Stott himself participates in a key tradition of jolly fellowship.

ELAINE FRANTZ PARSONS
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PAUL MICHEL TAILLON. *Good, Reliable, White Men: Railroad Brotherhoods, 1877-1917*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 266. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$25.00.

Paul Michel Taillon's book examines the history of four railroad unions—the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE), the Order of Railway Conductors (ORC), the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen (BLF), and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (BRT)—during an era that was marked by the dramatic rise of industry and the triumph of corporate capitalism in the United States. While emerging as “the ‘Big Four’ railroad brotherhoods” and one of the “most powerful set[s] of unions” (p. 3) in the nation, these unions also came to practice what some observers then and most labor historians since have called “conservative” or “prudential” unionism, with a focus on wages and working conditions within the framework of the existing industrial capitalist order rather than the pursuit of broader reforms. Such a style of unionism differed sharply in some ways with that practiced by contemporary reform-minded organizations such as the Knights of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World and has often been viewed less favorably by historians for its less lofty aspirations and its less inclusive character, especially where matters of race and gender were concerned. Although Taillon never explicitly states that the purpose of this book is to rehabilitate the reputation of the “Big Four” railroad brotherhoods, he does contend that old and new labor historians alike have presented a distorted image of the brotherhoods that underestimates their contributions to the American labor movement. Also, as its title implies, this study “finds utility in the concepts of gender and race as analytical categories” (p. 7), and Taillon uses these notions to further reevaluate the “Big Four” and to shed more light on the concept of class in general.

The types of railroad workers examined in this study—engineers, conductors, firemen, and brakemen—were known as running-trades workers. They constituted about twenty percent of the railroad industry's entire workforce, and consisted entirely of men, most of them native-born whites of old immigrant stock, except in the South, where railways hired black men as brakemen and firemen at lower wages than white men who did the same jobs. The “Big Four” brotherhoods were formed between the early 1860s and

early 1880s, and initially they focused on mutual aid and insurance programs for members working in a stressful and dangerous environment. During the 1880s the wives of men in the running trades organized auxiliary ladies' societies for each brotherhood, which emphasized charity, mutual aid, and community building among the women and families of brotherhood men. Despite these benevolent goals, the ladies' societies met with some ambivalence from their male counterparts but nevertheless were contributing their own sections to brotherhood journals by the 1890s.

After the Great Strike of 1877, the brotherhoods began to focus more on collective bargaining while also trying to win acceptance from their employers and the public. For instance, the brotherhoods enforced company rules among members and expelled members for working while intoxicated. While union leaders generally opposed strikes, the BLE and the BLF both waged a failed strike against the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad in 1888–1889. Subsequently the brotherhoods failed to support the more inclusive American Railway Union in the Pullman boycott of 1894; instead they worked with politicians in Washington, D.C., to help craft the Erdman Act of 1898, which created a state-sanctioned system of collective bargaining and arbitration. By 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt was praising the BLF as “an object lesson in good American citizenship” (p. 3). During Woodrow Wilson's presidency the brotherhoods became jointly involved in the eight-hour movement, and their lobbying efforts and a threatened nationwide strike helped lead to the passage of the Adamson Act of 1916, which established the eight-hour day in the running trades (although not in other branches of the railroad industry).

Taillon does not reject all of previous historians' criticisms of the brotherhoods. He asserts that the brotherhoods' successes “came as nothing less than a disaster for black railway men” (p. 206) and that railroad unions “perpetuated some of the worst tendencies of the U.S. labor movement” (p. 212). But he also credits the brotherhoods for practicing what was often effective unionism in an era in which political and economic conditions often made that accomplishment a rather difficult one, and for helping to create the framework for state-sanctioned collective bargaining and New Deal labor policy. In conclusion, he argues, the successes as well as the failures of the brotherhoods were significant and suggested a richer legacy than most historians have acknowledged.

This is a well-researched and well-written book that will appeal to both U.S. labor historians and railroad historians. Taillon provides a new and broader perspective on the brotherhoods, even if some of his arguments (such as those regarding the roles of women in the brotherhoods) seem more suggestive than conclusive. The most regrettable shortcoming of the book, which is probably not the author's fault, is the lack of a bibliography or bibliographic essay, which forces the reader

to wade through over forty pages of endnotes in order to see where Taillon did his considerable research.

MATTHEW HILD

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TROY RONDINONE. *The Great Industrial War: Framing Class Conflict in the Media, 1865–1950*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2010. Pp. ix, 245. \$45.00.

Here is a book for anyone interested in the popular representation of labor conflict from the early days of industrial development to the middle of the twentieth century. Taking as a given that labor conflict under capitalism is a form of class conflict, Troy Rondinone argues that published accounts of strikes, the most dramatic moments of that conflict, ultimately served the hegemonic function of consolidating the social and political authority of an owning class. He makes this argument using framing theory, which holds that media accounts can powerfully shape public perception of individuals and events by how they “frame” their subjects, presenting narratives that “compel certain interpretations by virtue of what *is* and *is not* included” (p. 4). What Rondinone finds is that newspapers and periodicals from the late 1860s through the 1940s consistently represented (or “framed”) strikes as instances of warfare, warfare that was inaugurated by workers, threatening to the nation as a whole, and best addressed by being brought to an immediate end. This “industrial war frame” authorized the suppression of strikes and cast owners and the state as agents of order and stability, at the same time making it more difficult to critique the systemic reasons that industrial capitalism generated such conflict.

Rondinone’s book moves from the creation of the “industrial war frame” as the “‘master frame’ for class conflict” (p. 5) beginning in the late 1860s to the emergence of an alternative he calls the “industrial pluralist frame” in the middle of the twentieth century, which focused much less on violence and the potential for social disorder. This is a novel way to consider the representation of labor conflict in the United States and offers real insight into American labor history. One of the book’s substantial contributions is to reveal how press coverage of the Civil War clearly informed depictions of strikes in the decades following the war. Rondinone shows that published accounts of conflicts such as the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 and the Pullman Strike of 1894 followed much the same form as written descriptions of the Civil War, with the language of battle (“armies” with “squads” engaged in “skirmishes” under the command of “generals”), maps showing where opposing forces clashed, and casualty lists. (The first chapter shows how a different frame defined press coverage of antebellum strikes, so that readers were much more likely to read about the threat to local liberty posed by wealthy “aristocrats” than about the specter of a national “irrepressible conflict.”) What gave this war rhetoric such power was its capacity to

lend strikes in particular and class conflict more generally the same sense of peril as the Civil War itself.

As labor conflict continued unabated into the new century, and as the memory of the Civil War faded, Rondinone finds that press coverage of strikes—the Anthracite Coal Strike of 1902, the Steel Strike of 1919—began to stress the importance of “the public” as a third component alongside labor and capital. In these accounts, the public had an important role to play in settling labor conflict, ultimately through the dispassionate involvement of the federal government. This view gained currency through the 1930s, and by mid-century, with the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, the state indeed had become—and was widely seen as—an arbiter in the field of labor relations. Rondinone argues that media accounts of labor conflict helped shape this new federal policy, replacing the oppositional war frame with a pluralist frame that represented labor and “management”—the term that had commonly come to replace “capital”—as simply two among many competing interests in society.

This is a thought-provoking study that offers fresh insight into events and developments that have long been studied. Rondinone amply shows the value of his theoretical framework, he is attentive to the nuances of language in his reading of his sources, he charts a new course of change over time in American labor history, and he writes with clarity and style. At times the extent of the war frame may have been stretched a bit—it is not clear that terms such as “capture” or “contest” are necessarily evocative of war. And some questions arose that might have been investigated further, although these could be fruitfully taken up by others. At one point, for instance, Rondinone notes that “the narrative of war trumped other possible narratives” (p. 4) in media coverage of strikes, and one is left wondering about the extent to which alternative narratives were advanced in some quarters or suppressed in the venues he examines. Also, it would be worthwhile to consider how the sharp divide over the Civil War’s legacy during and after Reconstruction may have given meaning to the war language that Rondinone so skillfully traces.

STEPHEN P. RICE

Ramapo College of New Jersey

EDMUND JEFFERSON DANZIGER, JR. *Great Lakes Indian Accommodation and Resistance during the Early Reservation Years, 1850–1900*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 322. \$60.00.

This book examines two crucial aspects of Great Lakes Indian affairs in the second half of the nineteenth century. First, it is a comparative assessment of the policies and institutions favored by Canadian and U.S. federal Indian policy makers. Not surprisingly, both countries adopted strikingly similar measures tied to reservation systems that were intended to compel the tribes to assimilate, and bureaucrats on each side of the international border embraced a colonialist and paternalistic approach that in theory severely restricted the range of

Native options. Ultimately, two goals lay at the heart of both Canadian and United States Indian policy: the reduction of tribal land bases and the assimilation of Native people according to white, middle-class ideals. But the book's second frame demonstrates how Native people shattered the theoretical niceties of assimilation by actively resisting the policies designed to achieve it. Edmund Jefferson Danziger, Jr. writes that the era's dominant theme was not the subjugation and destruction of Native people, it was "the historic struggle . . . between an expanding white frontier . . . and . . . aboriginal communities determined to preserve their autonomy and prosper in their Great Lakes homeland" (p. 26).

Danziger divides his discussion into three sections. The first, "Making a Living," examines the introduction of plow agriculture, wage labor, and private property in the assault on traditional patterns of work and life. In the book's most nuanced analysis, Danziger carefully parses Native responses to the constant pressure to adapt to the market economy that policymakers believed would transform Indian people into independent members of frontier society. Federal agents optimistically reported the increasing number of acres brought under the plow, for example, and took comfort in their apparent success at imposing allotment. But as Danziger shows, Native responses to these initiatives routinely blunted their effectiveness as examples of assimilation. Policy makers were frequently unable to enforce their programs uniformly, and even when Native communities took up the plow, accepted individual allotments, or became loggers and miners, they were guided by a compelling desire to maintain what they could of traditional economies, practices, and values. To the constant irritation of federal officials on both sides of the border, Great Lakes Indian people regularly contested policy directives by making choices that reflected local needs and contexts. There was no "wholesale rejection of federal programs" and no "mulish persistence" (p. 56). "Adjustment," Danziger notes, "meant continuity as well as change" (p. 58).

Part two, "Battling for the Mind and Soul," addresses the role of education and Christianity. This is an increasingly well-known aspect of policy studies, and while Danziger competently surveys the policy directives on both sides of the border, this section is less satisfying than the first in conveying how and with what consequences Native people used schools and churches to address their own needs. Focusing instead on the tension that these institutions often created, Danziger points out the corrosive impact of schooling and Christianization, but he does less than he might to address how Indian people also used them to answer Native needs and sensibilities. This is especially apparent in the discussion of Christianity. Danziger does relatively little to examine the complex ways by which Native people re-envisioned the use and meaning of religious life and encouraged new practices based on the adjustment and continuity that he so adroitly examines in part one of the book. He is absolutely correct that Indian communities "reacted to a changing world in ways that

seemed to serve them best" (p. 184), but some readers will wish for a discussion that more fully examines the details of how something like Native Christianity became a vehicle for cultural survival by inverting the message of assimilation into one of cultural continuity.

The book's third section, "Who Shall Rule At Home," is a lucid discussion of how policies designed to obliterate Native political power were routinely weakened by the tribes' ability to maintain varying levels of power and influence in the administration of Indian affairs. Canadian and American officials took increasingly bold and provocative steps to crush tribal leaders and rein in reservation communities, but in case after case they were stymied by Indian responses that forced accommodations. By refusing to concede debates over core issues like land cessions, treaty rights, and economic development, Native leaders forced their white counterparts to compromise according to what reservation communities deemed important. In a discussion that brims with useful and interesting examples, Danziger shows how one group after another lobbied, cajoled, and carefully planned their way to positions that reflected "hard-won, productive partnerships with federal officials" (p. 195). In the end, whether through economic accommodation, political compromise, or spiritual renewal, Native peoples in the Great Lakes region responded to the "cyclone of civilization" (p. 221) by holding fast to values and practices that had sustained them for many generations even as they also opened themselves up to new ways of life.

CLYDE ELLIS
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DEVON ABBOTT MIHESUAH. *Choctaw Crime and Punishment, 1884-1907*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 339. \$32.95.

In this history of political strife, Devon Abbott Mihesuah pieces together a puzzle of two violent events in the Choctaw Nation: the 1884 murder of her great-great-grandfather Charles Wilson and the 1892 killing spree conducted to punish alleged corruption during that year's elections for principal chief. Both events were motivated by deep, longstanding animosities between the Choctaws' Nationalist and Progressive political parties; both parties desired to preserve the integrity of the Choctaw Nation against outside threats, but they proposed different paths to this goal. Amid pressures including illegal liquor traffic, the United States' unwillingness to allow Choctaws to control white intruders in their territory, and the profit to be gained by coal mining, ranching, and timber harvesting, the Choctaw courts and the Lighthorsemen (the national police force) were busy handling a variety of violent crimes. Mihesuah argues that in the Choctaw Nation a tangle of social, economic, and political relations governed the punishment of crime more than the letter of the law.

In 1884, Nationalist Charles Wilson was shot and killed by Progressive Robert Benton the day after both

men stood for election as General Council representative from Sugarloaf County in the eastern Choctaw Nation. Among the men riding with Benton's party was a freedman named Jackson Crow, who only shot Wilson once. His enemy dispatched, Benton became the Sugar Loaf County representative, and two years later the Choctaw court found him and three others not guilty of Wilson's murder. Crow, however, was not registered as a Choctaw citizen and, unlike the other men who were subject to Choctaw jurisdiction, Crow was tried in federal court at Fort Smith, Arkansas. There he was found guilty of murdering Wilson, and the judge sentenced him to hang; he was executed in 1888. Benton enjoyed a long and prosperous political career in the Choctaw Nation, while President Grover Cleveland denied Crow's appeals for justice because he believed that Crow was indeed a Choctaw citizen. The government's decision about whether to intervene in these cases immobilized the Choctaw government; encouraging government intervention compromised Choctaw sovereignty, but not soliciting U.S. assistance only increased the Choctaw Nation's reputation for miscarriages of justice. According to Mihesuah, "cultural adherence and wealth determined who was in power, and power and fairness in the courtroom were not always synonymous. This was true not only for the Choctaw court system, but also with how the United States chose to deal with the tribe" (p. 68).

In 1892, Progressive incumbent Wilson Jones ran against Nationalist challenger Jacob Jackson for Choctaw principal chief. Both "opposed the termination of tribal sovereignty, but for very different reasons" (p. 84). Mihesuah argues that Jones supported Choctaw sovereignty because allotting lands in severalty, as the U.S. government proposed, would break up his own massive estate. Mihesuah asserts that Jackson and his Nationalist supporters, by contrast, opposed allotment out of concern for "the loss of cultural survival, self-determination, and . . . pride" (p. 84), although she provides little evidence for these issues being at stake in the 1892 election. Instead, Mihesuah shows how economic concerns dominated the debate. The election was extremely close, and several poll books from critical districts—including Gaines County, home to several prominent Nationalists and likely a hard-fought district—were "lost" before the votes could be counted officially. Jones declared himself the winner. The Nationalists of Gaines County, led by Silan Lewis, candidate for sheriff, responded by killing rank-and-file Progressive party members. Under supervision of U.S. troops, the General Council recounted the votes and declared Jones the winner. All the Nationalists involved in the killings were tried, but ultimately only Lewis was sentenced to execution. Juries and judges in all the trials were solidly Progressive in their affiliations, and while none of the trials was fair, Jones probably singled out Lewis to show the U.S. government that Choctaw courts could successfully inflict punishment for flagrant violations of the law.

With copious research from fragmentary sources,

Mihesuah reveals a dramatic story. It is a welcome addition to works by Clara Sue Kidwell, Valerie Lambert, and Jeffrey Burton that reveal the complex legal situation and political economy of the Choctaws in Indian Territory. The book is extremely valuable for specialists focused on eastern Oklahoma in the nineteenth century. Especially helpful are the intimate family, political, and business relationships that Mihesuah traces, often with anecdotes that provide important context and make the narrative come alive.

Truthfully describing Choctaw politics, Mihesuah points out that tribal sovereignty was not a litmus test for party ideology. Progressives often acted to uphold sovereignty and Nationalists sometimes advocated U.S. intrusion if it served their interests (pp. 124, 151–152). At other times she argues that the political motivations were dictated by degree of "Indian blood," even overstating the connection ("many full-bloods often avoided people and events not in line with their own thinking" [p. 116]) when trying to explain a gap in the source material. The author claims that the Nationalists were comprised mostly of full-bloods who cherished their traditions and land, while some Progressives had as little as "one-sixteenth Choctaw blood," even though they "accused the intermarried whites of being the instigators of the tribe's problems" (p. 112). She goes on to show that Charles Wilson's murderer was a full-blood and at least one of the Progressive men killed by Silan Lewis's party was a full-blood (pp. 71, 117). Although newspapers or federal officials at the time surely highlighted such simplistic categories to explain Choctaw politics, this does not mean historians have to take them at face value. It seems more likely that one's economic interest rather than blood degree dictated political loyalty or that an analytical category such as whiteness might have addressed the contradictions. Instead of providing a theme to explain these paradoxes and deepen our understanding of Choctaw society and kinship, the author relies on imprecise statements, such as "Silan Lewis was a complex individual" (p. 172), the Nationalist Choctaws exhibited "contradictory behaviors" (p. 130), and leaders "made decisions without foresight for the Seventh Generation" (p. 91), an Iroquoian concept of which the Choctaws were almost certainly unaware. The book is an invaluable retelling of important, dramatic stories, but lacking more thoughtful analysis it misses an opportunity to understand the roots of political factionalism and Native nation-building.

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ELLEN S. MORE, ELIZABETH FEE, and MANON PARRY, editors. *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 357. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.

This collection of essays on the history of American women physicians from the nineteenth century to the

present provides the latest, state-of-the-art scholarship on the subject. As the editors explain in the preface, there is not—and has not been—one kind of “woman physician.” The book, divided neatly into three sections, successfully aims to complicate our understanding of women physicians by presenting a fresh look at their choices and the structural constraints they faced, and examining the intersections between gender, class, race, and sexuality in their lives. In the process, it also offers a nuanced look at the history of women’s bodies, as women physicians often served female patients.

The first section, “Performing Gender, *Being* a Woman Physician,” is seamless. Each chapter provides the biography of a different woman and raises the themes of gender performance and women’s bodies. Individually, these are compelling, interesting stories. Taken as a whole, they tell a larger story about the ways that “women physicians internalized and managed complicated and conflicting identities” (p. viii) and about the contested notions of women’s bodies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Pioneering women physicians had to craft carefully their self-presentation and performance. Mary Putnam Jacobi, as Carla Bittel shows, performed as scientific expert, “fighting science with science” (p. 32) to disprove nineteenth-century theories of women as weakened by menstruation. As Ellen S. More explains, Mary Steichen Calderone, who advocated for sexual health and pleasure during the twentieth century, reached a wide audience by taking on various roles, as scientific expert, feminine woman, and sexual person. Like Calderone, Margaret Chung, as Judy Tzu-Chun Wu demonstrates, also portrayed gender in different ways at different times. A Chinese American physician who had romantic relationships with women, Chung wore masculine clothing as a young professional in the 1910s but later in her career, as she became a “political celebrity” (p. 108) and served a largely white clientele due to her focus on surgery (not preferred in the Chinese community), she wore feminine dress. This section also tells the history of changing views of women’s bodies. Early in her life, Marie Zakrzewska, like Jacobi, believed that the biological differences between men and women were few, but later, as her life circumstances changed, she came to believe that “women’s bodies were sacred” (p. 58) and that women and men were very dissimilar. In a different vein, Regina Morantz-Sanchez examines women patients’ control over their bodies. Using the case of the 1892 trial of surgeon Mary Dixon Jones in Brooklyn, she challenges the notion that medical men took away women’s power by performing dangerous gynecological surgeries; instead, her study proves that women chose carefully among different physicians and therapies.

The second section, “Challenging the Culture of Professionalism,” focuses on women physicians within the male model of professionalism. Several chapters offer new, important interpretations of how medicine has been gendered. Essays by Robert Nye and Naomi Rogers explore how medicine has been a masculine fraternity with its own codes and rituals. Nye shows that in the

nineteenth century, masculine codes of honor, not just women’s formal exclusion from medical school, limited women’s admittance into the medical profession. Through an examination of feminists’ fights in the 1970s and 1980s against the male culture of medical school, Rogers demonstrates that “gender is everywhere embedded in the experiences and self-definitions of physicians and other health professionals, both women and men” (p. 209). This section also clarifies the connections between the past and the present. For example, Nye explains that nineteenth-century masculine codes of honor are relevant to many professions where “masculine advantage” persists (p. 153). Sandra Morgen’s essay suggests that the “add women and stir” approach to changing medicine does not adequately and independently resolve outstanding problems; it is women’s health activism, not simply adding more women to the practice of medicine, that changes the inequities in the health care system and promotes women’s health.

The third section, “Expanding the Boundaries,” examines other opportunities and challenges for women physicians as they worked as sectarian practitioners, in the field of college health, and outside the United States as missionaries or for humanitarian aid organizations. The essays in this section expand our understanding of women in medicine but do not fit together quite as well as the first section.

Despite real advances in how medicine is practiced, “serious inequalities remain” (p. 13). This book helps readers to understand the legacy of previous challenges that women physicians have faced and to strategize about the future. The anthology will be invaluable for undergraduate, graduate, and medical school courses in history, gender studies, and medical humanities.

LAURA ETTINGER
Clarkson University

JUDITH BELLAFIRE and MERCEDES HERRERA GRAF. *Women Doctors in War*. (Williams-Ford Texas A&M University Military History Series, number 128.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 255. \$35.00.

This book traces the history of female physicians who served with or in the military, from the Civil War through the present-day wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Battling both a male-dominated military and a male-dominated medical hierarchy, these women struggled to attain the right to serve in the armed forces and then to define their roles, both as members of the military and as physicians. Neither of these goals proved easy, as Judith Bellafaire and Mercedes Herrera Graf point out. For most of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, women faced a military that resisted admitting them as permanent members and a medical field that ascribed masculine qualities to the role of physician.

The text begins with the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, during which women who sought to work as military physicians found no clear way to do so.

Several women managed to join the war effort, usually working as nurses or occasionally as contract surgeons who held no authority in the military hospitals in which they labored. During World War I, when the Army Medical Department requested the services of all physicians in the country, the women who responded learned that they were not eligible for commissions because of their sex. Again, women found work in military hospitals only as contract surgeons when sufficient numbers of male physicians could not be found. The pressing needs for health care personnel during World War II finally pushed the U.S. military to offer women temporary commissions, but like most other women in the armed forces, they found themselves discharged at war's end. Women gained the right to hold permanent, career commissions as military physicians in 1952, and thereafter their number steadily increased. In particular, the creation of the All-Volunteer Force in 1973 increased the educational benefits available to women and made the military a more appealing career choice for many of them. Still, as the authors describe, female physicians continued to face hurdles to both their military and medical careers that male physicians did not.

The book amasses an impressive collection of biographical information about these women, gathered from medical and military archives, as well as press coverage about their lives. We learn where the women were educated, their family backgrounds, and their experiences in war. These stories are compelling accounts of women resisting the limitations placed on them and struggling to balance their personal and professional lives. Readers will no doubt find intriguing the accounts of women such as navy physician Hulda E. Thelander, who was assigned during World War II to give lectures on venereal diseases to female Marines, or army physician Fae Adams, who insisted that she would perform all aspects of soldiers' physical exams, not just the parts "above the waist" (p. 127). These women's experiences are certainly ripe for gendered analysis, although there is little of that here. The authors document many of the issues female physicians have faced, but they offer little examination of how women characterized their work and gender or how gender affected their practice and professional identities.

Similarly, there is little institutional history here, either about the military or the medical profession. Belafaire and Herrera Graf construct a basic historical outline of female physicians' involvement in the military, from working without rank or equal pay, to the temporary commissioning of women, to the present-day lack of restrictions on the assignments female physicians can hold. But there is still much work to be done in fleshing out this history. The authors note that the military consented to admitting female physicians in the wake of World War II, for example, but they offer no explanation of the legislative process involved, the role of proponents and opponents, the military's rationale and concerns, or the public response. Likewise, a comparison of the forces' medical corps seems in order, as

the women here describe varied experiences in land hospitals, on ships, and as flight surgeons.

What this book seeks to do, it does well. It provides a useful history of female physicians during wartime over the last century and a half. Additionally, the authors conducted a number of interviews with women in the course of their research that are now available for other historians to utilize. Historians should use the materials gathered here as a starting point for continued examination of the women who have worked in both a profession and an organization dominated by men. Such analyses would provide useful insights into the reaches of the women's movement on the medical and military professions. This study should serve as the first—not the last—word on the subject.

KARA DIXON VUIC
Bridgewater College

ALISON M. PARKER. *Articulating Rights: Nineteenth-Century American Women on Race, Reform, and the State*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 290. \$38.00.

Alison M. Parker has written an engaging study of the political ideas of six nineteenth-century women activists: Frances Wright, Sarah Grimké, Angelina Grimké Weld, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Frances Willard, and Mary Church Terrell. Each chapter offers a close examination of a particular woman, but throughout, the text weaves a continuous strand of the century's main social and political issues, including slavery and racial discrimination, woman's rights, citizenship, and reform. By the end of the book, readers grasp the continuum of issues that connects these women's activism and ideas.

Except for Frances Wright, Parker's subjects all favored federal government intervention to right what they perceived as the wrongs in U.S. society. During the first half of the century, when Wright was active, she supported states' rights over a strong central government, a stance she posited to no less a figure than Thomas Jefferson. Yet, as Parker ably illustrates, Wright was a bundle of contradictions. While against slavery, she also supported colonization. While defying authoritarianism when it came to mixed-race relationships and free love, she accepted it by insisting that children be forced away from their parents in order to be educated within a determined doctrinarian environment. Wright also supported a state's right to legislate slavery, believing that people could be moved to oppose slavery via reason and example (i.e., her Nashoba community—unfortunately for her, a failure).

Parker's other subjects believed in federal solutions to slavery, racial and sexual inequality, and moral and societal reform. The Grimké sisters, for example, were strong believers in individual rights; yet, they also believed that the government in Washington, D.C. could and should legislate slavery out of existence and, at the same time, guarantee citizenship rights for African Americans and for women. Their desire was, as Parker

points out, "to interject their moral sensibilities into the laws" (p. 95).

Frances Harper's desire was similar—federal legislation to bring an end to slavery and then to ensure racial equality. Harper, however, added another issue to the mix—federal intervention in order to end alcohol abuse. Parker's portrait of Harper is one of the most fascinating in this highly enjoyable book. The reader learns of Harper's political evolution through her engagement in the post-Civil War Equal Rights Association, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), and, most surprisingly, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) as well as her use of essays, poetry, short stories, and novels to express her views. Harper was a persistent voice for racial equality and the adoption of an anti-lynching campaign within the WCTU, but her efforts fell largely on deaf ears.

Like Harper, Frances Willard was also devoted to the moral reform of temperance. In fact, Willard devoted close to thirty years pouring her heart and soul into the WCTU, pushing the federal government to adopt her Christian moral vision of an alcohol-free nation. Although an independent woman who eventually supported the woman suffrage amendment campaign, Willard's vision of women was one of white middle- and upper-class moral superiority. Within her narrow framework, she pushed the WCTU women to lobby on the state and federal levels for prohibition legislation. She also, interestingly, linked the abuse of alcohol with militarism and the abuse of women.

Willard's rather small efforts to present a pacifistic and anti-militaristic women's movement echoed in the world of Mary Church Terrell, who spent her public life campaigning against lynching and the use of convict labor while also working for equal political rights for African Americans and women through federal legislation. Terrell, born in 1863, is the only woman in this study not to have been exposed to a United States steeped in the slavery debate. Hence, her points of reference were Reconstruction and the Progressive era. A founder of the NACW and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a member of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (against the desires of many of the white women involved in the organization), in 1919 Terrell took her cause across the ocean, where in Zurich at an international congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, she impressed upon her colleagues that "permanent peace is an impossibility so long as the Colored races are the victims of injustice and prejudice" (p. 211).

Parker has skillfully woven a biographical study of each woman into a continuous cloth of women's leadership in the key female social and political issues of the nineteenth century. Political, intellectual, and social historians will find this a valuable read, one that they might also consider adopting for classroom use.

HARRIET HYMAN ALONSO
City College of New York

JUDITH A. ALLEN. *The Feminism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman: Sexualities, Histories, Progressivism*. (Women in Culture and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 467. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$35.00.

This impressively researched study convincingly establishes Charlotte Perkins Gilman as the pre-eminent feminist intellectual of the Progressive era. Gilman's vast body of work, which included essays, short stories, poems, plays, lectures, and books, laid out the basic tenets of early twentieth-century American feminism: that women and men are essentially alike; that all women, including mothers, should be economically self-supporting; and that women should be men's political equals. Judith A. Allen demonstrates the impact of those ideas. Providing a rich historical context, she traces the intersection of Gilman's theories with every important variety of progressive thought for two generations, including reform Darwinism, nationalism, and socialism. Moreover, Allen shows that Gilman's theories helped inspire a host of Progressive era initiatives, all in the interest of replacing what Gilman called the "man-made world" with a more human one.

Inspired by matriarchal theories of human origins, Gilman hypothesized that women had once ruled the world. These foremothers propagated by parthenogenesis, until, through a mutation, men appeared. Impressed by women's material success, men appropriated their industries and reduced women to sexual slavery. In the process, humans became the only species in which the female depended on the male for her livelihood. This "sexuo-economic" relation produced an "androcentric" culture characterized by an overly eroticized male sexual identity, multiplying forms of social inequality, and a host of social ills that included playground bullying, prostitution, corporate malfeasance, and war.

In explaining the roots of Gilman's feminism, Allen draws particular attention to Gilman's troubled marriage to her first husband, artist Walter Stetson. Stetson's incessant talk of naked women, prostitutes, and men's sexual needs dismayed Gilman, as did his late night disappearances when she resisted his "conjugal rights." In emphasizing this sexual conflict as the key source of Gilman's feminism, however, Allen leaves a good bit out, especially her strained relationships with her daughter and mother, and the influence of her renowned Beecher aunts. For a fuller consideration of the personal forces at work on Gilman, one should turn to Cynthia J. Davis's new work, *Charlotte Perkins Gilman: A Biography* (2010).

If Allen gives uneven attention to biographical context, she more than compensates in building a case for Gilman's involvement in the reform work of her day. With the help of recently digitized national and regional newspapers, Allen demonstrates Gilman's ubiquity. She crisscrossed the country by train, delivering some fifty lectures a year. Journalists described her as a riveting speaker, witty and entertaining, and the photograph of her on the cover of Allen's book lends visual

support. Gilman stands above a vast crowd in Union Square, a picture of confident determination.

Allen is at pains to establish that Gilman was a suffragist, which many scholars have denied, and she does show that Gilman was active in the cause. But Gilman never regarded suffrage as more than one of several necessary tools for upending male rule. She was first and foremost a feminist, who attached far more importance to professionalizing house work and child care, so that mothers might be freed to share in the economic support of their families, than she did to suffrage. Even Gilman's embrace of feminism, however, was ambivalent, as Allen notes. Uneasy about the enthusiasm with which younger feminists demanded sexual freedom, Gilman worried about the potential costs to women of unrestrained sexuality.

In concluding her book, Allen takes on a presentist tendency in recent scholarship to dismiss Gilman as a racist. Careful to historicize where others condemn, Allen concedes that Gilman, like most reformers of her day, was an elitist, an ethnocentrist, and a eugenicist, but she convincingly argues that Gilman was not, strictly speaking, a racist. Adhering initially to the belief that her own white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture had the power to assimilate all comers, Gilman pointed to the experience of African Americans as evidence. Their advances since slavery, even in the face of the horrors of lynching, Jim Crow, and anti-miscegenation laws, proved that assimilation was possible. Gilman was less sanguine, by contrast, about the rising tide of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. She feared they brought cultures to American shores even more patriarchal and harder to assimilate than those already present. At the same time, Gilman believed that the rapid population growth in much of Europe, which was driving that immigration, was in part to blame for the Great War.

Although Gilman's opposition to sexualized culture made her initially leery of contraception, she joined Margaret Sanger's birth control movement in the 1920s, when she reached the conclusion that the risks of unprotected sex—to peace, progress, and women's well-being—were greater than the risk of sexual license. Gilman was very much a woman of her time and place, but as Allen powerfully demonstrates, she brought extraordinary insight to the “sexuo-economic” system of her day.

ROSALIND ROSENBERG

Barnard College [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

FLANNERY BURKE. *From Greenwich Village to Taos: Primitivism and Place at Mabel Dodge Luhan's*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2008. Pp. xi, 248. \$34.95.

Flannery Burke sets the stage for Mabel Dodge Luhan's oasis of “cultural expression” in the complex and rich Taos area, a region shaped by *Nuevomexicanos* (descen-

dents of Spanish colonists) and the indigenous people of the region, the Taos Pueblo Indians. Artists and writers alike fled New York with hopes of finding an ideal artists' colony in this mountainous desert area that seemed relatively untouched. It was Mabel Dodge who would establish Taos as a “haven for drop-outs from the American mainstream.” Dodge brought her New York Greenwich Village aesthetic to Taos and created what she considered to be an ideal union between a passion for art and political activism. This was not an easy process; it included some changes that Dodge and her guests made to Taos when the town did not fit their idea of an artistic mecca. Issues of art patronage, race, language, and cultural identity were very much a part of the formula; but the town's transformation would ultimately help establish northern New Mexico as an ideal respite for writers and artists alike.

Mabel Dodge was a Greenwich Village salon hostess who moved to Taos and married Tony Lujan, a Taos Indian. She knew such artistic personalities as Gertrude Stein, D. H. Lawrence, and Georgia O'Keeffe. While Dodge has remained a part of the cultural history of Taos, Burke offers an interesting perspective on her life since the author is a fifth-generation New Mexican, one who came to resent Dodge as many locals did, seeing her as an “Anglo interloper, a rich white woman from back East who thought that she could be fulfilled if she called an Indian her husband and Taos her home.” Even Dodge's new spelling of her married name, substituting an “h” in Luhan for the original “j,” was noted by the author. Writing as a scholar, Burke was able to embrace the good that Dodge did for Taos and study her as a fascinating “hostess and a guide to the American bohemian community” of the early twentieth century as well as a passionate supporter of Taos and its rich cultural heritage.

Burke provides a thoroughly researched, well-written account of Dodge's transition to Taos from her Greenwich Village apartment, where radicals such as Max Eastman, editor of the leftist journal *The Masses*, and John Reed, a journalist who covered such events as the Russian Revolution (and was Dodge's lover), were frequent visitors. Through a chance meeting with political activist Lincoln Steffens and her own enthusiastic embracing of the 1913 Armory Show, which featured cutting-edge European modernist art, Dodge soon established herself as a major player in the modernist art movement and a supporter of the many artists who embraced the perceived primitivism of African art and culture. Dodge carried her keen interest in art with her to Taos by early 1918.

However, Dodge did not fully understand the fragile balance of cultures in Taos, including the divisions among Indians, Mexicans, and “Americans.” Pueblo Indians called themselves Pueblos, not Indians; *Nuevomexicanos* considered themselves Spanish descendants, not Mexican; much of these nuances escaped Dodge, and she did not fully grasp how ethnicities played into the power structure of New Mexico.

Burke includes a thorough analysis of the influences,

interactions, and individual viewpoints of John Collier, D. H. Lawrence, Nina Otero-Warren, Carl Van Vechten, Georgia O'Keeffe, Mary Austin, and especially Tony Lujan (Dodge's fourth husband) on the politics, artists, and writers of Taos. Were it not for her marriage to Lujan, Dodge might not have stayed at Taos and been as connected with the region for so long. Because of him, Dodge acquired knowledge of Pueblo life and a commitment to the region that she likely would not have sustained otherwise. With Lujan's connection, she dedicated herself to Taos, where she gave the area "the bulk of her resources and devoted her particular talents to assembling prominent artists and writers." That said, theirs was a fiery relationship; Dodge was difficult and manipulative, and Lujan had faults of his own that made him a complex partner.

Burke's book is a fascinating study of Mabel Dodge Lujan and her cohorts' search for an artistic oasis and an authentic "primitivism." The author presents both the positive influences of Dodge's interests in Taos and the failures wrought by Dodge and her associates when they often neglected to consider adequately issues of cultural identity and the tensions and conflicts between the peoples who had inhabited the Taos area long before their arrival.

AMY HELENE KIRSCHKE
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Wilmington

JENNIFER LISA KOSLOW. *Cultivating Health: Los Angeles Women and Public Health Reform*. (Critical Issues in Health and Medicine.) New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 204. \$45.95.

Historians have long been aware of the galvanizing role of women's civic and volunteer organizations in the formation of public agencies and programs during the Progressive era. Indeed, many of the hallmarks of twentieth-century urban public health and education in America owe their development to the tireless activism of reformers such as Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, and Miriam Van Waters.

In this book Jennifer Lisa Koslow provides an original and fine-grained study of the far-reaching activities and impact of an early generation of white affluent female reformers in a rapidly growing multicultural West Coast metropolis. Like their counterparts in other parts of the country and the world, this group of educated women drew from the lexica of morality, motherhood, and science to successfully introduce public health efforts. Along the way they implemented some beneficial community initiatives, encountered varying degrees of resistance from their target audience of working-class mothers and families, and became embroiled in debates about housing reform, food safety, and the licensure of midwives. The ultimate outcome of this protracted and contested process was the "legacy of an expansive municipal public health service" in the city of Los Angeles (p. 9).

The maternalist health movement in Los Angeles was

fueled by two related events in 1894. In February of that year Jane Addams, of Hull House fame, and James B. Reynolds, head of the New York University settlement, spoke to the influential women's Friday Morning Club. If Addams was generally inspiring about reform, Reynolds spurred local middle-class women into action by expounding on the need to improve the horrid urban conditions he had witnessed on his tours of Los Angeles. Within a few months, a small group of women (almost all proud graduates of Wellesley, Vassar, Oberlin, and Northwestern) affiliated with the Collegiate Alumni Association of Los Angeles founded the Los Angeles College Settlement Association (LACSA), which soon became the city's motor of public health expansion.

For the next three decades, female reformers connected to LACSA accomplished many of the items of their evolving agenda, including the launching of a public nursing program funded by the city, the creation of a mayor's advisory commission on housing reform, and the public regulation of midwifery. Examining five facets of the development of public health in Los Angeles in separate chapters, Koslow demonstrates how well-off white female reformers advanced their goals through strategic private-public alliances that concomitantly built up much of the municipal health department.

Like many Progressive reformers, the women aligned with LACSA and incipient public health agencies wanted to instill order in an urban environment they tended to view as unruly in terms of race, ethnicity, class, language, and custom. Not surprisingly, these do-gooders engaged in stereotyping, associating their working-class and immigrant constituents, Mexicans and Russians in particular, with disease and depravity and distrusting their capacity for community uplift and civilizing domesticity.

This book contains many vignettes that illuminate the public health landscape for women of all backgrounds in early twentieth-century Los Angeles. Especially gripping is the section on the short-lived Los Feliz Hospital, which the city founded in 1918 to combat venereal diseases. Located in what was then a remote, rural area of Los Angeles, it held up to sixty inmates and was overseen by club women, who "wanted to ensure that Los Feliz would not just accomplish health officials' goals of suppression but realize their own ideas about prevention" (p. 145). Until it closed in 1932, Los Feliz essentially functioned as a municipal prison for suspected prostitutes and working-class women diagnosed with gonorrhea and syphilis. During its brief existence, Los Feliz exemplified the edict of public health protection over individual liberty and was the site of many legal challenges, escape attempts, and, finally, condemnation due to safety and building code violations.

This book adds rich detail and depth to our understanding of the history of Progressive-era Los Angeles, urban reform, public health, and women's volunteerism. There is much to appreciate in Koslow's archival research, narrative, and analysis. Ultimately, however, she provides a very narrow aperture through which to

understand a transformative period in American cities, gender relations, and the dynamics of race, class, and ethnicity. For example, Koslow only minimally engages with relevant scholarship in ethnic studies that could enhance her findings on Los Angeles and offer poignant comparisons between Los Angeles and other West Coast cities such as San Francisco and Seattle. In addition, Koslow forfeits an opportunity to turn her critical analysis back on her subjects—educated white women transplanted from the East Coast and Midwest—whose imposition of values in an unfamiliar city offers tantalizing clues about the construction of burgeoning middle-class female identity in the urban West.

ALEXANDRA MINNA STERN
University of Michigan

KATHERINE BENTON-COHEN. *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. 367. \$29.95.

In this book Katherine Benton-Cohen uses the opening question, “Are you American, or are you not,” to show that what happened in Cochise County, Arizona, from 1880 to 1940, is key to how racial borders between “American” and “Mexican” took shape, hardened, and ultimately affected the entire country. A compelling social history, this study is less about a particular set of actors—the usual focus of such histories—than it is about the actions and policies of an array of protagonists unevenly mapped onto social spaces across one county.

And unevenness of social practice is important here. In some towns that Benton-Cohen studies, such as Tres Alamos and Benson, race and ethnicity were initially less critical to social standing and access to resources than they were in Warren, Tombstone, and especially Bisbee, where racial conflict was intense, fostered by mining company policies such as unequal wages for “Mexican” and “American” workers and the assignment of jobs by race/nationality, and used in tandem with local hierarchies. Through the documentation of everyday actions, local struggles over water and homesteading claims, the building of Warren as a model “American” suburb, and the institutionalization of Bisbee’s “white man’s camp,” the author traces out how immigrants from eastern and southern Europe became white and American while Mexicans were racialized as outside the U.S. nation. The book’s narrative climax comes together in the chapter on the Bisbee deportation of over 1,300 workers, where we see the hardening into a binary of racial mappings that Benton-Cohen outlined in previous chapters. While much of this larger racial narrative is not new, the author’s focus on a single Arizona county reveals that its small towns often a mere thirty to fifty miles from each other had distinct racial trajectories and, critically, experienced the convergence of these trajectories by the mid-1940s.

There is much to recommend about this book. First, Benton-Cohen has done extensive and thorough re-

search, and the range of issues, such as labor relations, mining policy and practices, homesteading, the dry-farming movement, agricultural extension services, and New Deal home economics programs, on which her book touches is considerable. She weaves this knowledge to paint a rich picture of local life and experience. She also provides sufficient context for readers new to the subject, which makes it a good book for undergraduates, and maps, too, help with orientation. Second, besides lenses of race, ethnicity, and nationality, gender is a critical frame of analysis for Benton-Cohen, and she wields it skillfully. For example, the chapter on Warren examines how officials from Calumet & Arizona Mining Company fostered a social experiment in the creation of “loyal American workers,” a language that avoided explicit debates over whiteness occurring elsewhere while being just as racially freighted (p. 122). She genders these racial notions, using “independent manhood” to interweave ideas of independence, homeownership, and family life into the category of American, an approach that effectively highlights the gendered aspects and impact of various policies. Lastly, Benton-Cohen is a great writer. Her prose is beautiful, especially in the chapters on Warren and on the 1917 Bisbee Deportation.

This latter strength, combined with the inclusion of so much detail, has its downside; sometimes Benton-Cohen’s central message is lost in the compelling narrative. Is her main point the unevenness of how race was lived across Cochise County? Is it that Phelps Dodge, and companies like it, ultimately constrained the range of this experience through particular labor policies and concomitant measures that at times dovetailed with local racial sentiments and at others reshaped them? Is it that whites’ negative attitudes toward non-whites limited both the material prosperity of the latter and their own? The reader cannot always be sure. Benton-Cohen’s comprehensive coverage of material also means that some points escape her notice or are misunderstood. In one case, she uses the example of Benson’s Mexican Independence Day celebrations, which were hosted by local “Spanish ladies,” publicized in the paper, and open to everyone, as evidence of the town’s social tolerance and even integration. Yet in describing the newspaper’s explanation of these traditions, Benton-Cohen implies that such explanation was needed, thus hinting at a social distance and unintelligibility between whites and non-whites, even as she concludes otherwise. Should one take from this seeming contradiction that there was an uneasy fluidity of social interaction, or does it reveal the fetishization of non-whites, a dark foreshadowing of the racial realignments to come? Benton-Cohen leaves it to readers to decide.

These quibbles aside, Benton-Cohen has written a lively and engaging book that will be of interest to students, scholars, and a more general audience alike.

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MARSHA WEISIGER. *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country*. Foreword by WILLIAM CRONON. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2009. Pp. xxvi, 391. \$35.00.

This is the first monograph in thirty years to tackle the controversial episode called Navajo stock reduction, which occurred when the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) under John Collier destroyed thousands of sheep and goats to "save" the Navajo range. Environmental historian Marsha Weisiger reexamines this defining moment in Navajo history within the context of cultural identity and science and concludes that the tragedy was the result of competing narratives and profound misunderstanding. Federal officials, including Collier, who prided himself on understanding Indian peoples, clung stubbornly to the conviction that only scientific conservation and land management could cure the overgrazing, erosion, and subsequent invasion of toxic plant communities that plagued the Navajo range in 1933. These "experts" set out not only to rescue land but also to deliver Navajos from their naïveté.

However, according to Weisiger, Navajos often denied the problem altogether and wrongly defied all scientific solutions in favor of spiritual explanations. The immediate result was failure to achieve a partnership and perhaps solve an urgent problem. The long-term outcome was destruction of a subsistence economy that had sustained Navajos for centuries and outrage toward the U.S. government. Few Navajos, for instance, later remembered New Deal efforts to improve the quality of weavers' wool or develop sources of stock water, but they vividly recalled the starving years following stock reduction, restrictions imposed on herd size, and the humiliating "need to come hat-in-hand for permission to move flocks" from one pasture to another (p. 200).

A major strength of this monograph is how Weisiger skillfully lays competing narratives side by side and gives credence to both. Her emphasis is on missed opportunity and not blame, although ultimately the BIA possessed the power of coercion and bears primary responsibility. She builds upon earlier landmark works such as Lawrence C. Kelly's groundbreaking *The Navajo Indians and Federal Indian Policy, 1900–1935* (1968), which focused on complex forces behind Collier's decisions but relegated Navajos to the shadows. Weisiger fully acknowledges the congressional and local opposition he faced but elaborates on the environmental tensions that further complicated the picture. Her New Dealers pored over scientific reports and first-hand observations—often decades old and frequently inaccurate—to conclude that human agency was the main cause of erosion and desertification. Unwavering devotion to science "distorted their mental pictures of what a healthy landscape might look like" (p. 49).

Weisiger praises Donald L. Parman's *The Navajos and the New Deal* (1976) for its ethnohistorical perspective but insists that this was not merely a political battle between conservatives and boarding-school-educated progressives as he suggested. The Navajo relationship

with sheep was symbolic and symbiotic. According to Navajo narratives, deities defined the boundaries of their homeland and "articulated a congruence between people and place that delineated what it means to be Diné" (p. 73). Sheep participated physically and metaphysically in creating Dinétah and Navajo identity. If they remained on their designated land and tended their sheep, Navajos believed they would never suffer starvation or poverty. Thus life without sheep was unimaginable, and ceremonial solutions to land erosion trumped science. Clearly the competing views represented a fundamental conceptual impasse. Both sides understood pieces of the puzzle; neither grasped nature's complexities completely.

Weisiger's work is further textured with voices of Navajo women. As it turns out, they had a lot to say. Because women did not sit on the tribal council, Collier remained ignorant of their concerns. If BIA representatives consulted Navajos at all, they automatically sought the oldest man—not the oldest woman—of a family. When superintendent E. Reese Fryer handed out federal permits regulating the number of stock each family could own, he assigned them to men—not women—who owned the herds. Women protested through chapter meetings, signed petitions, and participated in violent altercations around Aneth and Monument Valley in 1941 and Teec Nos Pos in 1945. Few scholars have successfully teased out these voices.

Weisiger refutes the notion that the tragic outcome of stock reduction was inevitable. Other possibilities existed, she argues, and herein lay the ultimate tragedy. Navajos indeed understood their land; conservationists did possess valid scientific insights. As partners, they might have balanced spirituality and science to achieve results. Would the reservation have suddenly blossomed? Perhaps not. But without a partnership, stock reduction was destined to fail.

This is a brilliant study destined to become a seminal work on Navajo history. The research is painstaking and the argument thought-provoking. The book is exceptionally well written. Photographs and maps are particularly useful, as are a glossary of Navajo terms and list of plants discussed. *Dreaming of Sheep* takes the study of Navajos during the 1930s in new directions. A must read for graduate classrooms, its multidisciplinary, multicultural, and multigendered approach will inspire future scholars.

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CHARLOTTE BROOKS. *Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends: Asian Americans, Housing, and the Transformation of Urban California*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 329. \$40.00.

In this book Charlotte Brooks traces the transformation of race relations, particularly the change in status and conditions of Chinese and Japanese Americans, in urban California through the lens of housing. Her mono-

graph adds significantly to the literature despite serious problems of structure, concept, and style.

Brooks seeks the causes of the “startlingly rapid transformation” of the status of Asian Americans from being “the central focus of white supremacist activity in [pre-World War II] California” to finding “unprecedented residential and social mobility throughout the state” by the early 1960s (pp. 1–2). She contends that the change involves the “transnational” nature of Asian Americans as alien populations and is tied to changes in U.S. foreign policy interests. Relations for Chinese Americans, Brooks notes, pivoted during World War II as a result of the Sino-American alliance. She marks the change at the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, suggesting that it “signaled that Chinese American civil rights were tied to China and its relationship with the United States” (pp. 152–153). The change for Japanese Americans came after the war, fueled less by misgivings about Japanese internment than fear that the Soviets would use anti-Asian attitudes against the United States in the fight for the hearts and minds of non-aligned nations. Brooks shows that by the mid-1950s, a decade sooner than most historians suggest, white Californians began “reshaping once negative ideas about [Asian] Americans into new forms of praise” (pp. 222, 237–238). Her findings lead her to challenge the “model minority myth” that suggests Asian Americans have overcome discrimination through their own pluck and vigor, arguing instead that community organization, assistance from such notables as Eleanor Roosevelt, and changing perceptions of “foreign policy imperatives” played a greater role in advancing the civil rights of Asian Americans.

Brooks employs exceptional research in primary documents to tell her tale, but it amounts to less than the sum of its parts. Just as Chinatown stands out in San Francisco, a story about a visible minority seems like an obvious one to tell. But the actual proportion of the minority as relates to the majority population is so small so as to be obscured. Too often, the people whose stories Brooks recounts are faceless, disembodied names; their organizations appear and disappear like ghosts: formless and without context. This reader never got the sense that the author was more than an outside observer, or that she fully acknowledges all the dynamics at work. For much of the book, Brooks had to rely on government documents—which are, by definition, outside observations—or on the voices that spoke loudly enough to be heard but may not have been representative. She tries to overcome this through a one-person-thought-this, another-person-thought-that structure. Her favorite words are “despite,” “but,” “although,” “still,” and “however,” rendering a frustrating two-steps-forward-one-step-back result.

Brooks’s chapters on postwar California succeed best. Stylistically, they are the only ones not dominated by a stultifying passive voice. More importantly, they give depth and context to names and issues. Her discussion of challenges to the Alien Land Acts in the mid to late 1940s provides some of the book’s most coherent

and complete analysis (pp. 180–184). Part of the reason for its success may be because portions of the argument had already seen the light of day in the form of published articles. But mostly, I suspect, it is because Brooks had access to better sources, such as a family’s collection of clippings and letters, as she notes in her acknowledgements.

Brooks’s handling of secondary sources is more scattershot. One obvious book is missing, *As Long as They Don’t Move Next Door: Segregation and Racial Violence in American Neighborhoods* (2000), and not just because I wrote it. The two books run parallel to each other and sometimes overlap. While flawed in its own way, my book could have served as a model for structure and storytelling. It may also have helped Brooks not to rely so much on a top-down interpretation, to take more seriously the attitudes of all groups at the grass-roots level, to be more specific in her use of census data, and to be more detailed in her discussion of legislation and litigation.

Brooks raises several questions that may lead to further study. One area of inquiry involves comparative history. For instance, given their sizable Chinatowns, do New York City and Toronto have similar histories of racial segregation of Chinese? Is the more recently created Chinese enclave in suburban Toronto’s Agincourt neighborhood, locally referred to as “Asian-court,” a result of discriminatory practices or of community preference, or both, and to what degree? Such study may yield greater understanding of all communities.

Despite its flaws and frustrations, Brooks’s study of Asian Americans in California traces a compelling story and remains well worth the reader’s time.

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RICHARD STEVEN STREET. *Everyone Had Cameras: Photography and Farmworkers in California, 1850–2000*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 718. \$34.95.

To describe Richard Steven Street’s book as the culmination of a life’s work would be a vast understatement. Telling the story of California agriculture through the lens of its artistic representations, he offers the reader a richly researched, comprehensive study of more than a century and a half of visual history. In this definitive work, which will influence scholarship within its field for years to come, Street focuses in particular on the photographers who were and are committed to making visible the “human cost” of the American quest for “cheap food” (p. 9).

The text is arranged chronologically into four sections. Part one, “Origins and Patterns,” begins in 1767 and focuses extensively on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Street examines the first artists to paint farmworkers (who created bucolic but often dis-

torted images that emphasized the sun and abundance) and concludes the section with a discussion of images of agricultural mechanization and early strike photography. Part two explores territory more familiar to those who study American photography: the rise of social documentary photography of California farmworkers, most notably the images of Dorothea Lange and the work of the Farm Security Administration. Taking up fully one quarter of the book, Street's treatment of just eight years of Depression-era history highlights the pivotal importance of this period to the photographic history of farmworkers. The final two sections of the book explore the waning public visibility of the farmworker story after World War II and its eventual resurgence through the rise of a visually sophisticated movement led by César Chávez. As a professional photographer who began photographing farmworkers in the mid-1970s, Street weaves his own experiences and photographs into this final part of the story.

Street's focus on the photographer as the primary agent of historical action allows him both to highlight the work of largely unknown photographers as well as to introduce the reader to familiar figures in new settings. For example, he explores the agricultural photography of nineteenth-century photographers Eadweard Muybridge and Carleton Watkins, two figures whose work is rarely invoked in this context. These readings enrich our understanding of these individual practitioners and also offer a more complete picture of the visual history of farmworkers.

The focus on the photographer also enables Street to explore the complex question of how they have learned to see farmworkers over time. Late in the book, the author recounts the story of a photographer who came upon a motel full of strawberry pickers resting after a long day's work. Struck by the symbolism of dirt and dust caked on the workers' shoes, he photographed just the shoes, only later to encounter a nearly identical Depression-era photograph by Walker Evans. For Street, the anecdote is telling because it illustrates how photographing farmworkers today means activating, even unwittingly, a powerful visual tradition. It is in this context that his devotion of such a large portion of the book to Lange's work makes good sense: Lange's photographs of farmworkers arguably taught us how to see them. To his credit, Street does not lament the overwhelming power of this visual tradition; indeed, he frequently celebrates it. Making an image that looks like something by Lange or Evans is not so much derivative as it is inevitable in our culture of circulating images.

As both a chronicler of the visual history of farmworkers and a participant in that history, Street is aware that he occupies a complex interpretive space. A reader interested in the author's thoughts on this dual role will not find an extended treatment of the dilemmas here; for that I recommend turning to his essay, "A Photographer's Double: The Historian as Photographer, the Photographer as Historian," in *Visual Communication Quarterly* (vol. 13, no. 2 [2006]: pp. 66–89). In the book under review, Street explains his approach largely by

performing it: reminding the viewer how he participated in larger moments in the visual history and contextualizing his work alongside the work of others whom he studies. If I have one frustration with the way he negotiates these dual roles, it is that his interest in making ethical judgments about photographic practice sometimes gets in the way of telling the broader story. It seems that Street has little time for those photographers who have not immersed themselves as fully in the farmworker story as he has himself. These others, he insinuates in brief eruptions scattered throughout the text, are more interested in getting the shot and then getting out of town; they are not in it for the long haul. Such characterizations may well be true, and one can certainly understand Street's dissatisfaction when he encounters those less engaged than he. As he puts it in an impassioned, romantic encomium to documentary at the end of the volume, "the failure to become fully integrated with a subject makes for weak photographs" (p. 558). While I share Street's general belief in the revelatory power of documentary, these kinds of judgments feel a bit like inside baseball in light of the massive historical scope of the book as a whole. However, I recognize that Street is perhaps uniquely positioned not just to narrate the history but also to evaluate the practice. And that may in fact be precisely what makes his dual role so important and potentially valuable: he both chronicles the representation and forces us to think more critically about those doing the representing.

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SHANE HAMILTON. *Trucking Country: The Road to America's Wal-Mart Economy*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 305. \$29.95.

Shane Hamilton has written a history of an underreported occupation: nonunion, over-the-road truck drivers who carry much of the nation's food from farms to warehouses to grocery stores. If you drive in the left lane on any interstate in America and take notice, you will quickly lose count of the number of big rigs you pass that are driven by the subjects of this book.

Hamilton ably intermixes the story of America's long-haul, non-union drivers with the histories of big farms, meatpacking plants, rural America, mega-grocery stores, and the Teamsters Union. His story starts with agribusiness in the 1930s, carries us through the era of wartime price controls, and then describes the postwar ranchers' strike, which effectively won over popular opinion and pressured the federal government to end price controls in late 1946.

Hamilton's best analysis lies in the middle of the book as he explains the culture of the independent truckers and the romanticization of their lives in American country music, television, and films. Escaping both the backbreaking, low-pay lifestyle of working on a farm

and the drudgery of factory employment, rural white male workers were drawn to the independence of owning their own rig and driving across the country for a living. The first truckers' song, "Truck Driver's Blues" (1939), gave birth to a plethora of songs extolling these "asphalt cowboys" (p. 110).

The rise of the independent drivers who owned and operated their own trucks in the 1950s and 1960s coincided with the popularity of western movies and TV shows; they saw themselves as modern-day John Waynes, driving big rigs loaded with food to cities just as cowboys driving herds of cattle to market had done a century earlier. "Trucking culture was infused with the romance of the 'open road,' a space of mobility where a man could imagine himself being his *own* man" (p. 195), Hamilton writes, and the truck stop became "a space of male working-class culture" (p. 201). In the late 1970s, the films *Smokey and the Bandit* and *Convoy* embraced this culture, presenting "rebel truckers . . . flouting the long but incompetent arm of the law" (p. 221).

Hamilton's greater goal, however, is to rebut commentators like Thomas Frank who, in *What's the Matter with Kansas? How Conservatives Won the Heart of America* (2004), sought to explain why working-class Americans would seemingly go against their own class interests to repeatedly elect Republican politicians whose economic and tax policies aided the very rich. Raising the independent non-union truckers as representative of the entire white working class, Hamilton argues that they supported conservative policies not out of opposition to 1960s antiwar protesters and in support of a militaristic foreign policy; not out of racist fear of African Americans demanding equality; nor out of support for conservative stances on abortion or homosexuality. Rather, "the neopopulism expressed by the country-bred truckers of the 1970s marked the triumph of a radically antistatist capitalist ideology embraced by farmers, workers, consumers, and politicians alike" (p. 4). He suggests that these truckers can best be understood as part of a broad anti-union, anti-New Deal, pro-capitalist ideology that swept through America's working class over the past forty years. Agribusiness and Wal-Mart have emerged triumphant over progressive forces because they have given U.S. consumers and the American working class the free market ideology and low prices that they want.

While Hamilton adds an interesting piece to the complex puzzle of American culture and politics, he overreaches in asserting that independent, non-union truckers represent a deep vein of the American working class. The American puzzle is much more complicated than that. Hamilton emphasizes the economic motives that led owner-operating truckers to vote Republican, but he leaves out any discussion of the well-known context of the rapid movement of white workers in southern states, and rural workers in all states, solidly into the Republican Party in the wake of the civil rights movement and President Lyndon B. Johnson's support for the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts (1964 and 1965

respectively)—a movement predicted by Johnson even as he signed the legislation. And to draw broad conclusions about the entire working class based on the culture and views of one occupation of white, rural, heavily southern, male workers is a stretch.

That said, as we view the growth of the Tea Party movement—also a white, libertarian-leaning, conservative populist, anti-government, anti-union, heavily rural movement—Hamilton's book appears less as a narrow study of one group of workers and more as an important contribution to our understanding of the complex and evolving state of American politics.

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GREGORY S. JACKSON. *The Word and Its Witness: The Spiritualization of American Realism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 409. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$29.00.

Gregory S. Jackson's impressive new book explores a homiletic tradition in American literary and cultural history, tracing the pilgrims' progress of evangelical Protestantism through two centuries of sermons, novels, performances, and popular culture. Jackson's study of cultural texts designed to instruct readers in finding spiritual patterns of meaning and social engagement locates an often neglected strain of homiletic religious pedagogy embedded in archives presumed to be secular in content and realist in form. In doing so, he excavates a broad spectrum of Americans who took literally the question: what would Jesus do?

Beginning with eighteenth and nineteenth-century sermons and writings by Jonathan Edwards, John Wesley, Charles Grandison Finney, Henry Ward Beecher, and others, Jackson moves to less obviously religious figures including Louisa May Alcott and Jacob Riis, all of whom properly belong in a spiritual lineage undergirding American realism. Jackson troubles generic divides and finds, instead, an enchanted realism in which the spiritual and secular were intimately entwined.

Among his most striking interventions, and there are many, is Jackson's analysis of Riis's Progressive, social scientific, photographic project as part of a homiletic pedagogy of urban reform. Linking photography's new forms of visualization to an older tradition of "spiritual sight," Jackson historicizes visual reception in a cosmology that embraced "the other half" in religiously inflected forms of empathy and demands for social change. This is not simply to assert that Progressive scientism and the Social Gospel were deeply connected. Rather, homiletic realism functioned as a shared reading practice that "posited a radical, modern *imitation Christi* as a transformative structure of identification with the oppressed" (p. 8).

Jackson traverses religious and secular, progressive and conservative cultures, revealing seemingly marginal interpretative techniques and texts as central while also reorienting major works as structured by homiletic narrative. Beyond his focus on American re-

alism, Jackson connects a long tradition of allegorical sermons to current evangelical popular culture that takes young Christians on imaginative tours of hell, including the *Left Behind* book series, its subsequent video game entitled *Left Behind: Eternal Forces*, hell houses, and Jesus Camp. While it would be easy enough to dismiss such productions as reactionary or atavistic, Jackson refuses to see religious genres and their audiences as “displaced from the landscape of modernity” (p. 279).

Beyond the book’s appeal to scholars of American literature, Jackson’s work joins that of a number of recent theorists challenging the very definition of what counts as secular. Whereas historians, anthropologists, and sociologists of religion have tracked genealogies of secularisms across cultures and time, Jackson’s no less expansive investigation is refreshingly grounded in close readings that trace the Word as manifest in the texts themselves. While similarly critiquing historical accounts that conflate secularization and modernity, Jackson’s pressure on the term realism uncovers an American daily reality that has always woven together the worldly and the otherworldly. His thorough research is matched and mediated by his lucid style. Refusing a secular lens that distorts the past (and, implicitly, the present) of American literary and cultural history, Jackson reveals communities of readers and writers whose hermeneutics of belief yield complex narratives, intricate interpretations, and illuminated acts.

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SUSAN E. MYERS-SHIRK. *Helping the Good Shepherd: Pastoral Counselors in a Psychotherapeutic Culture, 1925–1975*. (Medicine, Science, and Religion in Historical Context.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 301. \$50.00.

In the pervading therapeutic mentality of the twenty-first century, every child must leave a sports competition with a ribbon, and every adult difficulty has a corresponding mental health recommendation. To explain the historical roots of this peculiarly nurturing context, multiple historiographies might be consulted, including those that expose the emergence of the social sciences as a predominant American epistemological framework, the sentimental history of the family, and the popularization of therapeutic models. In the latter subfield of inquiry, the subject of pastoral theology inevitably emerges as a critical component to the widespread acceptance of psychotherapeutic ideas of the self and care for that self. In this focused, explanatory study, Susan E. Myers-Shirk tracks the development of accredited pastoral care alongside what she describes as the emergent moral sensibility of liberal Protestantism. This liberalism receives less attention in the study than it deserves, and those seeking a comprehensive treatment of the subject will still turn to E. Brooks Holifield’s *A History of Pastoral Care in America: From Salvation to Self-*

Realization (1983). But Myers-Shirk contributes a significant set of detailed readings to the growing body of research on religion and psychology and, specifically, the ways certain gender descriptions provoked a divide among Christians about the best ways to utilize clinical formats in church settings.

If pastors used to guide individuals from the recognition of their sin to repentance for that sin, then pastoral counseling did not just intervene on an ecclesiastical dynamic; it also altered the lived theological dynamic of Christian belief and practice. Over the course of Myers-Shirk’s study, readers watch as the process of pastoral care becomes less confessional of wrongdoing and more elucidating of root causes and ethical quandaries. As the charismatic center of Myers-Shirk’s early chapters, Anton Boisen (1876–1965) pioneered the chaplaincy and clinical pastoral education movements from an insider’s vantage point. A lovesick man prone to psychotic breaks, Boisen was in and out of hospitals, an experience that inspired his observation that those suffering from mental illness shared much in common with the great, railing prophets of the Hebrew Bible. Connecting biblical heroes with mental malady, Boisen enjoined pastoral ministers to understand the potential insight of depression, pathology, and disturbance. Before long, the curricula of clinical pastoral education would emphasize the importance of young ministers understanding their work as collaborating with social workers and medical professionals to relieve human suffering. This co-construction of theological insight with health sciences may be read as a part of the long rapprochement between liberal Protestantism and science. In the first part of Myers-Shirk’s book, she effectively links the emergence of clinical pastoral education to several Progressive-era effects, including the Emmanuel Movement, the professional establishment of social work, and Social Gospel theology.

After reviewing Boisen’s life and contributions, Myers-Shirk proceeds through a series of careful profiles in key figures and institutional monuments in this history. Her source material reflects the deep contemplation by leading pastoral educators on matters academic and psychological. Through readings of works like Charles Holman’s *The Cure of Souls: A Socio-Psychological Approach* (1932) and Steward Hiltner’s *Pastoral Counseling* (1949), Myers-Shirk shows how pastors came to incorporate “patient listening” as a replacement for confession and repentance. Pastoral counselors quickly departed from the social consciousness of their Progressive forebears, pressing individuals to transform themselves and discover autonomy through self-understanding. Just as Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Sutherland Bonnell, and Norman Vincent Peale cut a reliably consoling public profile for the American minister, pastoral counseling argued that ministers provide a client-centered therapy in which the desires and torments of the parishioner-patient are the focus of the seminary-educated listener. The id, not church doctrine, drove dialogue about salvation.

From the earliest applied efforts at Massachusetts

General Hospital and educational programs like the Theological Schools' Committee on Clinical Training, Myers tracks the formal routes of this pastoral work and its predominance among liberal Protestants. By 1965 the American Association of Pastoral Counselors (AAPC) formed, signaling the abundant course offerings and degree programs available to produce professional counselors with theological investments. Yet in the same year that the AAPC was inaugurated, Fuller Theological Seminary established a School of Psychology, a follow-up to the 1950s organization of the Christian Association for Psychological Studies. As liberal Protestants started to look more secular than liberal to some critics, evangelicals reacted with organizational fervor, working to create a counseling subculture that emphasized biblical moral standards and God's necessary presence in any transformation of the self. Since she focuses on liberal religious figures, Myers-Shirk misses an opportunity to underline this important moment of Christian schism and rebuttal. Nevertheless, through her lucid descriptions and sensitivity to her subject matter, she offers a significant historical description of contemporary therapeutic presumption.

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URSULA PRUTSCH. *Creating Good Neighbors? Die Kultur- und Wirtschaftspolitik der USA in Lateinamerika, 1940–1946*. (Transatlantische Historische Studien, number 33. Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts, Washington, DC.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008. Pp. 476. €56.00.

During the past fifteen years historians have re-examined the field of inter-American relations and, engaging with the cultural turn, have increasingly paid attention to the “soft” factors in these relations. Ursula Prutsch's book is a welcome addition to the field and a veritable tour de force. A plethora of U.S. initiatives—involving not only the government, but also civil society—were created to tighten relations with Latin America under the Good Neighbor Policy during the 1940s. The United States wished to win the hearts and minds of Latin Americans as it faced the Nazi threat; furthermore, economic and military motives, such as gaining access to and increasing the production of raw materials as well as creating markets for U.S. products, also shaped policy. For her study Prutsch focuses on the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA), led by business magnate Nelson A. Rockefeller, which she considers “the missing link” in analyses of the Good Neighbor Policy.

Prutsch approaches her subject in three parts. She first details the workings of the OIAA in general, discussing its relations with the State Department and its complex entanglements with other wartime agencies as well as professional and academic organizations. The author pays close attention to the OIAA's ties with the business world and emphasizes its role in garnering crucial economic information, including that involving the

affairs of people on the controversial blacklists of “axis supporters.” Prutsch then lays out the organization's activities in the field of press relations, details film campaigns (including, but not limited to, the works of Disney), and examines radio politics and other attempts to reach the masses in Latin America.

The next two sections of the book explore the OIAA's activities in Brazil and Argentina more closely, and it is here that Prutsch's contribution is particularly strong; drawing on considerable secondary sources and several archives in these countries, she brings their cultural spheres to life. Prutsch details covertly financed lecture tours and serves up a wealth of information on radio and film propaganda. Some of these subjects have been examined before (Carmen Miranda, for instance, or the Brazil Builds traveling exhibition), but others have so far remained obscure in this multiverse of initiatives. Prutsch also does an excellent job of giving the reader a sense of the people involved in these projects through concise biographies that make clear the extent to which the academy, business, and philanthropy were tightly interwoven and the ways in which a person could move through these institutions rather quickly. The few pages on Maria Rosa Oliver, an Argentine OIAA collaborator, take us from the 1930s to the 1950s and also chronicle her disenchantment with U.S. policy.

The OIAA seems to have been—out of necessity at a time of war—more self-reflective and at times critical of its own efforts than one would expect, so that even sections that rely mostly on OIAA material give a sense of the limits and problems involved in “creating good neighbors,” abounding in examples of mutual misunderstandings and the patronizing attitudes of the Americans. But given Rockefeller's strong sense of his own importance as well as that of “his” agency, it is perhaps not surprising that Prutsch also tends to overstate the OIAA's role at times. While she acknowledges the other agencies active in inter-American relations, some of them long before the OIAA (most notably the Pan-American Union and the Cultural Affairs Division of the State Department), the relations are not always clear. The programs relating to mass media seem to have been developed squarely within the OIAA, but the relationship of the OIAA to other initiatives like the Brazilian-American Food Production Commission is much less evident. Of course, the nearly impossible task of teasing out the tangle of overlapping wartime agencies is a historian's nightmare, which manifests itself in the text in frequent expressions like “under the aegis of the OIAA and other institutions” (p. 290).

Prutsch's assessment of the OIAA efforts is mixed. The alliance with the business sector gave U.S. policy a better reach, but especially in the field of mass media it led to the perpetuation of stereotypes that both sides had hoped to reduce. Even though American policies were much less successful in Argentina than in Brazil, they still led to much accumulation of knowledge on both sides and the creation of networks of professionals and intellectuals that remained beyond the dissolution of the OIAA. Moreover, Prutsch shows nicely that Bra-

zil in particular was able to use U.S. resources for the affirmation of its own cultural identity. As for the economic policies the OIAA supported, the author correctly remarks that the "development paradigm" (p. 195) was already in operation during the war, but can we really ascribe its rise solely to the OIAA? Such issues of interpretation notwithstanding, Prutsch has produced an outstanding book, a great resource for any student of inter-American relations and one that should be translated to gain a greater audience in Latin America and the United States.

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MICHAEL GROW. *U.S. Presidents and Latin American Interventions: Pursuing Regime Change in the Cold War*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2008. Pp. xiv, 266. \$34.95.

In undertaking the research for this monograph, Michael Grow set out to explore the economic and national security concerns that led the United States to intervene repeatedly in Latin America during the Cold War. After reviewing the evidence, however, he concluded that the traditional framework had to be jettisoned in favor of one that emphasized the role of Latin American actors, U.S. domestic politics, and, above all, U.S. credibility. Through eight tightly argued case studies (Guatemala, Cuba, British Guiana, Dominican Republic, Chile, Nicaragua, Grenada, and Panama), Grow refutes both the realist and revisionist schools of interpretation, which have insisted that anticommunism and U.S. corporate interests lay at the root of U.S. interventionism in Latin America during the Cold War. Instead, he argues, scholars need to grapple with why so many U.S. presidents felt trapped into launching military interventions to save their domestic reputations and to prove to the world, as the elder George Bush once put it, that "what we say goes."

Grow is careful to explain at the outset that he does not intend to describe U.S. military interventions in Latin America, or to explore the aftermath of those interventions, or even Latin American reactions to them. The focus on high-level U.S. decision making undoubtedly facilitated the inclusion of so many case studies, the details of which might have otherwise overwhelmed the reader. Although this study is not based on archival research, the author does demonstrate strong familiarity with the historical literature surrounding each intervention, and he clearly has a knack for employing colorful quotations to prove his points. Henry Kissinger, we learn, "never gave a shit about the business community" (p. 100); and President Lyndon Johnson wondered, "What can we do in Vietnam if we can't clean up the Dominican Republic?" (p. 89).

Studies of this kind are designed to be provocative, and Grow's will certainly invite criticism. One problem is that the historical record for U.S. interventions occurring after the Nixon presidency is incomplete due to long delays in the declassification process. It also seems

curious that the author did not try to link U.S. motivations to the chosen instrument of intervention. If the purpose of intervening in Latin America was to demonstrate American credibility to the world, then why did Washington rely on covert action so often (five out of eight interventions)? At times, Grow seems to overstate his case. The insistence that Latin American actors played a "pivotal" role in fomenting interventions overlooks the fact that coup plotters red-baited their enemies so frequently that many U.S. analysts learned to discount their opinions. The contention that domestic political considerations "virtually forced Kennedy to pursue an interventionist policy" in Cuba (p. 53) appears exaggerated, as does the claim that reports from one of Richard Nixon's close personal friends were the "decisive" reason behind his decision to intervene in Chile (p. 194).

Given Grow's willingness to transcend traditional categories of analysis, it is surprising that he failed to incorporate race and gender into his explanation for U.S. interventions in Latin America. Scholars such as Frank Costigliola have emphasized the importance of language in the study of U.S. foreign relations, and Grow's subject matter would appear to invite such an application. This omission reflects a more general failure to situate the analysis in the context of U.S. hegemony and empire. After all, the issue of credibility begs the question: if military interventions were meant to signal to foreign governments that the United States would not tolerate challenges to its interests, then what were those interests, and why should they not count in an assessment of U.S. motivations for intervention? The self-imposed confines of Grow's study do not permit an exploration of the meaning of intervention that takes into account the kinds of regimes that Washington installed after it deposed a government. For example, is it a mere coincidence that U.S. investment soared in Guatemala after the Eisenhower administration deposed Jacobo Arbenz? Was it merely an oddity of history that Chile became the laboratory for neoliberalism after Augusto Pinochet deposed Salvador Allende with Washington's blessings? Grow insists, with good reason, that individual U.S. economic interests did not control American foreign policy. But he fails to consider that, ever since the Open Door policy of 1899, the U.S. State Department has been preconditioned to evaluate regimes on their willingness to accommodate free trade and foreign investment, or what the historian Emily Rosenberg has called "liberal developmentalism."

Perhaps it is to Grow's credit that he did not try to grapple with these complexities or try to provide some sort of grand model with hierarchical explanations. His greatest contribution has been to help scholars reconsider the role of credibility in elite decision making, thereby rising to the challenge raised nearly two decades ago by Robert McMahon in his *Stuart L. Bernath*

Lecture to the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.

STEPHEN M. STREETER
McMaster University

IRA CERNUS. *Apocalypse Management: Eisenhower and the Discourse of National Insecurity*. (Stanford Nuclear Age.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 307. \$60.00.

Ira Chernus's book would at first glance seem an unlikely candidate to forward the admirable goal of the "Stanford Nuclear Age" series, as stated by its general editor Martin J. Sherwin. Sherwin argues that scholarship on the nuclear age needs to be "broadened" beyond the "managerial focus" that has characterized many of the studies on "the developments, the deployment, and the diplomacy of nuclear arsenals" (p. viii). Chernus adheres, as his title suggests, to a variant of the management model in his approach to national security and nuclear weapons under the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, but he does so in order to offer a refined and expanded understanding of American Cold War policy making as a largely discursive undertaking. He takes seriously the words—the language, the discourse—of Eisenhower, and he attributes to the president and his administration the crafting of a new linguistic paradigm for American national security policies: apocalypse management. Chernus demonstrates how "words would have to be the principal U.S. weapons" in what Eisenhower termed "a war for peace" (p. 139).

It is refreshing to find Eisenhower's public and private musings privileged in this fashion, given his lack of reputation for eloquence or even clarity and given the comparative rhetorical prominence of other politicians from this era, such as Adlai Stevenson or Joseph McCarthy. Chernus proves himself to be deeply familiar with Eisenhower's discourse, and he has published widely on the topic, including *Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace* (2002), which raises issues and concepts explored further in this volume. While such familiarity does not quite breed contempt, Chernus does present an account of Eisenhower that cripples the president's postures of peace as previously understood by many historians. Claiming that historians "have rarely problematized peace" (p. 7), Chernus treats peace and other key terms of Cold War discourse as multivalent symbolic constructs that, under Eisenhower's apocalypse management, actually institutionalized an endless struggle against an ever-present enemy and fostered a national insecurity that has continued to influence U.S. policy to the present day.

In what Chernus describes as Eisenhower's model of management, the Cold War is framed as an apocalyptic contest, wherein communism, nuclear war, and economic mismanagement all served as threats that could destroy the United States. These threats were perceived as permanent, thus they must be managed and contained during each crisis or confrontation, meaning

they must be managed forever. Maintaining the status quo or stability, and preventing any dangerous change, became the new definition of victory and peace. Chernus wraps Eisenhower's ideological vision in a Christian faith informed by both Augustinian and apocalyptic traditions, but he also grounds it in the Eisenhower administration's "New Look" policies, particularly within the "nuclearization of military policy" (p. 63) and the ancillary and seemingly contrary proposals and negotiations presumably meant to allay nuclear fears and limit the arms race. As he notes, "The New Look made verbal gestures of cooperation and verbal threats of 'massive retaliation' the twin tools of apocalypse management" (p. 68).

The most pointed criticisms of Eisenhower come from within this discursive framework. The speeches and proposals often hailed as signs of Eisenhower's peaceableness, from "Atoms for Peace" in 1953 to the "Open Skies" proposal of 1955, are considered from the angle of the administration's strategies for psychological warfare or propagandistic public relations. The United States aimed less for any real reduction of nuclear and Cold War tensions with the Soviet Union and more for advantage—and for the mere appearance of peaceful intentions. This seemed necessary given the corollary of massive retaliation, which, to appear credible, entailed an apparent American willingness to use nuclear weapons. Chernus takes pains to show how Eisenhower worked to enfold nuclear weapons into conventionality, i.e., as usable weapons. Eisenhower himself promised to use them "exactly as you would use a bullet or anything else" (p. 115). Chernus suggests that to do so Eisenhower resisted "the empirical realities of the H-bomb's power" (p. 97), that "he treated the bomb less as an empirical reality than as a symbol," and that he "treated nuclear destruction largely as a distant, abstract possibility" (p. 211).

The sense of abstraction and symbolism that is disturbing in Eisenhower's national security policies and apocalyptic discourse—and perhaps exaggerated given Eisenhower's military expertise—also appears confusing at times in Chernus's own analysis. The author acknowledges how contradiction and ambiguity characterized this new paradigm of apocalypse management, but his own discursive foundations likewise may be questioned for clarity and singularity. It is often difficult, for example, to see how apocalypse management differs very significantly from the idea of containment that has to date so usefully helped to explain United States foreign policy during the Cold War. It is also difficult to credit the somewhat ahistorical claims of an unquestioning and universal American embrace of this "unchanging linguistic structure" (p. 3) from the time of Eisenhower to today, particularly as criticism and concerns emerged even during Eisenhower's time from European allies, who most likely could not have been as sanguine about merely symbolic bombs or a discursively constructed Cold War. That said, Chernus has revised in valuable ways how Eisenhower's words on peace and nuclear weapons can be heard, especially by

those scholars interested in examining how linguistic management has influenced national security policies in the United States.

MARGOT A. HENRIKSEN
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

W. PATRICK MCCRAY. *Keep Watching the Skies! The Story of Operation Moonwatch and the Dawn of the Space Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008. Pp. xiii, 308. \$29.95.

For days after *Sputnik's* launch in October 1957, thousands of teenagers and adults around the world, equipped with homebuilt telescopes and ham radios, were the only groups outside the Soviet Union capable of tracking the satellite. While governments raced to implement their own tracking systems, "Operation Moonwatch" teams of well-trained amateurs were already in place. If W. Patrick McCray's well-written book only chronicled the "art and luck" of such fortuitous and entrepreneurial civic participation in astronomy, it would make a useful contribution to the history of extraprofessional boundaries. Fortunately, McCray extends his analysis beyond 1950s space culture to document the role of Harvard astronomer Fred L. Whipple and to dissect tensions between the elite-dominated International Geophysical Year (IGY) and the disciplined but distinctly less stuffy Operation Moonwatch.

McCray draws an honest portrait of Whipple. At Harvard College Observatory since 1931, Whipple had a solid reputation for work on meteors and comets, but he also possessed the political skills and ambition needed to reach outside Cambridge's rarified atmosphere for research support. By 1951, he was receiving \$100,000 a year from the U.S. Navy, a relationship that created friction with his boss, Harlow Shapley, who opposed dependence on federal patronage and military funding. When the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory (SAO) moved from Washington to Cambridge, allowing Harvard to conduct classified research "on campus" by running contracts through SAO, Whipple was appointed director. Between 1955 and 1958, SAO's small staff increased sevenfold; by 1963, it employed over 300 people and had a multimillion-dollar budget.

In 1955, when U.S. satellite program plans were announced, Whipple proposed that the SAO take the lead in developing tracking cameras and data collection systems, but he also devised an ingenious additional component: a low-cost "global dragnet" of highly trained volunteers whose field observations would be analyzed by professionals. Working with astronomer J. Allen Hynek, planetarium developer Armand N. Spitz, and dedicated amateur Leon Campbell, Jr., Whipple created an organization modeled on the Ground Observer Corps that had existed during World War II. The celebration of the role of amateurs fit beautifully with the Smithsonian's mission to diffuse as well as to create knowledge, and the Smithsonian connection gave the new organization cachet and approachability. When word came that *Sputnik* was circling the Earth, Moon-

watch teams, telescopes, and reporting systems mobilized.

McCray effectively documents how Moonwatch's success encouraged science education, supported civic engagement, and stimulated media attention to astronomy and the space program. He also deals artfully with issues of status, authority, and trust. Participants were not mere "passive consumers" of popular science but "dedicated observers" with considerable technical skills, not only high school science "nerds" but also often adult engineers or scientists from other fields.

The teams had predictable homogeneity, especially in class, race, and gender—they were, after all, organized as "clubs." Although Moonwatch was ostensibly open to all people, few African Americans participated officially. By implying that even those who officially assisted scientists were white males, the program unintentionally reinforced science's own self-image in the 1950s. A notable exception to the men in ties and tweed jackets was Albuquerque high school teacher Vioalle Clark Hefferan, whose records and recollections enrich McCray's narrative.

What should have been a natural collaboration between IGY and Moonwatch became fraught with territorial jealousies. From July 1957 to December 1958, thousands of scientists around the world gathered geophysical data about their own planet, participating in an international (67 countries) and expensive "symphony of science," one with serious national security and diplomatic implications. Whipple and Hynek believed that "the public is paying for the IGY program and [Moonwatch] is the public's chance to get in on the act" (p. 158), an attitude not always shared by IGY's managers.

Despite an original mission that "encouraged socializing, civic outreach, public relations, [and] education," Moonwatch devolved into a "program whose activities and goals increasingly belied the 'amateur' status of its participants" (p. 199). This shift discouraged, for example, teams organized for children or aimed at attracting new demographic groups to astronomy. By 1960, teams presented papers at official "conferences," thereby credentialing and quasi-professionalizing its members.

Although McCray traces Moonwatch's demise (in 1975, two years following Whipple's retirement) to such external factors as public distrust of technology, the organization also deflated, weakened by a larger bureaucracy and a mission the scientific community no longer wanted or needed. Moonwatch's end probably had less to do with public attitudes toward science (or technology) than with science's attitudes toward its public. Whipple's ambition and intelligence never hindered his enthusiasm for anyone who shared his joy in things astronomical. As McCray observes, "If Whipple had not started Moonwatch, he would have joined it" (p. 45). To Whipple, the "practice of science" was far too important to be left only to the professionals.

MARCEL CHOTKOWSKI LAFOLLETTE
Smithsonian Institution

DAVID MILNE. *America's Rasputin: Walt Rostow and the Vietnam War*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2008. Pp. xi, 320. \$26.00.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan once said, "There are some mistakes only someone with a Ph.D. can make." Moynihan's wise observation seems a most appropriate aphorism for the public life of Walt Whitman Rostow. Rostow was the quintessential Cold War academic intellectual whose self-confidence and certitude regarding his own ideas made him at once highly influential and dangerous, particularly regarding America's experiment in state building in southern Vietnam. That effort failed badly, yet Rostow remained unswerving in his commitment not just to America's war in Vietnam but also to his own ideas of how best to combat communism. David Milne's book takes up the task of explaining Rostow and his role as über-hawk as well as the war that caught up with his pristine theories.

Milne begins this study with an able recounting of Rostow's education and the development of his anti-communist zeal. Rostow's seminal work, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960), was an elegant, theoretical statement on the development process that recognized communism as the "disease of the transition" from traditional to modern society. All that was needed was quickly and under proper guidance to usher emerging states through the development process so that the disease could never gain a foothold. The solution was economic development and modernization.

Rostow saw communism as a system doomed to failure and capitalism as destined to triumph. Often his arguments were overly determined, the outcomes never in question, and the analysis never really subjected to thoroughgoing, rigorous evaluation. Given this distinct pattern, it is not surprising that the champion of modernization theory and economic development for the Third World was also an advocate of U.S. military intervention there. How else to answer resistance and failure in carrying out the modernization project?

Rostow's influence as the promoter of modernization really began with the election of John F. Kennedy in 1960. During these early years, the U.S. role in Vietnam was largely advisory and centered on economic development and the building of "South Vietnam." Rostow believed that he alone understood what success in that venture would require. Encountering difficulties and resistance gradually erased all nuance from his prognostications, and his analyses increasingly ignored inherent complexities. Following Kennedy's dismissal of him as deputy special assistant to the president for national security affairs in 1961, Rostow was left howling in the wilderness. Viewed as out of the mainstream of expert opinion and even dangerous by insiders, Rostow's tone grew more insistent, his certainty more impenetrable, and his disregard for the costs of his grand ideas more reckless, much "like today's neocons," Milne suggests (pp. 113–114). And, like them, Rostow had only to wait for events to catch up with him.

Ultimately, that is precisely what happened. Rostow's insistence upon an expanded application of America's military power slowly emerged as useful to save a crumbling effort in Vietnam. His repeated and enduring advocacy of bombing eventually caught the ear of Lyndon Johnson as the president grasped for solutions to the quagmire in Southeast Asia. The administration carefully and skillfully exploited commonplace, provocative events like the 1964 incident in the Gulf of Tonkin to forge ahead; where exactly, no one knew. But at least they would not have to admit that they had been wrong. Rostow gave LBJ what no one else would or could: optimism and a sure path to victory. In some ways, there is simply no accounting for Rostow's unflinching optimism—arrogance alone does not come close. The evidence nearly always ran the other way. But by 1965, LBJ was tired of bad news and out of options. He appointed Rostow to the post of national security advisor the following year, signaling a serious hardening of the administration's position and dedication to an escalated war. The tragic results are well known.

Milne's study offers valuable historical lessons down to the present, and the author makes explicit comparisons to the neocons and the current war in Iraq, appropriately in my view. The book is, on the whole, fair and evenhanded, particularly given a biographical subject deserving of a few more jabs. Rostow certainly was dangerous, and his policy influence regarding Vietnam was reckless and tragic. Still, to offer just one relatively minor criticism, Milne's focus on Rostow diminishes somewhat the larger structural forces at work during the Vietnam War. Even without Rostow's influence, the United States would have remained overly committed to the use of force to mask its failure, and not just in Vietnam. Still, Rostow's role certainly highlights the pattern during the Vietnam War in a unique way, and Milne has done a fine job of marrying the man to the historical patterns that transcend him.

JAMES M. CARTER
Drew University

NEIL SHEEHAN. *A Fiery Peace in a Cold War: Bernard Schriever and the Ultimate Weapon*. New York: Random House. 2009. Pp. xix, 534. \$32.00.

Until he had decided to write a book on the Cold War and the Soviet-American arms race, more than fifteen years ago, Neil Sheehan had never heard of Bernard Schriever. In fact, he had not even thought about his biographical subject until one afternoon in the fall of 1993 when, while doing research in the Air Force Association's library in Arlington just across the Potomac River from Washington, D.C., someone suggested that he look up Schriever. This is hard to believe, coming from the author of the Pulitzer-Prize-winning classic *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (1988).

Bernard "Benny" Schriever was a larger-than-life character during the Cold War. As the United States

Air Force's missile chief during the critical development of the intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), he directed some of the nation's highest priorities: the creation of a ballistic missile program as well as the Air Force's initial space programs. Schriever pioneered research and development of the Atlas, Titan, Thor, and Minuteman ballistic missiles, earning the title "Missileman Schriever" when he appeared on the cover of *Time* on April 1, 1957. His official USAF biographical entry dubbed him "the architect" of the Air Force's ballistic missile and military space program. Schriever was the real deal, Flash Gordon and Buck Rogers rolled into one.

In any case, Sheehan soon made up for lost time when he discovered that the Air Force general turned out to be living in retirement only about six blocks from his own house in northwest Washington. He telephoned him and explained his hope of using the general's story as a framework around which to organize a larger tale, that of the nuclear arms race. Schriever agreed, and thus began the first of fifty-two interviews that lasted until, in the final years of his life, he became too feeble for searching examination of the past, passing away on June 20, 2005, at ninety-four years old. These interviews are at the heart of Sheehan's book and are clearly worth the price of admission.

Within the space of eighty-three chapters, divided into eight books and an epilogue, and 534 pages—with the rest of the book turned over to interviews, source notes, bibliography, and an adequate index—Sheehan chronicles Schriever's quest to prevent the Soviets from acquiring nuclear superiority, to penetrate and explore space for the United States, and to build a nuclear deterrent. The story begins with Schriever's boyhood in Texas, where he arrived as a six-year old immigrant from imperial Germany in 1917, through his apprenticeship in the biplanes of the Army Air Corps in the 1930s and his participation in battles against the Japanese in the South Pacific during World War II. After the war, he held various command, staff, and scientific liaison positions in research and development until his selection for the National War College in 1949, and then he remained in Washington at the Pentagon until he became head of the Air Force Western Development Division of the Air Research and Development Command in 1954.

Recognized as a "visionary enthusiast" in the burgeoning missile business and inspired by his technological vision, Schriever set out to produce the one class of weapons that could enforce peace with the Soviet Union: intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of traveling thousands of miles. In the course of his personal crusade, he encountered allies and enemies among some of the most intriguing characters of the century, including John von Neumann, the Hungarian-born mathematician and physicist, who was second in genius only to Albert Einstein; Colonel Edward Hall, who created the ultimate ICBM in the form of the Minuteman missile; Curtis LeMay, the bomber general who tried to exile Schriever and who lost his grip on reality

while amassing enough nuclear warheads in his Strategic Air Command to destroy half of the planet; and Adolf Hitler's former rocket maker, Wernher von Braun, who along with the Army's General John Medaris tried to steal the ICBM program. In these and other profiles, Sheehan proves to be the master of historical portraiture, although the reader sometimes encounters the journalistic tendency to overkill with details.

The more serious problem, however, is the lack of footnotes. Sheehan does not use them, preferring instead to provide brief summaries of the sources drawn upon during the writing of each chapter, and even then he does not list all of the sources, only the main ones. Conversations are rendered in quotation marks when drawn from written records or when, in Sheehan's opinion, the memory of the person interviewed seemed precise enough to justify placing the words in quotes. But to be fair, Sheehan's story of the Cold War battle for the supremacy of the skies and space was always intended for the general reader. In this he has succeeded.

JOSEPH M. SIRACUSA

Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology

MICHAEL LUMBERS. *Piercing the Bamboo Curtain: Tentative Bridge-Building to China during the Johnson Years*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 286. £55.00.

Michael Lumbers has joined the ranks of those seeking to decode Sino-American relations during the Cold War. It is a difficult and sometimes unrewarding task. Although there are now plenty of documents from the United States, Great Britain, the former Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe as well as China and Taiwan, they can be misleading, fragmentary, and highly political. Even U.S. records remain partial, given the reluctance of the intelligence community to open resources and to allow historians to trace the evolution of, and the assumptions behind, its assessments. Still, we do understand a lot more now than we did just a few years ago about why and how the battle was joined.

Lumbers's study is a good book that will be a useful addition to our knowledge about China policy and the foreign policy of the Lyndon Johnson administration. It is well written and makes the author's interpretation clear. The text argues that Johnson became more immersed in, and better at, conducting foreign affairs than most previous historians have given him credit for doing. Johnson, Lumbers claims, was more flexible and better informed, a quick learner and a sophisticated analyst. Although his Munich mindset reinforced the need for containment, his experience with the war in Korea made clear the dangers of provoking Beijing. The Vietnam War played a huge role in shaping Johnson's views, but it did not preclude imaginative thinking. In fact, Lumbers believes that Vietnam caused Johnson to consider more seriously a cautious, reasonable approach to Beijing in order to help resolve the Indochina conflict.

More than anything else, Lumbers makes a strong

case for the importance of the individual in constructing and implementing foreign relations. Even though he somewhat exaggerates Johnson's decisiveness and minimizes his preoccupation with other issues, he justifies the focus on LBJ. Over the years many historians have privileged a bottom-up approach or focused on large systemic or institutional forces to explain international affairs. By leaving out the policy maker, however, they have ignored the most basic factor in explaining how the United States interacted with the world. A tight focus on a leader might similarly minimize significant external details and dynamics, and an author must guard against such omissions, but it is undeniable that final decisions usually come from the top.

Lumbers, then, is right to focus on Johnson. Nevertheless, there are other important questions he ought to have asked. How did Johnson's China policy reflect broad goals of "bridge-building" across the Cold War divide? Did approaches to China parallel or depart from initiatives the administration took with other countries? Was Johnson more, or less, imaginative on policy toward China? Were there broad societal influences shaping the environment within which Johnson made his choices: for instance, racism which remained pervasive across American society and influenced so many high-level officials? What impact did the Sino-Soviet dispute have? Did social science theory about modernization, which captivated thinkers like Walt Rostow, shape policy? How important was it that Mao Zedong believed himself to be leader of the Third World? Did the Johnson administration listen to non-government China specialists and the views of the American public?

Finally, what Lumbers makes apparent in boldly stating the mission of his study—to demonstrate that the Johnson years were not empty of progress on China—is how mired in mistaken assumptions historians and pundits have been. The traditional picture of a rigid Washington that stood still throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and most of the 1960s awaiting Richard Nixon's daring leadership was exaggerated and misleading, providing simplistic answers to important questions. In each of these periods there were developments, mostly behind the scenes, that facilitated subsequent movement. Thus, we now know that Harry Truman and Dean Acheson thought seriously about diplomatic relations with China before the Korean War, that Dwight Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles wanted better relations with Beijing, and that some, if minor, adjustments occurred in the Kennedy years. (Kennedy, it might be noted, emerged as the least supple of the presidents, according to Noam Kochavi's *A Conflict Perpetuated: China Policy during the Kennedy Years* [2002].) Lumbers is right to object that Nixon has received too much credit for transforming Sino-American relations. He does not, however, resist the temptation to celebrate Johnson for policies that LBJ inherited. Nevertheless, Lumbers's

careful discussion of what emerged from the Johnson years is long overdue and will be widely appreciated.

NANCY BERNKOPF TUCKER
Georgetown University

JAMES EDWARD MILLER. *The United States and the Making of Modern Greece: History and Power, 1950–1974*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 301. \$45.00.

When Greece's civil war came to an end in 1949, the United States was presumably in a position to use its military, economic, and cultural power to secure its critical interests within the country: checking Soviet influence, breaking the power of a national communist movement, and modernizing the nation. But this was all easier said than done. U.S. efforts to realize these objectives during the period that James Edward Miller's book covers—from the halcyon days of Greek-American relations in the 1950s to 1974, when a "perfect storm" created an absolute debacle of diplomatic ties in the eastern Mediterranean—elicited responses from Greece's elites that were often antithetical to American objectives.

As Miller's careful examination of the U.S.-Greek relationship during this era makes clear, American power and influence was much more limited than many suppose. In fact, he argues, while the United States, because of policies such as its post-April 1967 acceptance and support of the Greek junta, bears some burden for Greece's incomplete political reconstruction after the civil war, Greece's politicians, military, monarchy, and Orthodox Church bear even more responsibility for that result. Their responses to American power and influence (both real and perceived) in the decades following World War II were informed by their struggles for power among themselves, the burden of a national identity created through resistance to foreign intervention, and the legacy of a political system built on patronage.

In this short but carefully researched history, Miller seeks to get the facts right: to frame specific developments within a broader explanatory framework, and then to look closely at the evidence that supports one argument or another. When it comes to delineating that framework, he attempts to distinguish between truth and what he calls "ethnic truth." The latter, he contends, derives from the fact that Greeks, like Americans, are a people with a sense of their own exceptionalism, special character, and mission; unlike Americans, however, their views are colored by a sense of inferiority to the West and often animated by an inflated view of their country's importance. Locked into what they see as a subordinate relationship to the United States (a perception that generates expectations framed by their patronage system), Greeks feel betrayed and humiliated by unhappy outcomes in history (a perception reinforced by neo-Marxist accounts that

were prevalent in the years following the Vietnam War).

As a consequence, Miller argues, the Greeks' response to their country's postwar history is to absolve themselves of blame and to develop relatively unsophisticated conspiratorial explanations for their failures, complete with invented facts (thanks in particular to Andreas Papandreu, whose account of the events that led to the 1967 coup has achieved the status of revealed truth). These "facts," Miller asserts, are impervious to any evidence to the contrary; instead, the Greeks attribute their failures to others and, in particular, to the malevolence of the United States. While one might be inclined to view this argument as a framework for a rant, Miller's study is far from it. Rather, it is a sensitive, sympathetic, evidence-based attempt to understand and lay bare the methods by which American and Greek officials cooperated and struggled over Greece's political future in the early postwar years. Miller has drawn from Greek, American, French, and British archival sources to provide an illuminating path through the thicket of complexity that surrounds critical events and undergirds the motives of the principal actors.

In Miller's judgment, the United States, Greece, and Cyprus all could have been better served by their leaders. He suggests that U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, given too much credit for cunning by his critics, lacked an understanding of the region; intent on remaining at the center of power as the Nixon administration imploded, his focus on the U.S.-Soviet rivalry resulted in policies that were more incompetent than malevolent. Cypriot President Archbishop Makarios III, a zero-sum game-playing political realist, internationalized the Cyprus crisis and managed to outmaneuver almost everyone who opposed him. Greek Prime Minister George Papandreu, who plotted military action against Makarios, was ambitious and reckless; with his son Andreas, he polarized the nation and drove moderates to the right, paving the way for a military coup, while Andreas, through promulgation of his version of history, caused the United States to be "a national piñata" (p. 207) for the two decades that followed the coup. In the long run, Miller observes, the damage done by these leaders to Greek-American relations was limited by Turkey's desire for European Union membership and Greece's ability to influence that process for its own ends in Cyprus. Andreas Papandreu eventually returned to power in 1993 and, in Miller's judgment, because he avoided being captured by his own myths and managed to embrace more cautious policies, averted national disaster and paved the way for better diplomatic ties between the United States and Greece.

BRUCE KUNIHOLM
Duke University

GLENDIA ELIZABETH GILMORE. *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919–1950*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company. 2008. Pp. xii, 646. \$19.95.

Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore's latest work chronicles both the "long civil rights movement" and the impact that the American Left had upon it. Focusing on southern liberal and radical organizations, most notably the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA), Gilmore contends that only by appreciating the efforts of these groups can we understand the breadth and depth of the civil rights struggle.

The first of the study's three sections, entitled "Incursions," examines the period from 1919 to 1930 when southern radicals initiated their campaign for civil rights. Communists took the early lead in this campaign after Lovett Fort-Whiteman, the first African American communist to visit the Soviet Union, explained to his American comrades the Soviet belief that interracial solidarity was a precursor to economic reform. The first interracial action came with the 1929 strike of the Loray Mill in Gastonia, North Carolina. Although the strike failed in its immediate objectives, Gilmore argues that the communists emerged from it more determined than ever to fight for civil rights and interracial cooperation. The Scottsboro case and the campaign to free Angelo Herndon solidified this agenda and offered southern communists new opportunities to build contacts with noncommunist organizations.

In part two, entitled "Resistance," Gilmore studies the period from 1930 to 1939 when communists successfully allied with an array of southern liberal organizations. This coalition was facilitated by the communist move toward the Popular Front, during which the party tempered its revolutionary agenda, as well as the Great Depression and the rise of the Nazis, both of which aroused fears of a fascist America. According to Gilmore, the Depression and the racial turmoil it engendered scared southern liberals who feared "that unless the South extended basic civil rights to all, Dixie could provide a beachhead for the growing Fascist threat" (p. 159). Similarly, civil rights activists equated segregation with Nazism and "redefine[d] Jim Crow as a systematic, antidemocratic malignancy that could destroy the nation" (p. 159). While many Americans had accepted segregation as a legitimate middle ground between slavery and equality, fear of fascism, the Depression, and the Popular Front convinced some southern liberals to join with communists in demanding desegregation.

In part three, entitled "Rebellion," Gilmore examines the period from 1939 to 1950 when Pauli Murray, students at Howard University, and the Workers Defense League tried to maintain the coalition of the 1930s. By 1944, Gilmore maintains, these efforts had paid dividends, and most white Americans outside the South viewed segregation as un-American. The onset of the Cold War, however, undermined the struggle as segregationists began to equate civil rights with communism. Fearing the label, liberal organizations turned away from the communist movement and the coalition fell apart.

Although the Cold War slowed this early push for civil rights, Gilmore contends that the previous decades

of struggle laid the foundation for the modern civil rights movement. Without the extended campaign, the modern movement would have faced even more substantial obstacles than it did and would have taken much longer to achieve the gains that it made. From the author's perspective, the presence of the CPUSA was fundamental to this era, as the party not only pushed southern liberals into greater activity than they would have undertaken alone but also "redefined the debate over white supremacy and hastened its end" (p. 6). To study the civil rights movement without appreciating the efforts of communists and their allies during the decades prior to World War II is thus to misunderstand the entire era.

Building on the work of Mark Naison, Robin D. G. Kelley, Mark Solomon, and others, Gilmore offers a fascinating perspective on the radical origins of the modern civil rights movement. There are, however, three points of concern. First, she seems to equate action with impact. Simply because the groups she studied fought for civil rights does not mean that they actually affected the modern movement. There is little evidence of a direct connection, and in some cases she seems to perceive more of a linkage than might have truly existed. Second, she provides examples almost exclusively from North Carolina and Alabama, the southern states with the most active communist movements. Her conclusions are no less striking, but a study of such breadth deserves either a more substantive survey of the region or a cogent explanation for this focus. Finally, she offers extensive biographies of Lovett Fort-Whiteman, Junius Scales, and Pauli Murray as well as lengthy forays into singular events such as the Gastonia strike, the Scottsboro case, and the March on Washington movement. Although noteworthy, these discourses detract from her larger agenda.

Despite such weaknesses, this is an important book that demonstrates the role of the southern Left in the early years of the civil rights struggle. Students of the civil rights movement, the South, the Cold War, and American radicalism will appreciate Gilmore's significant and provocative monograph.

GREGORY S. TAYLOR
Chowan University

KEITH M. FINLEY. *Delaying the Dream: Southern Senators and the Fight against Civil Rights, 1938–1965*. (Making the Modern South.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2008. Pp. 340. \$40.00.

This book explores the role that the United States Senate's southern Democratic caucus played in obstructing the achievement of substantive civil rights reform. Keith M. Finley examines all of the rhetorical dimensions of the many arguments marshaled by southern senators against legislation to enact a federal anti-lynching statute, repeal poll taxes, create a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), end segregation in the South, and protect black voting rights. In this detailed assessment of political rhetoric

and the legislative process, Finley finds both diversity within southern white opposition to racial change and continuity in how southern senators tried to slow its momentum. His study broadens our perspective on the civil rights movement, reminding us of the importance of national political events and, ironically, the national democratic process that empowered the southern caucus's program of "strategic delay."

Developed primarily by Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, "strategic delay" relied on manipulating Senate rules covering filibustering and cloture to thwart the progress of civil rights legislation from the late 1930s until the mid-1960s. By the 1930s, black voting power outside of the Deep South spurred the realization among members of the southern caucus that civil rights advocates were not going to stop pushing for change no matter how many battles they lost. Continued success in stymieing their program depended upon crafting a lasting coalition across regional and party lines. To attract northern Democrats and conservative Republicans, most southern senators moderated their most venomous racial rhetoric, replacing it with a bevy of legal, constitutional, political, and, upon occasion, even religious arguments. Under Senator Russell's tutelage, the southern caucus also recognized the political utility of compromise. Concessions on smaller, less significant reforms, such as the Soldier Voting Act of 1942, diminished the appearance of knee-jerk obstructionism, earning the goodwill of non-southern senators and making strident opposition to other civil rights legislation more palatable to their colleagues. Softening their racial rhetoric and employing constitutional and political arguments were combined with a masterful manipulation of Senate rules and seniority to become the heart of "strategic delay." The southern caucus thus hoped to slow the movement for racial reform until it expired from a lack of momentum.

"Strategic delay" proved to be quite successful throughout most of the time period. However, as southern senators recognized, in the wake of World War II their margin of victory in winning cloture votes and other challenges shrank with each passing year. Indeed, senators such as Richard Russell, Russell Long of Louisiana, and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina saw the writing on the wall as delay and defeat actually galvanized civil rights advocates to continue their push for change. The violence marshaled in the South against civil rights protestors exposed the lie of the caucus's claims of southern racial harmony, rendering the program of "strategic delay" much harder to sustain. The southern caucus was unable, finally, to stop the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Finley offers wonderful insight into the personal versus public personas of key southern senators, from moderates such as Tennessee's Albert Gore, Sr., Florida's Claude Pepper, and Arkansas's J. William Fulbright to conservatives such as Russell, Long, Thurmond, and Allen Ellender of Louisiana. He highlights the ideological diversity within the southern caucus,

which proved not to be unified by much of anything other than opposition to civil rights reform. Finley also acknowledges the complexity of individuals such as Russell and Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas. Russell, for example, who led the fight against civil rights in the Senate until he was no longer physically able, rarely enlisted rabid racial vitriol but remained steadfastly opposed to civil rights reform throughout his life. Nonetheless, he also worked hard to prepare his constituents for the reality that Jim Crow would end one day. According to Finley, Russell's words of restraint after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 helped dissuade further violent white resistance in Georgia.

Like the authors of other recent works, Finley complicates our understanding of southern white conservatives and their opposition to civil rights reform. At the same time, he restores the salience of national political history to a story that has long (and fruitfully) been localized. His account does tend to be repetitive in tracing the rhetoric and process of "strategic delay" across several decades, for, as he notes, the rhetoric and actions enlisted by the southern caucus remained essentially the same from at least the 1940s. Despite this redundancy, Finley offers a lively account of how civil rights legislation made it through (or not) the rules and procedures of the Senate. Historians of the modern South, of national political history, and of the black freedom struggle will find reading this book to be well worth their time.

JENNIFER BROOKS
Auburn University

PAUL FRYMER. *Black and Blue: African Americans, the Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party*. (Princeton Studies in American Politics: Historical, International, and Comparative Perspectives.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 202. \$24.95.

In this book Paul Frymer analyzes the relationship between the labor and civil rights movements from the creation of a virtually all white-male labor movement in the 1930s to the emergence of an integrated movement at the end of the century, one in which people of color constituted a third of its members. While historians have often attributed the labor movement's historic "race problem" to the irrational, psychologically based racism of the white rank and file, Frymer argues that scholars need to examine the institutional basis of racism. Of particular interest to him are the state institutions—legislative acts, federal agencies, and the courts—that maintained racial divisions within the labor movement from the 1930s to the 1960s but then contributed to the repair of these divisions between the 1960s and the 1980s. Such an approach, he contends, also acknowledges the political basis of racism by recognizing the role that congressional politics played in the creation of a national labor policy that split race and labor into distinctly separate policy problems.

Both the labor movement and the civil rights move-

ment, Frymer notes, benefited from enabling legislation. For labor, the 1935 Wagner Act protected the right of workers to organize and created the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to carry out its provisions. For the civil rights movement, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited racial discrimination in the workplace and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to apply the law. However, Frymer argues that the rhetorical and temporal separation of these legislative acts, the implicit congressional consent behind that separation, and the quite distinct contexts for the enforcement of each all encouraged not only the persistence of such separation but occasionally fueled adversarial relationships between the two movements. Accurately reflecting congressional intent behind the initial legislation, the NLRB concerned itself only with anti-union discrimination, deeming racial discrimination—perhaps correctly, Frymer notes—as outside its purview. Although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 empowered the NLRB to rescind bargaining rights to unions engaged in racial discrimination, the Board tended to treat racial rights as someone else's responsibility, referring discrimination matters to the EEOC and focusing its primary attention on conflicts between employers and employees.

Meanwhile, civil rights leaders became frustrated by their failed attempts to negotiate with white labor leaders. Finding Title VII full of loopholes, the EEOC underfunded, and little political will remaining among the Democrats, civil rights activists increasingly turned to the courts for action. As a result, the judicial system became the primary agent behind the integration of the labor movement. Frymer claims that reforms to federal legal procedure played a critical role in promoting judicial activism on behalf of civil rights. For example, rules that permitted lawyers the right to win attorney fees and judges to award heavy damages not only made it easier for individuals with few resources to access the courts but also gave attorneys substantial incentives to pursue civil rights cases. Comparing federal court and NLRB decisions, the author illustrates why court-driven reform succeeded but also how the patchwork approach of allowing labor and civil rights policies to be created and administered by multiple agencies resulted in a form of political anarchy that has been damaging to the labor movement. In the end, Frymer argues, court-administered justice came with distinct costs, especially for organized labor. Whereas the NLRB acted to conciliate, the courts declared winners and losers and, unlike the NLRB, had no institutional interest in the labor movement. The new procedural provisions that had transformed civil rights cases into financial opportunities for attorneys translated into rapidly escalating litigation costs for unions. In the process, the reader learns, some unions financially "bled to death."

In spite of the book's title, the Democratic Party's decline does not receive substantial attention here, although Frymer notes that the Democrats' unwieldy New Deal coalition contributed to the shortcomings of legislation and, later, to the political disincentives for

more sweeping, detailed, and thoughtful laws. Frymer also neglects the role of other structural factors, such as the segregated labor markets that enabled the creation of mostly white unions representing mostly white workforces before the passage of the Wagner Act. However, his reconstruction of the institutional histories of state agents that played such a critical role undoubtedly adds new fuel to the debate about the sources and significance of racism in the American labor movement. By focusing on institutional racism and the role that national politics played in the creation and perpetuation of such beliefs, Frymer's analysis complicates our understanding of labor and civil rights legislation as well as the historical relationship that existed between the two movements.

MICHELLE BRATTAIN
Georgia State University

RAYMOND WOLTERS. *Race and Education, 1954–2007*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 313. \$44.95.

A little over a quarter of a century ago, Raymond Wolters published *The Burden of Brown: Thirty Years of School Desegregation*, a critical appraisal of the first thirty years of public school integration. In that important book, Wolters analyzed school integration through case studies of the school districts whose lawsuits were consolidated in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. The book was an indictment of how school integration law and the standards for integration had evolved since 1954, and it established Wolters as one of the dissenting scholars who challenged the orthodoxy among academics that integration was an unquestionable good. In his most recent study, Wolters returns to the familiar territory of school integration and arrives at many of the same conclusions.

Several of the arguments presented in this book will be familiar to those acquainted with the history of school integration. Most importantly, Wolters makes a clear distinction between desegregation and integration. Desegregation, as articulated in the *Brown* decision, prohibited discrimination on the basis of race and demanded racially neutral practices in assigning students to schools. Although Wolters argues that *Brown* was poorly reasoned in terms of the constitutional rationale for the decision, and in spite of his criticism of the social science evidence cited in the decision, he concedes that the Supreme Court's opinion was in harmony with the perspective of a majority of Americans who opposed de jure school segregation. What he finds objectionable is the shift to integration, which was endorsed in the Supreme Court's 1968 *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* decision and reaffirmed in numerous subsequent decisions. Integration required school districts to undertake affirmative steps to racially balance schools. This shift from desegregation to integration, Wolters insists, had no basis in constitutional law, actually required school districts to discriminate on the basis of race in order to meet racial

balancing goals, and was not supported by the majority of Americans, be they white or black.

This, of course, segues to a discussion of the forced busing plans utilized in cities across the nation as a means of satisfying the standards for racial balancing in the schools. Wolters marshals case studies from a number of cities in order to illustrate how forced busing spurred massive white and middle-class flight and left urban schools largely resegregated. He maintains that whites and middle-class blacks did not flee integrated schools solely because of busing, but also due to increases in violence, disruptive behavior, discipline problems, declining achievement, and numerous other issues attendant with racial balancing. Moreover, he asserts that integration failed to produce the primary benefit that proponents of racial balancing assumed that it would: closing the achievement gap between white students and minorities. According to Wolters, the Supreme Court's return since the 1990s to the *Brown* standard—desegregation rather than integration—has been legally, socially, and educationally proper.

In those chapters where the narrative is focused on the legal aspects of school integration and the consequences of how the law evolved over time, the arguments are straightforward and well articulated. However, Wolters also devotes considerable attention to school reform since the 1950s and maintains that those initiatives have further undermined the quality of American education. His arguments here, although intriguing, are characteristic of a scholar who is on less familiar terrain. In crafting these sections, the author leans heavily on James Conant, Hyman Rickover, and a short list of others. The result is a highly selective perspective on school reform that neglects to consider huge swaths of literature on the subject. At any rate, in the discussion of educational reform, Wolters favors tracking systems, despite considerable evidence that tracking often systematically discriminated against ethnic minorities and students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds by consigning them to general or vocational tracks. He contends that tracking allowed schools to have integrated enrollments while retaining high standards for the brightest and most gifted students and placing those less capable in other tracks. Wolters bemoans the shift toward more "progressive" educational models, which, he maintains, compromised high standards and diverted school districts from the mission of offering challenging, rigorous curricula. Furthermore, he decries the educational reforms aimed at improving achievement among impoverished minority students. Here again he argues against the affirmative manner in which compensatory education programs have channeled money to schools and programs serving disadvantaged students. Curiously, Wolters makes this argument without any meaningful analysis of the largest compensatory education program the nation ever initiated—the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and its many reauthorizations, most recently the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001.

All told, this book offers a well-crafted synthesis of

the dissenting scholarship on school integration. Surely not all readers will agree with some of Wolters's conclusions, but for those not well versed in some of the negative consequences of desegregation, it is a capable treatment of the major lines of those arguments.

PETER WILLIAM MORAN
University of Wyoming

JENNIFER DELTON. *Racial Integration in Corporate America, 1940–1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. vi, 313. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.99.

ROBERT E. WEEMS, JR. *Business in Black and White: American Presidents and Black Entrepreneurs in the Twentieth Century*. With LEWIS A. RANDOLPH. New York: New York University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 313. \$50.00.

These studies by Jennifer Delton and Robert E. Weems, Jr. both ask us to reconsider the relationship between race and capitalism. In the narrative of civil rights and labor historians, capitalists have often been the agents of racial oppression, with civil rights activists seeking to reform either all or parts of the capitalist system. Generally, historians of race and labor illustrate the limits of capitalism in providing economic equality or even equality of opportunity. In these two fine books, the authors focus on actors who took capitalism as a given. Analyzing their topics from the perspective of business people and politicians rather than workers, Delton and Weems emphasize arenas in which racial equality was pursued as part of a capitalist system. Their foci—corporate America and presidential policies toward black entrepreneurs—are of critical importance to our understanding of the interplay of race and capitalism in twentieth-century America.

In *Business in Black and White*, Weems explores the federal government's efforts on behalf of black entrepreneurs from the Coolidge to Carter administrations. As he reveals, long before Richard Nixon's much-publicized "black capitalism" initiative, presidents paid attention to black business development. Mining rich federal archival sources, Weems retrieves the heretofore hidden narrative of the Division of Negro Affairs in the Commerce Department, which crafted government programs to create and support black business owners from 1925 to 1953. It also acted as a clearinghouse and network for small business owners. Despite the efforts of able division leaders such as James A. "Billboard" Jackson and Emmer M. Lancaster, the office struggled for prominence. Its mission also revealed an ongoing tension within the government over the principle of federal support for minority economic development. To what extent, government officials asked, should the government single out one group for special support? As Weems and others have pointed out, they rarely acknowledged the multiple and critical ways that the government aided white businesses. Moreover, the issue of consumerism frequented discussions among the division's officials. While some government programs pur-

sued racial liberalism by encouraging white entrepreneurs to market to African American consumers, the Division of Negro Affairs recognized that those African American consumers were absolutely necessary to the success of black entrepreneurs because white consumers rarely patronized black businesses. These tensions, as Weems notes, often went unresolved, leaving independent black business owners without sufficient protection against the vicissitudes of the market.

By the 1960s, the question of federal support for black entrepreneurship became intertwined with the politics of the civil rights movement. Through the Small Business Administration as well as War on Poverty programs, the Kennedy and Johnson administrations worked to enhance African American entrepreneurship. These proposals faced significant challenges. For one, the government's emphasis on integration in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 proved problematic to African American entrepreneurs as they watched their customer base gravitate to white-owned businesses. During the 1968 presidential campaign, both Democrat Hubert Humphrey and Republican Richard Nixon touted black economic development, hoping that it would help prevent the racial unrest erupting in cities grappling with high rates of unemployment and poverty. Nixon, who had experience with black entrepreneurship when he served as vice president under Dwight D. Eisenhower, believed that federal support for black business could win him key African American votes and mute radicalism. Weems indicates that often these programs were sold to the public as a means of funneling African American discontent into conventional political and economic channels rather than remedying past injustices or ensuring equality in the marketplace.

Federal advocacy for black entrepreneurship outlasted Nixon, but, as Weems points out, the programs have yet to provide a major foundation for black economic equality. By the 1970s and 1980s, federal agencies widened their focus from African Americans to women and minority business owners, thus diminishing attention to the special problems faced by African Americans. Furthermore, despite numerous reports recommending changes to black entrepreneurial programs, they did not lead to a wholesale restructuring that would have made them more effective. While these programs certainly helped some individuals, they were unable to establish a broad class of black business owners or allow African American companies to compete with Fortune 500 corporations.

Racial Integration in Corporate America, 1940–1990 addresses one aspect of the relationship of those large corporations to the African American community. In her well-researched book, Delton questions the prevailing historiography on fair employment and affirmative action, which emphasizes the obstacles that corporate capitalists have placed in front of racial integration. Far from being obstructionist, she argues, key corporations and business organizations "played a significant role in opening the American workplace to racial minorities" (p. 3). During the 1940s, International Harvester in-

vested heavily in carrying out a non-discrimination policy it had adopted in 1941, and in the 1950s, a number of companies networked with black colleges, undertook new recruiting practices, and implemented other "affirmative actions" to improve the hiring of African Americans (p. 174). These corporate programs, Delton notes, helped normalize the integration of the workplace. Indeed, by the 1980s, corporations often opposed conservative efforts to roll back or eliminate affirmative action. For her evidence, Delton draws upon the corporate archives of Du Pont, International Harvester, Lukens Steel, and Control Data Corporation, among others, along with the papers of individuals and the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) and various business and management periodicals. Her research and analysis offer a fuller appreciation of the halting and tangled movement toward workplace equity.

In explicating the emergence of racially progressive personnel policies within the corporate world, Delton looks to exceptional CEOs and the NAM for promoting them but, perhaps more compellingly, also to industrial relations (IR) departments, where personnel experts embraced new approaches to labor-management relations that encouraged fair employment. Building on the work of scholars like Alfred Chandler and Sanford Jacoby, she highlights the importance of managers in shaping a company's workforce and influencing its culture. Specifically, she demonstrates how IR specialists in the 1940s and 1950s adopted the human relations management philosophy, which was tied to social scientific research on race relations. Consequently, human relations advocates often supported more enlightened attitudes toward the hiring of African Americans and helped create a corporate environment that was more receptive to integration than it had been previously. Delton acknowledges that the NAM, CEOs, personnel specialists, and supervisors often embraced human relations and progressive racial policies because they also could be used to undermine unions and/or to preempt more onerous government regulations. In a chapter on NAM, she stresses its role in pushing resistant members toward integrationist policies in ways that resembled the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). But, she observes, "unlike the CIO, the NAM has received no recognition for its efforts" (p. 224).

While Delton's analysis of human relations is quite persuasive, she faces a particularly difficult task in challenging the main thrust of labor and civil rights historiography. She is exceedingly careful in constructing her arguments, as she offers numerous qualifiers to her overall claim that corporations have not been sufficiently credited with paving the way for integration. Additionally, Delton is extremely adept at teasing out meaning from her sources. Even so, at times the argument feels forced, probably because she understands that she is offering a significant reinterpretation of the literature on workplace equity. The persuasion and education used by human relations experts may have influenced some companies to integrate, but given the

glacial pace of integration, even in sectors under fair employment mandates such as the federal government, and the persistence of occupational segmentation, it is hard to believe that "in the end integration was as much the result of persuasion and negotiation as coercion and pressure" (p. 193). Moreover, while certain businesses may have promoted fair employment and affirmative action initiatives, their rationale for doing so does not seem entirely irrelevant to the debate over their role in normalizing these policies. As Delton explains, corporate officials acted out of a combination of self-interested and altruistic motives. If some of their motives were self-interested, then were they truly committed to racial equality, not just integration? If the firms that adopted these policies were, as she concedes, generally anti-union and opposed to government regulation, did their anti-union, pro-free-market stance contribute in turn to trends that led to a growing inequality of wealth—an inequality that has disproportionately hurt African Americans? These companies may have helped make integration acceptable, but their facilitation of the long-term inequality of wealth may require us to rethink how much credit they deserve for promoting equal employment opportunity.

Their support for integration notwithstanding, corporations that hired African Americans were not able to erase the longstanding economic inequities between blacks and whites within corporate capitalism, as Delton recognizes. Indeed, Weems's book emphasizes that, for many African Americans, economic empowerment in a capitalist system would only come if they themselves became capitalists. His work also indicates that, in the end, government policies—or the absence of them—play a tremendous role in determining the degree of racial economic equity that the United States has or does not have.

MARGARET RUNG
Roosevelt University

ROBERT BAUMAN. *Race and the War on Poverty: From Watts to East L.A.* (Race and Culture in the American West, number 3.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 189. \$34.95.

Political attacks against President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society programs during the 1990s have inspired a number of scholars to reexamine some of Johnson's policy initiatives. During the past decade six books and more than a dozen journal articles have explored the War on Poverty. Most of these studies have examined specific places, such as Appalachia (Thomas Kiffmeyer, *Reformers to Radicals: The Appalachian Volunteers and the War on Poverty* [2008]), Alabama (Susan Youngblood Ashmore, *Carry It On: The War on Poverty and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama, 1964–1972* [2008]), and Las Vegas (Annelise Orleck, *Storming Caesars Palace: How Black Mothers Fought Their Own War on Poverty* [2005]) in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In this insightful book, Robert Bauman observes that Los Angeles was not like Appalachia or Alabama. Com-

petition between African Americans and Mexican Americans shaped the War on Poverty in southern California. Moreover, anti-poverty activism in Los Angeles coincided with, and was influenced by, the emergence of the militant Black Power and Chicano movements. Bauman follows Orleck's lead in expanding the chronological scope of his study, arguing that historians need to look beyond the 1960s to understand the "long War on Poverty." Indeed, many anti-poverty agencies have continued to serve their communities for the past four decades.

Bauman demonstrates that a struggle between Mayor Sam Yorty and many African American community leaders over control of War on Poverty programs delayed the delivery of federal anti-poverty funds to Los Angeles and became an important cause of the rioting that erupted in 1965. The violence put pressure on federal officials, who negotiated an agreement that finally allowed anti-poverty funds to begin flowing to poor people in the city. The resolution of this conflict, however, did not prevent further conflicts over the administration of government programs. Many Mexican Americans felt that the War on Poverty focused primarily on African Americans and neglected their own community.

These persistent conflicts among city officials, Mexican Americans, and African Americans turned some activists away from government agencies and toward independent organizations. Union and community activists created the Watts Labor Community Action Committee (WLCAC) in 1965. After the riots, an increasingly assertive WLCAC, acting under the leadership of Ted Watkins, received grants from the federal and state governments and from private foundations. WLCAC formed a credit union, provided consumer services, built low-income housing, and established farms, stores, and community centers. The organization also provided job training and recreational programs for young people, developed eleven small parks, and planted more than 20,000 trees. Influenced by Black Power ideology, WLCAC promoted black culture, supporting a writers' workshop and the Watts Summer Festival.

Determined to obtain their fair share of War on Poverty funds, Chicano activists formed what became the East Los Angeles Community Union (TELACU) in 1968. This organization secured the construction of new public housing, sponsored a summer camp and a reading program for children, provided job training for people of all ages, and developed services for the elderly. TELACU also participated in the Chicano Moratorium of 1970 and other political campaigns. In the early 1970s, the group became a community development corporation and increasingly focused on economic development. It transformed abandoned buildings, most notably a B. F. Goodrich tire factory, into successful businesses and invested in economic development projects in other U.S. cities.

TELACU's declining interest in community participation, the sexism of the male-dominated Chicano

movement, and the racism of the Anglo-dominated women's movement led a number of Chicana activists to form the Chicana Service Action Center (CSAC) in 1972. CSAC developed a job training program, opened child care centers, and established shelters for victims of domestic violence. Through its newsletters and projects, such as the painting of a mural at Humphreys Avenue Elementary School, CSAC challenged negative depictions of Chicanas. The center also prepared women for political leadership. Gloria Molina, who served as chairwoman of CSAC in the 1970s, was elected to the California State Assembly in 1982, the Los Angeles City Council in 1987, and the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors in 1991.

At times this book's narrow focus on a few anti-poverty agencies obscures the larger social and political environments from which WLCAC, TELACU, and CSAC emerged and in which they operated. Bauman's concentration on the post-1960 period leads him to neglect the political activism of African Americans and Mexican Americans in the 1940s and 1950s. Moreover, he does not explain clearly how the elections of President Richard Nixon in 1968 and Mayor Tom Bradley in 1973 affected the War on Poverty in Los Angeles. The tight scope of this study, however, helps to make the argument clear and persuasive. Bauman's book represents an important contribution to historical scholarship on Los Angeles, the War on Poverty, and the United States since 1960.

KEVIN ALLEN LEONARD
Western Washington University

FAY BOTHAM. *Almighty God Created the Races: Christianity, Interracial Marriage, and American Law*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 271. \$35.00.

In this text Fay Botham seems determined to prove a case that neither her evidence nor her argument will sustain. The title and dust jacket promise that the book will trace the role of Christianity in interracial marriage, at least insofar as the laws that once forbade intermarriage may be construed to provide a window on the meaning and experience of intermarriage.

The book centers on two court cases: *Perez v. Lippold* (usually known as *Perez v. Sharp*), a 1948 California Supreme Court ruling that ended that state's law against interracial marriage; and *Loving v. Virginia*, by which in 1967 the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the anti-miscegenation statutes that remained in other states. The key for Botham is the difference between Catholic and Protestant theologies of marriage and of race. California, in her view, was a Catholic place, and because of its Catholicism, there was a lot more interracial social mixing than in other parts of the U.S. Andrea Perez, a Mexican American woman, wanted to marry Sylvester Davis, a black man, in a Catholic church. When they were denied a marriage license, they sued, represented by a Catholic lawyer, Daniel Marshall. One of Marshall's arguments before the California court was that

to deny them the right to marry was to deny them the sacrament of marriage, and so to deprive them of religious expression. Virginia, by contrast, was suffused with Protestant culture, which saw marriage not as a sacrament but as a purely civil matter that the government could regulate at will, and that cited scripture as decreeing that the races should remain separate.

An early chapter tells a bit of the Perez-Davis story and a lot of the lawyer Marshall story. A late chapter focuses on the Lovings' story and on Leon Bazile, the judge who ruled they could not be married and stay in Virginia. The rest of the book meanders through the comparative origins of Catholic and Protestant approaches to race, slavery, and social intimacy, which Botham locates somewhere between the Council of Trent and Frank Tannenbaum's 1946 book *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas*. The bottom line, more or less, is that white Catholics were more positively disposed toward interracial interactions, and intermarriage, than were white Protestants—here, there, and everywhere.

I do not necessarily disagree with that assessment. But Botham does not have the data—either comprehensive primary sources or dependable use of secondary works—to back it up. She just cherry-picks facts to fit her argument—and key parts of that argument do not work very well. Six out of the seven California judges in fact rejected attorney Marshall's First Amendment religious freedom argument, and the majority decided instead on the ground of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause (the same basis used by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Loving*). Botham tries to make Marshall stand for Catholicism, but his activities in the Perez case were actually repudiated by the California Catholic hierarchy, even their civil rights wing. And Judge Bazile was in fact a Catholic, not a Protestant, so it is a stretch to argue that his was a Protestant decision.

What does stand out, as one compares mid-twentieth-century California and Virginia, is the degree to which race relations had developed a quality of multiplicity and interaction in California over the first half of the century, an era when it was probably *less* Catholic than ever before or since.

Late in the book, Botham writes, "For a moment I will step outside of my comfort zone as a historian" (p. 181). Perhaps that is a zone where she ought not feel comfortable; she operates outside the role of historian throughout the text. She should have learned better techniques from her reading of legal historians like Peggy Pascoe and Peter Wallenstein and of race historians like Winthrop Jordan and George Fredrickson. She might have learned even more had she read the work of several other historians who have examined the Perez and *Loving* decisions, including Renee Romano, Alex Lubin, Charles Robinson, and especially Rachel Moran.

In the epilogue, Botham pursues an explicitly theological argument. She enunciates what she sees as an essential difference between Protestants (whom she

characterizes as locally oriented) and Catholics (whom she regards as something like universalists). Then she shifts gears abruptly and drops the Catholic-Protestant analysis entirely as she argues that there is a parallel between the ways that some Christians used the Bible a couple of generations ago to oppose interracial marriage and the way that some Christians use that book today to oppose gay marriage.

I am on her side in that fight. I share her celebration of the end of the anti-miscegenation statutes in *Loving* and *Perez*, and I share her hope for a similar outcome in the matter of gay marriage. But I cannot testify that, in this book, she is operating as a historian. I respect the effort, but I cannot recommend the book.

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PATRICK D. JONES. *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. 318. \$45.00.

The burgeoning scholarship on civil rights clashes outside the South is not only timely and insightful, but many of these works further complicate and challenge longstanding assumptions about the black freedom movement of the twentieth century. Patrick D. Jones's book contributes to this body of literature by using Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as a case study for advancing this continued conceptualizing and re-examining of the broader movement for racial equality. Alongside Joe William Trotter's *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915–1945* (1985; rev. 2007), Jack Dougherty's *More Than One Struggle: The Evolution of Black School Reform in Milwaukee* (2004), and Andrew Witt's *The Black Panthers in the Midwest: The Community Programs and Services of the Black Panther Party in Milwaukee, 1966–1977* (2007), Jones's work adds to the scholarly girth of the black experience in this particular city, an important and unique industrial hub of the North.

One of the strengths of this text is the author's exposition of resistance to fair housing and employment equality by the highest-ranking local government officials—politicians and decision makers who also dominated leading civic institutions. White city dwellers and suburbanites also emerged as oppositional forces, particularly in response to the open housing campaign led by Father James Groppi and the NAACP Youth Council, although Jones emphasizes that the Milwaukee struggle was indeed a biracial one. As a result of Jones's thorough research on the struggle for fair housing, his book offers insight into why "inner cores" across the nation have expanded geographically and why the economies of these regions have become disturbingly depressed. Deeply affected by massive deindustrialization and economic restructuring, many of these areas began their steep decline before or during the very period in which demands for more attention to such socioeconomic trends were loudest.

While multiple issues germane to urban America permeate this important study, which is replete with Milwaukee-based discussions of the black migration, racial and intraracial politics, labor-based ethnic strife, and police brutality, the text is, without question, solid civil rights history. Milwaukee witnessed a demonstrative, nonviolent, direct-action movement while the city's young activists simultaneously fostered a unique brand of Black Power radicalism. What makes Jones's work particularly effective is his ability to show how these seemingly divergent platforms melded into something particularly meaningful in Milwaukee.

The most difficult terrain Jones navigates involves detangling the racial and religious quandaries presented by the emergence of Father Groppi, a white Catholic priest, as the visible leader of the more confrontational protests in the city. Critics of the time, and even a minority of the members of the movement, questioned Groppi's position as the movement's leader. Some even argued that Groppi received too much attention and credit for the campaigns. Jones responds to these debates by emphasizing Groppi's service to the Milwaukee agenda as well as the respect he garnered from national civil rights leadership. However, he also slips into aggrandizing Father Groppi, although this may have been unavoidable. Groppi was indeed an effective leader of the city's energetic youth, and while Jones attempts to emphasize the role played by NAACP Youth Council leaders in charting directions and sustaining campaigns, this objective gets lost to some degree because of Groppi's extraordinary efforts. To further deflect this outcome, Jones shows that while Groppi became the face of the fight for civil rights in Milwaukee, black youth were integral to a movement that gained form and direction at a neighborhood institution in St. Boniface Church. Similarly, the efforts of leading African Americans such as alderwoman and judge Vel Phillips, legislator Lloyd Barbee, and the labor radical Calvin Sherard are highlighted, although these vignettes pale in comparison to the detail given to Groppi.

Accordingly, the most cogent parts of this study are the chapters on Father Groppi, the NAACP Youth Council and their security arm the Milwaukee Commandos, and the open housing campaign of 1967–1968. For contextualization, early in the book Jones discusses demonstrations that preceded their efforts. These included economic-based struggles, challenges to police brutality, and the campaign for school desegregation that soon shifted to the courtroom. While this material is useful and certainly adds context, these sections ultimately appear somewhat disparate when compared to the housing protests.

Make no mistake though; this book is an important and powerful work. Milwaukee's civil rights movement was rich and vibrant. It embodied the familiarity of southern movements with the added complexities of northern nuances. It witnessed black youth directly involved in the decision-making process around movement ideology and practices. And, it is worth remem-

bering, Milwaukee's seminal clashes emerged at a critical juncture that allowed civil rights-era religious ideology and nonviolent, direct-action protests to meld effectively, albeit for a time, with Black Power radicalism.

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YOHURU WILLIAMS and JAMA LAZEROW, editors. *Liberated Territory: Untold Local Perspectives on the Black Panther Party*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. 303. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

Liberated Territory is part of the new historiography that emphasizes the importance of local chapters within the national Black Panther Party (BPP) structure. These new studies are a welcome alternative to autobiographies and other texts that have focused almost exclusively on the activities of the national leadership based in Oakland. In this particular case, Yohuru Williams and Jama Lazerow's edited volume extends the arguments made in their earlier collaborative work, *In Search of the Black Panther Party: New Perspectives on a Revolutionary Movement* (2006). In that book, the editors and their contributors argued that local Panther branches should be studied more closely in order to achieve a more balanced understanding of what factors contributed to the national Panther movement.

Williams and Lazerow have again assembled a noteworthy collection of essays that provide the reader with new insights on relatively little-known BPP chapters and organizing bureaus in Omaha, New Bedford, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Alabama. The introduction, written by Williams, reviews the historical and popular literature on the BPP and demonstrates a wide-ranging knowledge of primary and secondary source material and academic arguments. Williams offer a necessary corrective to a tendency among American historians to regard the Black Panther Party as "more a criminal gang than a political organization" (p. 41). He maintains that, in fact, the Panther movement was a nationwide *political* phenomenon among African American youth. Young people were attracted to the BPP because they wanted to effect a radical change in their community's socioeconomic conditions. The salient issue was whether this change was going to be pursued peacefully, or through force of arms, or by a combination of both methods. Members of the Black Panther Party ultimately chose the third option during their organization's brief existence between 1966 and 1982.

The text also argues that the Panthers provided an organizing model for disaffected white radicals and Hispanics. The extensive source material provided in the opening chapters will encourage academics interested in pursuing their own research into the Black Panther Party's history and ideology. The later essays show clearly that each local chapter was firmly situated within the regional politics and culture of its particular community despite its adherence to the BPP's basic orga-

nizing platform. However, the social concerns of the Panther movement—whether in Omaha, Milwaukee, Massachusetts, Detroit, or the Deep South—did share many similarities. Unemployment, poor housing, and a perceived lack of educational opportunity existed in African American communities regardless of their geographic region or political representation.

The book's strongest chapters analyze the activities of the Detroit branch and the Alabama Black Liberation Front (ABLF). The analysis of the latter provided by Robert W. Widell, Jr. contributes to BPP historiography primarily because it discusses relatively unknown Panther-influenced movements in the Deep South. The ABLF was based in Birmingham, but its leading members had actually started the Atlanta-based Georgia Black Liberation Front in 1970 before moving to Birmingham later that same year. A few of the founders had also been involved in Panther activities in North Carolina.

Many of the ABLF's members consented to be interviewed by Widell, and their testimonies clarify important aspects of their history and political motives. We learn, for example, that several of the organization's members were former servicemen who had been radicalized by their experiences in Vietnam. Widell also notes that the ABLF "incorporated the Panthers into nearly every aspect of its work: in its training of new members, its response to police brutality, its production of alternative news sources, and its community service programs" (p. 154). Despite not being an official Panther branch, the ABLF dispatched members to Oakland for training and political guidance. In addition to its other activities, the ABLF instituted a series of community programs that included medical clinics, liberation schools, and breakfast programs for school children.

Not surprisingly, the ABLF encountered the same police hostility that was experienced by other branches. The group came under suspicion for monitoring police activities in Birmingham, which fueled the consolidation of federal, state, and local law enforcement activities against the organization. In fact, every one of the Black Panther Party's local chapters discussed in this book discovered that a great deal of its energies would be devoted to raising bail money, hiring lawyers, and keeping members out of jail. Law enforcement officials entangled many branches in these time-consuming functions in order to keep them from engaging in more productive organizing work. Unremitting police hostility was the norm for the ABLF and BPP members all across the country, despite their attempts to show a benevolent side through community programs. The ABLF was ultimately forced to cease operations by 1972 due to this "police repression" (p. 165).

Police hostility existed partly because of the Panthers' tendency to engage in unrestrained militant rhetoric. Such rhetoric, however, was also accompanied by armed actions. A discussion of this tendency is the most important aspect of Ahmad A. Rahman's chapter on Detroit. His essay contains the rare admission that an

armed underground Panther unit existed in the city. Rahman, a former member of the Detroit branch, describes how its members' secret activities were guided by the writings of Che Guevara, Carlos Marighella, and Robert Williams. Members of the armed underground unit believed that the activities of small cadres of urban guerrillas would be the spark that set off the second American Revolution. This unit was specifically tasked with "retaliation against the police or other government forces after they committed some atrocity against the people" (p. 207).

Rahman and other militants within the Panther underground realized too late that they were outside the mainstream of American political thought. Their lack of knowledge about the specifics of American history prevented them from understanding that many blacks had chosen to struggle for full citizenship during and after the American Revolution. Every generation of African Americans since that time has overwhelmingly renewed this commitment to becoming part of the American mainstream. Free blacks utilized the tools available to them in this quest. Their churches, schools, and self-help organizations worked to enlarge the definition of American citizenship. The very existence of free blacks also provided an alternative reality and hope for their enslaved brethren.

Devin Fergus's epilogue in this book demonstrates how the Panthers belatedly came to such a realization during the 1970s. By 1972 the Black Panther Party had decided to embrace the political path chosen by the overwhelming majority of African Americans. The North Carolina chapter and the national office in Oakland pursued an electoral strategy that concentrated on working within the Democratic Party to pursue political change. Most students of BPP history are familiar with the losing electoral campaigns of Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown in 1973. Less well known is the victorious 1977 campaign run by North Carolina Panthers in Winston-Salem. The North Carolina Panthers chose to run as Democrats. Fergus discusses the history of the branch and how it illustrates its members' ideological transition from revolutionaries to participants within the system. That said, he chooses not to answer the obvious question of why the process took so long.

Despite the many strong points within Williams and Lazerow's edited volume, there are some lingering issues that it does not engage. The contributors fail to discuss why the Panthers and other members of the New Left believed that American political and social history held so little value. What was it about that particular political moment that practically dictated a commitment to armed struggle? Why were Americans so fascinated with Third World guerrilla movements? What made them believe that urban warfare would succeed in the United States? Was it really necessary for so many young people to lose their lives or be imprisoned before the leadership decided to change course? A more complete Panther history will only be written

when historians start to address these complex and difficult questions.

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OMAR H. ALI. *In the Balance of Power: Independent Black Politics and Third-Party Movements in the United States*. Foreword by ERIC FONER. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 244. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

In a broad study of activity outside the American political mainstream, Omar H. Ali outlines the ways in which African Americans have attempted, and continue to attempt, to exert pressure upon those in power. He charts this process from slave revolts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to polls as recent as 2008 suggesting that, while blacks still vote overwhelmingly for the Democratic Party, around thirty percent categorize themselves as political independents. Ali notes that African Americans have been involved in many independent political movements and third parties since the early nineteenth century. This is a process he sees continuing with the 2008 presidential candidacy of Barack Obama, someone he views as giving "expression to black America's independence" (p. 166). Indeed, Obama, who has been compared to both Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King, Jr., was, Ali concludes, ultimately reliant upon black and independent voters for his election.

Third parties often dealt with issues ignored by the mainstream, for example, voting rights, abolitionism, and civil rights. Moreover, we should remember that powerful forces such as the Republican Party and the later, albeit brief, Populist movement were products of independent political insurgencies. Prior to the Civil War, African American political involvement was necessarily outside political parties, yet it is often forgotten that some African Americans could vote in the antebellum period. Political independence, therefore, has been seen as a viable alternative to two-party politics and racist exclusion from the political process for most of the history of the United States. With this in mind, Ali's book examines abolitionists, the Black Panther Party, socialists, progressives, communists, and a myriad of minor, sometimes largely forgotten, groups as he attempts to construct a viable narrative outlining African Americans in third-party and politically independent movements.

Ali suggests that African Americans were not particularly susceptible to socialism or communism. Eugene V. Debs, the perennial Socialist Party presidential candidate, failed to garner their support due to a combination of "disregard for the religious context of black political life [...] insufficient efforts regarding black voting rights[,] and . . . general inflexibility [that] engendered marginal support among African Americans" (p. 108) and southern socialists' embrace of Jim Crow (despite Debs's advocacy of racial equality). That said, Ali could bolster his argument here by acknowledging

that the burden of being red added to that of being black as a way of explaining African American resistance to appeals from communists and socialists.

Ali is certainly correct to expose the failures of both the Republicans and the Democrats, but to claim that they "endorsed" the Ku Klux Klan in 1924 is perhaps a misreading of events. Certainly, neither party, to their eternal discredit, officially condemned the resurgent Klan, preferring instead to bury the issue (the Democrats had a particularly rancorous debate about it at their convention), but this does not constitute an endorsement. As far as the 1948 election is concerned, Ali's conclusion that, "viewed cynically, Truman was able to co-opt the movement of independents—black and white—to keep himself and the Democratic Party in power" (p. 127) could be reinforced by a discussion of the efforts of the Democrats to keep Progressive candidate Henry Wallace off the ballot in a number of crucial states. In addition, a quick glance at Kenneth Janken's *White: The Biography of Walter White, Mr. NAACP* (2003) would confirm that the civil rights leader's flirtation with Wallace that year was brief, as he soon became one the candidate's principal critics on civil rights. It is also clear that White's increasingly hyperbolic rhetoric was rooted in his fear of Wallace siphoning off black votes desperately needed by Truman, who, as Ali notes, had made important (if ultimately unfulfilled) commitments to civil rights.

Ali recognizes that many of those African Americans who were involved in the civil rights struggle, including some former members of the Black Panther Party (BPP), have been co-opted by the Democrats, becoming "narrowly focused on winning public office in majority black districts" (p. 149). This means, he argues, that African Americans are dependent on, and yet disconnected from, the Democratic Party at the same time that black office seekers are alienated from younger voters. Ali contends that this situation is further complicated by the fear of "black political independence" (p. 156) among black Democrats, as they are concerned with losing support from or being ostracized by white Democrats. Despite the gains that have been made since the 1960s, moreover, African Americans remain "politically marginalized and chronically poor" (p. 160). The black middle class may have tripled in size since the passage of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts, but the Democratic Party has failed poorer African Americans.

Ali's reinterpretation of this history through the prism of third-party and independent politics is not always successful. It incorporates, not entirely convincingly, many forms of black political activity, including slave revolts, which can only be very loosely defined as third-party or independent politics. Theoretically, Ali does not properly engage with why so many African Americans remain wedded to the two-party system when it seems self-evident that their political marginalization would be reduced if they abandoned it, or more accurately, the Democratic Party. His book, nevertheless, has its strengths; for instance, its analysis of

the Populists of the 1890s and the insurgencies of Lenora Fulani and Jesse Jackson in the 1980s is compelling, as is a useful discussion of the complexities of abolitionist thought during the antebellum period, including accounts of the Negro Convention movement, the emergence of slavery as a party political issue (rather than simply a moral one), and the development and failure of various short-lived political parties. He also notes the efforts of African American churches, fraternal organizations, and unions (the Colored Farmers' Alliance, for example) to negotiate the constant erosion of their rights during the dark days of the post-Reconstruction Redemption, although he does not offer especially original analysis.

It is easy to sympathize with Ali's account of the ways in which third parties are hamstrung by the deeply entrenched nature of the two-party system; however, it is more difficult to accept the author's assertion that this situation is a modern version of Jim Crow determined by political affiliation. That said, Ali does identify many of the problems inherent in the American two-party system, in that it operates a closed shop ("those who make the rules, rule" [p. 162]), thwarts genuine change, and willfully stifles the democratic process.

Unfortunately, the text contains many gaps and a number of areas that require much fuller analysis. The Nation of Islam, the most visible African American organization outside of mainstream American political discourse in the 1960s, receives barely a mention. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO), and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU), groups that possibly best epitomize effective, if short-lived, independent political movements, are dealt with in a cursory manner. This reflects another problem with the book as a whole: it is a fairly brief work that deals with a long chronological span, which means that it offers neither comprehensive analysis nor sufficient narrative detail to enhance our understanding of the subject. Readers with a fairly general knowledge of the key moments of African American history will find little here that they do not already know.

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KARL BOYD BROOKS. *Before Earth Day: The Origins of American Environmental Law, 1945–1970*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2009. Pp. xxii, 263. \$34.95.

ADAM M. SOWARDS. *The Environmental Justice: William O. Douglas and American Conservation*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 198. \$24.95.

As Karl Boyd Brooks frequently notes in *Before Earth Day*, the account of environmental law taught in most law school courses begins with 1970, the year that President Richard Nixon signed the National Environmental Policy Act into law and that the first Earth Day was organized. Then followed the explosion of statutes and cases that defined the scope of modern environmental

law. Exactly how this new field of jurisprudence came to be remains largely unexplored. Both of these studies expose the limitations of the standard account.

In *The Environmental Justice*, Adam M. Sowards explores Justice William O. Douglas's position as "a public intellectual for conservation" (p. 4). He surveys Douglas's life from his formative years in Washington through his public involvement in several conservation controversies and his environmental opinions for the Supreme Court. Chapter one traces the roots of his commitment to conservation to the love of nature he acquired during his childhood. His youthful explorations of the foothills and mountains of the Cascade Range led him "to appreciate nature in the mountains" and to develop his "passion for hiking in magnificent landscapes" (p. 18). These early experiences continued to influence Douglas long after he acquired national prominence.

The next three chapters detail Justice Douglas's involvement in various conservation controversies during the 1950s and 1960s. Chapter two chronicles his participation in hikes to protest the scenic byway that was proposed along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal near Washington, D.C., and a proposed road on Olympic Beach in the state of Washington. Chapter three focuses on a trio of books that Justice Douglas published in the 1960s to advocate "permanent legislative changes to support nature" (p. 59); they contributed, Sowards argues, to the adoption of federal wilderness legislation during that decade. Chapter four highlights Douglas's public support for conservationists in several battles during the 1960s, such as the ones regarding Cougar Lake in Oregon, the Big Thicket region in eastern Texas, and the creation of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historic Park.

Chapter five addresses Justice Douglas's judicial contributions to the conservation movement. His majority opinion in *Udall v. Federal Power Commission* (1967) ruled that the commission could not just decide who should construct a dam; rather, the agency also had to decide "whether any dam should be constructed" (p. 121). His other two majority opinions subjected Indian fishing rights to reasonable conservation measures of the state, but only when the state "fairly apportioned" the steelhead catch "between Indian net fishing and non-Indian sport fishing" (p. 124). In the early 1970s, his dissents urged the Supreme Court to consider cases arising under the National Environmental Policy Act and to allow individuals to bring environmental suits in the name of the inanimate objects that were being damaged.

Soward's biography of Douglas usefully reminds readers of his subject's involvement in the conservation controversies of the postwar years and his contributions to the emerging field of environmental law. Ultimately, however, two aspects of the book are less than satisfying. It omits portions of Douglas's environmental contributions, and it adopts an uncritical attitude toward his opinions and activities.

The omissions cover both Douglas's political involve-

ments and his judicial contributions. One example of a political involvement that Sowards neglects is the justice's public support for the unsuccessful effort to stop funding for the Tellico Dam constructed by the Tennessee Valley Authority on the Little Tennessee River (see Kenneth M. Murchison, *The Snail Darter Case: TVA versus the Endangered Species Act* [2007], p. 19). More significantly, the book ignores Douglas's most important opinions in pollution control law. In *United States v. Republic Steel Corporation* (1960) and *United States v. Standard Oil Company* (1966), his opinions converted the Rivers and Harbors Act into a pollution control statute, and they also helped to produce the political compromise that led to the passage of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972.

Sowards's uncritical attitude toward his biographical subject extends both to his legal opinions and to the legal propriety of his involvement in political controversies while serving as a member of the Supreme Court. With respect to the legal opinions, one might wonder why Douglas's environmental opinions had so little influence on the development of subsequent law; Sowards fails to address the issue, much less to resolve it. This study is also silent on a key issue of the judicial function: the propriety of a sitting justice participating in political protests. The potential for conflict between Douglas's political activities and his judicial duties is obvious. The Tellico Dam controversy, for example, eventually made its way to the Supreme Court less than three years after Justice Douglas retired. Had he still been a justice when *Tennessee Valley Authority v. Hill* (1978) reached the highest level, the demands for his recusal would have been difficult to reject.

In *Before Earth Day*, Brooks expands the conventional story of the origins of environmental law in two respects. He describes statutory and judicial antecedents to the laws and judicial decisions of the 1970s, and he extends the sources of environmental law beyond statutes and opinions to include legislators, lawyers, and activists who produced the legal texts. With respect to formal legislative enactments, Brooks convincingly demonstrates that the 1970s were not the first time that a series of environmental statutes was enacted in quick succession. He details how Congress established one group of environmental statutes in the decade following World War II and then another in the 1960s. Moreover, the evolution of the laws showed a gradual but growing acceptance of the need for federal action in a wide variety of areas.

At the same time that Congress was enacting new legislation, administrative law began its postwar expansion, spurred by the enactment of the Administrative Procedure Act in 1946. On the federal level, conservation activists principally focused their efforts on limiting dams and other development projects that threatened the natural environment. In various states, citizen activists used new administrative processes to advocate for stricter regulations of polluters.

In chapter five, Brooks explains how postwar developments in environmental law were related to "three

simultaneous cultural shifts": the boom in outdoor recreation, the flourishing of suburbs, and the widespread growth of prosperity (p. 94). He connects the first two to specific legislative changes, including the Wilderness Act of 1964, the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act of 1947, and the Miller and Delaney Amendments to the Food and Drug Act in the 1950s. Prosperity, he argues, contributed to statutes that ameliorated without halting environmental damage as increasingly affluent consumers "blunted legal change to protect material prosperity" (p. 122).

Finally, Brooks documents the role of individuals in making environmental law. He begins with the contributions of Representative (later Senator) A. Willis Robertson of Virginia, who provided congressional leadership in the battles to enact the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act in 1946 and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act in 1948. Throughout the text, Brooks emphasizes the contributions of the leaders of conservation organizations, especially the Izaak Walton League. One chapter examines in detail the environmental files of Bruce Bowler, an Idaho lawyer involved in many of the postwar environmental controversies in the West.

In the main, Brooks tells a convincing story about the origins of environmental law before the 1970s. One might, of course, quibble with certain details, such as his description of the Administrative Procedure Act as a conservation reform as much as a business reform and his ignoring of the Rivers and Harbors Act decisions that helped to forge the compromise of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972. Notwithstanding these minor complaints, the book does much to enrich our understanding of the statutory antecedents of modern environmental law as well as the individuals and political and cultural forces that produced it.

One impressive aspect of Brooks's study is the questions it prompts. Mentioning just a few should illustrate the breadth of the issues raised. Were the postwar reforms a new direction for the conservation movement, or were they extensions of still earlier conservation efforts? What factors influenced Congress periodically to enact groups of environmental statutes? How are the postwar environmental reforms related to the civil rights movement that was occurring at the same time? How significantly did the post-1970 cases transform the earlier reform efforts?

Taken together, these two books mark a good beginning for tracing the legal history of the environment in the twentieth century. Hopefully, they will lead to many more efforts to explore these issues.

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ALYSSA PICARD, *Making the American Mouth: Dentists and Public Health in the Twentieth Century*. (Critical Issues in Health and Medicine.) New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 226. \$45.95.

Americans seem obsessed with their teeth. Many commercials, movies, and other media reinforce the desirability of blazingly bright teeth. Alyssa Picard's intriguing social history of American dentistry demonstrates how that fixation symbolizes the evolution of the profession from a social commitment to improving dental health to the cosmetic focus of today. She effectively uses professional literature, limited archival resources, and the popular press to weave a series of thematic chapters into a conclusion that the profession has become less committed to broad access to its services, more conservative and status conscious, and effective in defending itself from government interference. We have come a long way from dentists' hope of improving on the World War II minimum requirement for service that a recruit's six top teeth make contact with six lower teeth (p. 128).

Picard covers a great deal of ground as she analyzes a century of dentistry. The book's chapters discuss the early commitment to social dentistry through industrial and school clinics, the connection to the eugenics movement, the resistance to insurance plans and government programs, the campaign to add fluoride to America's drinking water, and eventually the rise of cosmetic dentistry and the diminishment of social dentistry. Picard connects the profession's evolution to broader social issues. For instance, in her chapter on eugenics she describes leading dentists' supportive positions regarding contemporary social views of racial differences and their impact on oral health. That "primitive peoples" sometimes had healthier teeth was explained by correlating advanced civilizations and declining oral health due to greater mental exertion (p. 45). That some dentists embraced eugenics is not surprising, but the profession's refusal to reject such concepts even as evidence mounted regarding the role of diet in oral health is distressing.

Throughout the text Picard introduces the reader to influential figures in dental history. The quirky Edgar R. R. "Painless" Parker embodies all that the early twentieth-century dental elite hated, what with his limited education and unconventional entrepreneurial spirit. Connecticut dentist Dr. Alfred Fones changed the profession by demonstrating the effectiveness of the female dental hygienist. Dr. Weston Andrew Valleau Price started out as a powerful advocate of eugenics but through empirical research came to reject race as the basis for bad teeth, blaming diet instead. Detroit dentist Dr. William Travis argued for fluoridation yet got increasingly frustrated when the public disagreed. Dr. Ronald Cunning upended conventional wisdom by "grilling" rappers' teeth with diamonds and gold. These people and many others enliven the text and humanize the somewhat abstract debates roiling within the profession.

The early twentieth-century commitment to expanding access to dental health by providing free care to targeted populations gradually faded. As the century progressed, the American Dental Association focused on stopping the expansion of insurance plans and national

health legislation. Arguing that dentists, like physicians, were private contractors, they vigorously opposed any change in current practices. The story the book tells is familiar to historians of health policy and the history of medicine, yet it adds an important element to the narrative.

Picard's study is generally well researched, well written, and persuasive. Surprisingly, the author makes allusions to a wide range of scholarly works but cites few examples from the history of dentistry, which would have been helpful to this reader. Some chapters are more persuasive than others, with the connections between them strained at times. The discussion of the campaign for fluoridation is particularly effective in showing the frustration that dentists expressed when the American people balked at their advice and the transition the movement represented from the social emphasis of earlier generations to the professional and status focus of current dentists. Picard argues that popular discussions of the opposition have incorrectly focused on the fear of communism, when dentists promoting fluoridation were equally concerned about the health and appearance of Americans' teeth. They were simultaneously fighting against government intervention into their profession and for it.

The chapter on eugenics has some fascinating material but is not as well organized or compelling as the others. It would have been more effective if Picard had started by defining the eugenics movement, demonstrated its relationship to dentistry, and outlined the major proponents. Price, for instance, is a fascinating character who could have helped frame the chapter's conflicts between science and racism if introduced earlier.

This monograph is especially helpful to scholars trying to broaden their understanding of the public policy debates around health care, looking for specific information on one of the thematic chapters, or attempting to understand the social context of dentistry. Historians of medicine will find it to be an impressive addition to the limited literature on the social values and conflicts within this important branch of medical practice.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

HERMAN L. BENNETT. *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 227. \$39.95.

Using several kinds of documentation connected to the institution of Christian marriage in New Spain, Herman L. Bennett argues for a paradigm shift in definitions of freedom away from Enlightenment-era notions of personal liberty to a model drawn from the earlier experiences of Africans and their descendants in Spain's most important viceroyalty. Bennett asserts that historians of Afro-Mexico would do well to turn away from a focus on the institution of slavery and labor history

toward documenting African and Creole interiority. This point is well taken, but in overstating the uniqueness of his approach, Bennett dismisses the last decade of enthusiastic scholarship accomplished in both the United States and Mexico, as well as largely ignoring a new historiography exploring the Viceroyalty of Peru and scholarship on the family in Brazil. Recent works, especially Joan Bristol's *Christians, Blasphemers and Witches: Afro-Mexican Ritual Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (2007), attempt to recreate the mental, emotional, and spiritual world of Africans and their descendants in seventeenth-century New Spain, a time and place that Bennett repeatedly characterizes as neglected. Without analyzing Bristol's or others' books on the subject, Bennett concludes that the "troubling . . . near total absence of studies on this period . . . represents a form of epistemological exorcism akin to social death" (p. 141). Bennett is right to refute generalizations, such as the theory of social death, as inapplicable to New Spain, but in order to bring maturity to this field historians of Afro-Mexico must make a serious effort to acknowledge and analyze each other's work, even if we disagree. Unfortunately, readers unfamiliar with this field will not realize that Bennett's ideas have recent precedents, even if they study his footnotes.

It is refreshing to see Bennett's conviction in his assertion that "not all social practices . . . were engendered by resistance" (p. 216). He argues for cultural vitality instead of what has become a rather lazy approach to interpreting the evidence, and critiques the desire to recount violence and horror as a way to ignore other kinds of evidence that might open up a more vibrant life experience. Although Bennett should use the term *agency* with more care, he does well to stress change over time in Afro-Mexican marriage practices, contributing to an eighteenth-century self-definition in terminology related to the Iberian honor code. He also cautions demographic historians, who interpret marriages across race labels as a form of social climbing, not to replicate viceregal fears of social disruption. Bennett's reproduction of family trees diagrammed by scribes in eighteenth-century disputes over consanguinity should finally put to rest the viceroys' characterization of Afro-descendants as a rootless, criminal caste (as do Ben Vinson III's *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free-Colored Militia in Colonial Mexico* [2001] and my own analysis of Afro-Mexican Catholic organizations, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans* [2006]).

While Bennett and nearly all other recent historians of Africans and their descendants in New Spain strive to convey vibrant and fully realized lives centered on community and social ties, not all sources facilitate replicating this complexity, especially in the typical historical monograph. Although his purpose is to explore religious and familial identity, Bennett's style in presenting his sources drains the passion from cases of bigamy, thwarted love, or illicit affairs between cousins. In repeating mundane verbiage from the trials he clings to official terminology, using words such as "concubi-

nage" and "illicit." These words are notarial shorthand that sexualizes women (the "concubines") and demeans the human relationship under official scrutiny.

Bennett overemphasizes the day-to-day control the Catholic Church had over individual sex lives in an effort to adhere to theories of social discipline, but in the process he contradicts his own key theories, as well as recent literature on this topic. He bases his perspective on three halfhearted campaigns by the archbishop of Mexico, in the early 1570s, 1601, and 1609, to investigate cohabitation, and on secondary sources not always related to the situation under discussion. Using the same archival evidence, Bennett makes the valid point that many Africans and Creoles enjoyed consensual sex. Later in the book, in suggesting a new model for free and enslaved experiences taken from the Iberian world, Bennett argues that one of the salient characteristics of the African experience in New Spain was the freedom to have lovers or marry.

While Bennett engages with some strands of the historiography of the African experience in the Americas, he has little or no interest in a subtle approach to gender, as evidenced by his reference to "a rapacious colonial slave society in which all women constituted objects of unbridled desire" (p. 138). While his archival base—different kinds of bureaucratic records connected to spouse selection, marriage, and the resulting conflicts—is a bit narrow for his broad conclusions, another important flaw is his apparent desire to isolate himself from others working in his own and other closely related fields.

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CARLOS MARICHAL. *Bankruptcy of Empire: Mexican Silver and the Wars between Spain, Britain, and France, 1760–1810*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 318. \$85.00.

The 2008 bicentenary of Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Spain has prompted renewed academic interest in the fall of Spain's American empire and its colonies' independence. Perspectives national, continental, and Atlantic abound as scholars bury some old hatchets and sharpen new ones. Yet much recent scholarship has focused on changes to political culture and the revolutionary or conservative nature of independence in societies deeply divided by race, class, and regional interests. Carlos Marichal's economic history of the role of Mexican silver in the waning years of the Spanish Empire returns attention to the financial policies that supported, indebted, and then bankrupted Bourbon New Spain and Spain between 1760 and 1810, setting the stage for nineteenth-century political instability and economic disorder in both countries.

Eight tightly focused chapters trace the trajectory of the taxes, loans, and *donativos patrióticos* (gifts) collected by New Spain's royal authorities from 1760 to 1810, from the height of the Bourbon reforms to the

loosening of the ties between Spain and its empire with the spread of autonomist and independence movements following Napoleon's invasion. Drawing extensively from multifaceted recent scholarship by foreign and Mexican scholars and his own previous studies, Marichal argues that increasing late eighteenth-century Mexican silver production promoted transatlantic trade and enriched the imperial bureaucracy which collected the silver as fees for minting and mining; payment for Spanish-supplied mercury; forced and voluntary loans from major institutions, merchants, and miners; and taxes, including sales taxes and Indian tribute. Once in official coffers, the silver paid not only for New Spain's colonial administration but also funded Spain's empire in two important ways, making New Spain a "fiscal sub-metropolis" (p. 19). First, *situados*, or transfers within the imperial bureaucracy, sent silver directly to the Spanish Caribbean to cover imperial defense costs. Second, silver shipments to Spain, representing up to fifteen percent of crown revenue, served as collateral for multiple loans from Dutch banks to finance the crown's imperial wars against France and Britain in 1763, 1793–1795, 1796, and 1805–1808. Useful appendices detail the more than twenty-five loans and *donativos* collected in New Spain from 1781–1810 and the ten Dutch loans taken from 1779 to 1806. In short, Marichal shows how Mexican silver supported imperial Spain's resurgence while increasing debt in the center and periphery.

Marichal's principal conclusions will come as no surprise to economic historians of Mexico. The 250 million silver pesos collected by New Spain for the Spanish Empire in this period financed Spain's wars at increasing costs, particularly after 1800, when imperial administrators could not make interest payments on loans, let alone repay capital extracted from New Spain. The debts incurred bankrupted both treasuries by 1810, complicating funding to fight Napoleon in Spain and to end a decade-long rebellion in New Spain. Further, to put down the rebellion New Spain's officials ceased the *situado* payments to the Caribbean, weakening Spain's imperial grasp there.

Marichal's originality shows when we see his work as he intends, in an imperial Atlantic framework. He argues that scholars of empire should revisit their assumptions and use Spain's dynamic and modernizing Bourbon empire—a close third to eighteenth-century Britain and France—for comparison, abandoning views of Spain as an unchanging imperial has-been. Why? For Marichal the evidence counters the long-held argument that parliamentary regimes are more effective at extracting resources. He further suggests that taking colonial economics into account may change interpretations of imperial and national history. For example, he presents the 1804 *Consolidación de Vales Reales* as a fundraising effort that responded to reduced liquidity in traditional funding sources, challenging traditional assertions that the policy was intended to reduce the power of the colonial church. Similarly, he reminds historians of the Cortes of Cádiz that Mexican silver funded Spain's opposition to Napoleon, particularly the

many regional *juntas* and later the Seville and Cádiz-based regency and parliament, contributing substantially to the success of Spain's own "war of independence."

For students of Atlantic history, the book's focus on fiscal details—tabulating sums collected from miners, merchants, and institutions from the powerful merchants' guild and Catholic Church to indigenous community chests—may overwhelm without addressing questions at the heart of their scholarship. For example, Marichal could have considered whether the colonial elite's loans to the Spanish state and desire to recuperate substantial capital factored into their longstanding loyalty to the crown. He might have discussed colonial elites who did not offer large patriotic loans or gifts as well as those who did, to detect through fiscal methods possible tensions between Spanish and Mexican-born elites, or other factions operating during and after independence. In a comparative vein, Marichal's explanations of the loyalty of New Spain's elites in the face of extensive taxation—much heavier than that prompting Britain's colonial elites to declare independence—could be developed. Similarly, while we learn how much silver left New Spain, we never know what part of the entire colony's or any individual's fortune was sucked away. Clearly, scholarship integrating financial questions more fully with studies of individual and group interests would be welcome. Nonetheless, by presenting Mexican silver as an Atlantic commodity, Marichal shows how debt and commerce can make strange bedfellows, as when British warships carried Mexican silver to pay Spain's debt to Napoleon in the early 1800s. This study showing how debt and fiscal overextension bankrupted Spain and New Spain holds a lesson for students of empires past and present.

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BENJAMIN T. SMITH. *Pistoleros and Popular Movements: The Politics of State Formation in Postrevolutionary Oaxaca*. (The Mexican Experience.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 578. \$35.00.

Historians of twentieth-century Mexico have long used 1940 as a cut-off point. Drawn to the 1910–1920 Revolution, its causes, or the process of state consolidation in the two decades immediately after the war's end, scholars have produced a rich and multifaceted body of work. In sharp contrast, the rest of the century has only recently come under the historian's eye. Marked by the protracted rule of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the narrative that dominated modern Mexican historiography emphasized the all-encompassing power of the central government. Through the study of popular culture on the one hand and social movements on the other, recent works have begun to challenge this notion, painting a far more complicated picture that includes popular resistance, official violence, and multiple levels of negotiation. In this case study of Oaxaca, Benjamin T. Smith examines local power networks, eth-

nic relations, and social protest during the 1930s, 1940s, and early 1950s. As the central government sought to extend its power throughout southern Mexico, Smith demonstrates, it encountered organized opposition, forcing it into multiple, often contradictory arrangements. Such conflict gave way to “uneven, ragged, complex, and deeply contested” federal power in Oaxaca (p. 361). By understanding this process, argues Smith, “it is possible to reconstruct a more realistic appreciation of the national project” (p. 5).

The book presents a chronological account whose latter chapters are framed around the tenure of four state governors. Although Smith is persistent in his coverage of popular protest, this structure is one more consistent with political history than with narratives of popular movements. However, this organization serves as a bridge between traditional studies of Mexico’s state consolidation and the emerging literature on the post-1940s period. While half of the book treats the period before 1940, the implications of Smith’s work are as much about the subsequent decade as they are about the period of Lázaro Cárdenas’s presidency (1934–1940). Smith uses the case of Oaxaca to argue against revisionist historiography that presents 1940 as the point at which local and regional politicians succumbed to the conservative, centralizing control of the federal government. In Oaxaca this did not happen until 1947, and even then, although agreements may have been reached at the top—namely between the federal government and the regional elite—in many areas “violence became the organizing mechanism of political debate” while “local politics was still the preserve of armed gangs, pistoleros, and paid thugs” (p. 405). Smith’s study is thus a reminder of the considerable violence that accompanied the PRI’s rule.

The sociohistorical dynamics that created this situation in Oaxaca are a complex product of its regional fragmentation, multi-ethnic character, and semi-peripheral status. Smith provides a brief historical background for the late nineteenth century and the revolution but grounds much of his analysis in the 1930s, when the multiplicity of regional arrangements was brought into sharp relief. Cárdenas’s presidency, with its significant social reform on the one hand and its strong-armed character on the other, produced fascinating power configurations. Cárdenas was “not averse to local autonomy when it served his purpose or when it was forced upon him” (p. 115). Significantly, such local autonomy delayed, and in many cases precluded, the establishment of modern caciques, the regional strongmen who throughout Mexico constituted a mainstay of the PRI’s corporatist structure. Instead, traditional regional arrangements not only persisted but became key to stable governance as they thwarted the ambitions of independent governors. As new players appeared on the scene, they too contributed to this dynamic. Smith argues that urban protest also became a check on the governor’s power, one that conditioned the nature of state formation in post-revolutionary Oaxaca. Often involving cross-class alliances among merchants, artisans,

market women, Catholics, and a burgeoning independent press, such resistance made its mark on particular governors, affecting federal dictates. Notably, market women played a prominent role in the emerging urban protest contributing to what Temma Kaplan termed “female consciousness.” Such participation is consistent with historic forms of female collective action, though Smith argues that it was a dynamic by which “female market vendors were gradually sucked into the public male arena of politics” (p. 285). Overall, when it came to popular groups, state formation was not only conditioned by its arrangements with traditional sectors such as workers and peasants but also by varied urban protest movements whose demands and forms of struggle became a constituting element of twentieth-century Mexico.

Amplly researched and meticulously documented, this book enriches our understanding of the enduring nature of the PRI. Rather than emphasizing its strength, Smith makes a case for its political fluidity and multiplicity of arrangements in which protest and state violence were key to the very process of state formation.

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ANDRAE M. MARAK. *From Many, One: Indians, Peasants, Borders, and Education in Callista Mexico, 1924–1935*. (Latin American and Caribbean Series, number 7.) Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press. 2009. Pp. xxviii, 226. \$34.95.

With an abacus and a chalkboard, the right leader can build a nation. This was the theory employed by many of Mexico’s early revolutionary leaders in the 1920s and 1930s. In this book Andrae M. Marak examines educational policies during the presidency of Plutarco Elías Calles and the subsequent years of his domination of Mexican national politics known as the *Maximato*. The work considers Callista educational programs as part of a larger nation-building project and ultimately as the foundation for future efforts, particularly under President Lázaro Cárdenas, to use education as a tool to consolidate support for the revolution. Marak focuses his study on the states of Chihuahua, Sonora, and other areas along the northern border. In doing so he is able to tie the local cultural experiences of revolutionary leaders from those regions to their approaches to educational policy as a tool for “civilizing” the indigenous populations of those states and promoting revolutionary unity. Those regions also faced increasing influences from U.S. culture and educational theories. Furthermore, examining the northern states as case studies allows Marak to consider the ongoing debate over the merits of federal versus local control of education. Overall, he finds that various degrees of resistance and demonstrations of local autonomy in the border region prevented the Calles administration from achieving most of its immediate objectives. Nevertheless, the Callista educational experiment put in place numerous layers of local power brokers that later became instrumen-

tal in establishing and reinforcing the corporatist nature of the postrevolutionary Mexican state.

Marak begins his study with a helpful overview of Mexican educational history prior to the 1920s, demonstrating that the earliest attitudes of revolutionary leaders toward education privileged a liberal system controlled at the local level. That changed during the presidencies of Alvaro Obregón and Calles as the two Sonoran politicians sought to centralize control of education under the auspices of the federal government as a way to "civilize" rural indigenous people, create productive and patriotic revolutionary citizens, and modernize the country. Calles, in particular, viewed local and religious loyalties as an obstacle to nation-building. He envisioned federal educational programs as a way to rein in local opposition to his administration and to replace the "backward" influence of the Catholic Church with his modern vision of national unity.

Marak explores these strategies first by chronicling the Calles administration's efforts to federalize the educational system in Chihuahua. As the first state to come under federal educational control, Chihuahua offers a rich backdrop to the rest of the study. Marak demonstrates that the Education Ministry initially attempted to work with state governments to establish federal subsidies for local schools, but over time this strategy gave way to the creation of a parallel school system administered exclusively by the federal government. By the early 1930s state budget problems compelled the Chihuahua governor to negotiate even greater federal government control over primary schools. While future governors would attempt to reverse this move, a federal presence in local schooling had been secured by the end of the *Maximato*. Marak's examination of Chihuahua also reveals constant tension between the federal government and the Catholic Church over local control of education and curriculum. He rounds out his study by considering the local case studies of the Tarahumara in Chihuahua, the Seri along coastal Sonora, and the Tohono O'odham along the Sonora-Arizona border.

This book began as Marak's dissertation, and the interdisciplinary nature of its author's training is evident. But while Marak's book is generally well written, it suffers from some structural weaknesses that compromise its readability. Remnants of its origins are often present in passages containing information that would be better suited for footnotes. Additionally, the index is a scant five pages and lacks many terms that would facilitate a quick search of the book for readers who will surely wish to consult his case studies and background material as reference for future research.

Despite some minor problems, Marak's arguments are solid and his work fills an important void in the scholarship of the revolutionary policies of the Calles administration in general and of the evolution of Mexico's modern educational system in particular. Marak provides a historiographical bridge between the seminal years of the Obregón administration and the years of "socialist education" under Cárdenas, demonstrat-

ing that many of Calles's policies helped to build the corporatist governmental structure that matured in the last half of the 1930s. Taken together with the works of Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen Lewis, Marak's work will become part a larger body of scholarship on revolutionary educational programs.

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ERICK D. LANGER. *Expecting Pears from an Elm Tree: Franciscan Missions on the Chiriguano Frontier in the Heart of South America, 1830–1949*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 375. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

This fascinating, comprehensive book represents many years of research and writing by Erick D. Langer on modern Bolivia and Franciscan frontier missions. It is essential reading not only for Bolivianists and students of mendicant religious orders but also for anyone interested in issues of state formation, citizenship, and processes of cultural change in Latin America. It is particularly timely because of growing interest in the experiences of the Guaraní and other indigenous peoples of South America.

Most of the considerable scholarly work on missions in Latin America has dealt with the colonial period, but this is a careful study of the functions of the Chiriguano missions after independence in Bolivia. Langer concludes that the "mission enterprise, by its very nature, remained colonial at heart" (p. 283) in that it sought to Europeanize the religion, culture, and society of the Chiriguanos. Nonetheless, there were some key differences between colonial and republican-period missions and some surprises that make the reader wonder whether the Franciscans could actually consider their efforts successful.

The aims of republican-era Franciscans were to Christianize and "civilize" the indigenous population and to expand the Bolivian nation-state into the frontier, goals not unlike those of their colonial predecessors who sought to evangelize and secure border areas for the Spanish crown. However, unlike colonial missionaries, those in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had less government power to back up their efforts. In fact, most of the missions founded after independence were established at the request of indigenous leaders who saw the settlements as protection against the depredations of non-indigenous cattle ranchers and other Indian groups. In the new missions the indigenous leaders, known as *tubicha* or *mburuvicha*, generally retained significant military and political power and were often mediators among the Franciscans, settlers, and the state. They also frequently became labor contractors, supplying workers from the missions to local or regional settlers and to sugarcane producers in Argentina.

Unlike in colonial missions, adult residents were not forced to convert to Christianity, although children had to attend schools for religious instruction. As a result,

when the population of the missions was at its highest, a majority of those living in them were non-Christians, and a Catholic majority was only achieved when the number of mission Indians had greatly declined. Furthermore, among the converted—who were perpetually referred to as neophytes—there was a tendency for the men to leave the Franciscan settlements to work in the sugarcane harvest in Argentina, where they earned more money than they could locally and also picked up such un-Christian habits as consuming *aguardiente* and visiting prostitutes.

Despite what would seem like questionable outcomes for the Franciscans, even at the apogee of the missions around 1900, in some ways the friars did succeed in their civilizing project of integrating the Chiriguano into national life. What this mostly meant was shaping them into menial workers for various agricultural enterprises, although some men became artisans and a few women teachers. Converts gave up their native dress and adopted the clothing of lower-class *cholos/as*. Chiriguano children who attended mission schools probably had more education than others on the frontier, although how many became proficient in reading and writing Spanish is debatable. An ironic measure of the success of the missions is that by the 1930s many politicians argued that all the missions should be secularized since they were no longer needed in areas where creoles and mestizos now predominated. In other words, they could be dispensed with since they had fulfilled their function.

One of the great merits of this work is that it integrates mission history with that of the Bolivian nation and even Europe. Langer shows how the Franciscans' fortunes rose or fell according to whether the national government was controlled by anticlerical liberals or pro-Catholic conservatives. He also examines the motives of the Franciscans, most of whom were Italian and had come to Bolivia with high hopes of harvesting souls in a more welcoming environment than *Risorgimento* Italy. The book also does justice to Chiriguano history, discussing their political and social organization, military skill, and success in maintaining control on the frontier until about 1860. The Chiriguano strove to use the missions as well as alliances with local settlers and even appeals to the central government to advance their interests.

Langer highlights gender differences in the missions, explaining how girls were treated differently in mission schools—they had to sleep at the schools while boys were allowed to go home at night—and how the settlements gradually became populated almost exclusively by women, children, and old men as young men left to work in Argentina. The men's absence not only made for broken families and marital conflicts but also contributed to a different acculturative experience for men and women. Men learned the ways of the world and were introduced to a society based more on personal consumption, while women may have better un-

derstood Christian doctrine and even possibly been more literate.

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PETER V. N. HENDERSON. *Gabriel García Moreno and Conservative State Formation in the Andes*. (LLILAS New Interpretations of Latin America Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 310. \$70.00.

Peter V. N. Henderson's biography of Gabriel García Moreno, the dominant figure in the politics of Ecuador for the fifteen years before his assassination in 1875, is by no means the first—the author accounts for more than thirty—but it is the first full-length study to appear in English since 1914. Together with Mark J. Van Aken's *King of the Night: Juan José Flores and Ecuador, 1824–1864* (1989), it affords a useful introduction to the particularly obscure and tortuous politics of this republic in its first half-century of independence.

García Moreno was an authoritarian and ultramontane modernizer who concluded that his country could only be set on the road to progress with the assistance of a reinvigorated church. He was an early supporter of the return of the Jesuits, and in office a wholesale importer of foreign religious orders. He had no tolerance for the former laxity of the native clergy. Not alone among the region's conservatives in seeing a clerical alliance as essential to order and progress, he was nonetheless the most thorough-going and explicit in this aspect of his policy. He was the first Ecuadorian president, although not the last, to dedicate his country to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and it was his ultra-Catholicism that brought him to European attention, with his first biography written by the French Fr. Augustine Berthe, *García Moreno, président de l'Équateur, vengeur et martyr du droit chrétien (1821–1875)* (1887).

His achievements in education were far from negligible, and for a poor and Catholic country the strategy of relying on the church was a coherent one: what other help was affordable, who else would have been prepared to serve in such a remote and unknown field? This part of the book serves to confirm that there are many aspects of the history of the Spanish American church in republican times that are due for reappraisal.

Energetic, vigilant, demanding, and notoriously short-tempered, to his credit he also had an outstanding record in public works, particularly his improvements in the communications between sierra and coast, Quito and Guayaquil. These have to be seen in the perspective of the scant resources at his disposal: exiguous government revenues that could pay few wages, a country where work could be held up by the scarcity of crowbars, picks, and shovels, and the need to fall back on a torpid system of *corvées*. The richest part of the country, the cacao-producing coast, had little interest in easier access to the uplands. As was the case with his successor Eloy Alfaro and the final completion of the railway, all depended on the presidential will.

This monograph confirms that García Moreno could

be ruthless with his opponents. On one occasion he ordered the flogging of a member of the unfloggable upper class, more shocking than having him shot. Some opponents were executed, although the number was not large: factions, one gathers, were virulent but small in numbers, a pattern that long persisted. A native of Guayaquil, García Moreno married into the upland aristocracy, and the author tells us that he maintained a political network. Few politicians do not do so, and a passing reference to the work of Sir Lewis Namier on the political practices of the eighteenth-century English aristocracy is hardly enough to convey what were their equivalents in nineteenth-century Pichincha and Chimborazo. One influence on García Moreno was that of Napoleon III. He visited and studied in France, and the emperor was indeed an attractive model for more than one ambitious South American.

It is a pity that this well documented study is so sparing with direct quotations. There are several published collections of García Moreno's letters, and much contemporary material in the author's bibliography and notes, but his penchant for resumé rather than quote deprives the reader of an adequate ration of personality and of the flavor of the times.

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PAUL GOOTENBERG. *Andean Cocaine: The Making of a Global Drug*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 442. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Paul Gootenberg traces an intricate, hitherto untold story of the evolution of the cocaine industry, from Alfredo Bignon's early experiments in Lima in the 1860s, through its rise and fall as a legally traded commodity between the 1870s and the 1940s, and its re-emergence as an illegal industry from the 1970s on. He chronicles the early development of endogenous technology in Peru, as well as the complex interface with coca produced in Peru and elsewhere. The fascinating role of Coca-Cola and its need for coca leaf extract had political consequences and intricacies over time, all chronicled from new sources recently made available. The impact of U.S. efforts at prohibition is important in the decline of the legal trade in cocaine. A new and fascinating story is then told of the rise of the "pre-Colombian" narcos (p. 245)—the author is incapable of resisting a pun—and the different networks in Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Cuba that preceded and eventually linked to the Colombian trade. We learn not only how late a latecomer Colombia was to the trade but also how the country then became a massive player.

These different threads are woven from a mass of primary material, much of it researched for the first time ever (the bibliography takes up a tenth of the text). The writing is captivating: somehow the author allows us to hear the details, meet colorful characters—picture many trees—and yet still keep the forest clearly in our

heads. Non-specialists, including non-academics, will find the book eminently readable.

If I feel in any way unsatisfied, it is because a tension runs through the book, which the author confronts only at the end and does not fully resolve: he takes obvious pride in Peru's success in the infant industry that was legal cocaine, with indigenous technology, local entrepreneurship, and export sales, and is even proud, it would seem, that it was this antecedent that led to Peru providing the base and initial take off point for the massive, illegal global industry we see today. Yet is this a "good" outcome? He is clear that it is not. "It may seem strange to claim agency in a drug-gone-bad story" (p. 318), he states. At the end he suggests that had the United States not repressed the legal cocaine trade, all could have been different—but such an intriguing counterfactual would need more evidence than even he has produced, on the characteristics of the modern legal cocaine industry, the likelihood of Peru remaining competitive in it, and some basis for assessing the counterfactual market size.

Turning to matters of form, the author's writing is powerful and seductive, but this vigor occasionally transits into purple passages, as when the author is tempted to give way to diatribes over the roles of Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan in the regulation of the cocaine trade and the arrival on the scene of the "so-called yuppies, the inverted hippies, individualistic big-spender hipsters of the next 'me-generation'—the Reagan decade of the 1980s—nurtured, I would suspect, as an elite cultural class on South American cocaine" (p. 311).

But these are quibbles. This is an outstanding book, a superb example of first-rate scholarship written with energy, confidence, respect for facts, and excellent style. In addition it is a readable, fascinating, and important story that contributes to our understanding of the interface between global and local, legal and illegal: an "export economy" story but with a difference, or rather, more than one difference. It ranks among the very best contributions to several literatures and will be valued by those interested in globalization, development, and economic and business history, as well as anyone simply curious to understand the world.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

DAVID D. PHILLIPS. *Avengers of Blood: Homicide in Athenian Law and Custom from Draco to Demosthenes*. (Historia Einzelschriften, number 202.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2008. Pp. 279. €59.00.

This book is a study of Athenian homicide law. David D. Phillips places violence in Athens within the framework of *echthra* (enmity), which he argues was a relationship similar to feuding and was, in his opinion, considered valid grounds for bringing legal charges. But *echthra* in classical Athens had nothing in common with

feuding behavior as defined by legal anthropologists: there is no evidence in the ancient sources for long-term hostility between kinship groups giving rise to frequent litigation. Phillips claims that Demosthenes's quarrel with Meidias is a case of a "lengthy dispute," but recent work has shown that it lasted only two years, did not involve hostility between large kinship groups, and produced very few clashes in court. Moreover, the Athenians had serious reservations about litigation initiated mainly to pursue private enmity (see Lycurgus *Against Leocrates* 4–6, Demosthenes 18.123, 278).

Chapter one tries to discover the reasons why Draco enacted his law about homicide. Phillips speculates that his aim was to restrain retaliatory homicides resulting from social turmoil between nobility and the common people and to codify existing practice, as well as to promote family solidarity. This is pure speculation: there is no reliable evidence for such conflict in this period, and the sources (aside from Homer) say nothing about practices before Solon. The link Phillips tries to find between Draco's law and Cylon's failed *coup d'état* is tenuous at best.

Chapter two provides a review of the basic features of homicide law at Athens, a topic treated in more detail by other scholars. Phillips has little to offer that is new, and his account contains several errors about the penalty for frivolous prosecution, the ritual status of legitimate homicide, and the charge in Antiphon's speech *On the Chorister*.

The cases studied in chapter three actually undermine Phillips's main thesis that homicide law was concerned with family solidarity and feuding between kinship groups. The first case concerns a son's prosecution of his father for killing a debt-bondsman, the second a homicide within the family, and the third a prosecution by a non-relative. The analysis contains much irrelevant discussion of funeral rituals and inheritance and relies on questionable statements made by litigants in court (e.g. Isaeus 9.17; Demosthenes 22.2–3 and 24.7–8). Chapter four attempts to argue away other evidence that is at odds with Phillips's assumption. The case (Demosthenes 47.66–73) concerns a slave who was freed by the speaker but continued to live in his household. The accuser alleged that the freedwoman was killed by his opponent but was forbidden by law to prosecute on her behalf. But if Draco's law aimed to promote household solidarity, why did it not allow prosecution on behalf of a dependent? The rest of the chapter tries to evade the implications of the evidence for *apagoge* (arrest) to the Eleven, a legal procedure open to non-relatives of the victim (pp. 122–131).

Chapters five through seven examine "Homicide, Vengeance and the Thirty Tyrants" but deal more with politics than with homicide law. Chapter five reviews the events surrounding the tyranny of the Thirty and the Amnesty of 403, which resulted in minor temporary adjustments to homicide law. Chapter six is a summary with brief analysis of Lysias's speech *Against Eratosthenes* and has little to add to the existing literature. The term *echthros* occurs several times in the speech, but the

hostility here exists between political factions, not kinship groups. Chapter seven turns to the Lysianic speech *Against Agoratus* and offers no new insights. Phillips claims that the accuser Dionysodorus attempts to abuse the legal procedure or *apagoge* to the Eleven to pursue vengeance in violation of the Amnesty of 403, but his argument rests on a misunderstanding of the phrase *ep' autophôroi*, which means "clearly, manifestly," not (pace Phillips) "in the act." The book's final conclusion that "vengeance for killing remained the proper prerogative of the victim's kin" does not tell scholars of Greek law anything new and underestimates the role of the state in repressing crime in classical Athens.

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EDWARD JAMES. *Europe's Barbarians, AD 200–600*. (The Medieval World.) Pearson Longman. 2009. Pp. xii, 344. \$40.00.

One would not have thought another general history of the later Roman Empire and the beginning of the Middle Ages was needed given that, in the past five years alone, we have had books from Bryan Ward-Perkins, Julia Smith, Chris Wickham, Adrian Goldsworthy, Christopher Kelly, J. J. O'Donnell, and several iterations of Peter Heather. Edward James, author of a very good history of early medieval Britain and two of the best books on the Franks, has added this book to a very crowded field. Perhaps surprisingly, the exercise has been worth it: he covers this familiar ground as sure-footedly as does Guy Halsall in *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568* (2007), and he does so in half the space.

At one level this is a very traditional medievalist's book: it cares not about the non-Roman world of late antiquity *per se*, but about the western and northwestern barbarian world that formed the core of medieval Europe. By ignoring North Africa, most of the Balkans and the European steppe, and the Armenian and Arabian hinterlands of the Persian and Roman empires, it implicitly affirms the teleology with which medievalists approach this period: although barbarians were everywhere part and parcel of a Roman world that stretched around the whole Mediterranean and beyond, the barbarians who *really* count for the future are the ones who laid the foundations for European nation-states. Within this fundamental ideological constraint, however, James's book is a model of its kind which can easily take its place on any medieval studies syllabus.

Two narrative chapters are followed by eight analytical ones. Of these latter, most deal directly with the primary evidence, but two important chapters on "Ethnicity, Ethnogenesis and Identity" and "Assimilation, Acculturation and Accommodation" introduce the main scholarly controversies with which the period is so fraught, and which are prone to baffle the student, the newcomer to the field, or the non-specialist. James is clearly correct in deciding to use "barbarian" as a technical term that avoids any implications about ethnicity,

nationality, or race. This is particularly welcome given the resurgence of "Germanic" as a catch-all term for northern barbarians and as an analytical device for contrasting barbarians with Romans, which means reasserting the fundamentally Victorian conviction that linguistic kinship must bring with it sociocultural unity. James slips only once into that facile usage and consciously drives home his main point by giving Irish and British evidence as much weight as Frankish, Gothic, or Anglo-Saxon and by not contrasting "Celtic-speaking" and "Germanic-speaking" barbarians in cultural terms. Among the analytical chapters based on the primary evidence, those on religion and on kingship and law are too brief, but those on barbarians at home, barbarians in Roman employment, and barbarians on the move are thorough and judicious. He usefully underscores how few cases of rapid, large-scale, and long-distance migration are known from this period, while correctly insisting that most of the barbarians who entered the Roman Empire did so over very short distances and from very nearby. James is equally conservative in his estimate of barbarian numbers, rejecting the picture of mass migration by foreign savages that has reappeared in much recent British scholarship.

The two chapters that engage with scholarly debates are particularly welcome. James is very sensible about ethnicity. He understands how varied, labile, and ever-changing the composition of barbarian groups was over time, even as names remained unchanged. Yet at the same time, he makes clear that the dogma of barbarian ethnogenesis—first brought into English-language scholarship by Patrick Geary and now the dominant approach to the barbarians among early medievalists—is really a way to bring long-distance migration from the Germanic north in by the back door. He does this without a trace of the polemic that has marred most debates on the question; but he leaves no doubt as to correct methodology when he tells the story of the Goths without reference to the Byzantine writer Jordanes who is, for proponents of ethnogenesis as for generations of scholars who believed in stable Germanic tribal identities, the proof text for Scandinavian origins. Similarly free from polemic is his discussion of the techniques of accommodation, which is to say the means by which barbarians were settled on Roman soil. He stresses the fact that the permanent settlement of barbarians in Roman provinces during the fifth and sixth centuries created remarkably little outcry, and that to have explained that eloquent silence is a major virtue of Walter Goffart's recently restated theory that tax assessments, rather than physical lands, were assigned to new settlers. Unlike most of those who dismiss Goffart's theory, James has taken the time to understand the arguments at stake, and if there remain severe impediments to the tax-assessment model, not least explicit references to land in some of the ancient texts that are very hard to explain away, then James is surely correct to stress that mass expropriation can no longer be entertained as an explanation by serious historians.

James concludes by stating that his book has neither

a single thesis nor a single conclusion but rather attempts to open a window onto the debates and the evidence about Europe's barbarians. It does so, quite successfully, and three trivial errors (on the number of books in Ammianus, the overland migration of the Vandals across Africa, and a slip in the nomenclature of the Gothic king Theoderic I) affect nothing serious. James is inclined to make much of his own Englishness, and at times he performs level-headed Anglo-Saxon empiricism in a way that some readers will find provoking. But his clarity of expression, and especially his even-handed approach to controversy, places his volume alongside the very best of its many recent competitors.

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COURTNEY M. BOOKER. *Past Convictions: The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 420. \$75.00.

MAYKE DE JONG. *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 317. \$99.00.

In October 833, Emperor Louis the Pious (reigned 814–840), in a solemn ceremony, adopted the raiment of a penitent and confessed to his many personal failings. He then removed his sword belt, symbol of his power and authority, and, in effect, resigned as emperor of the Carolingian Empire. Within five months, he regained his throne and ruled effectively for the remainder of his life. The confession of 833 became a *cause célèbre* in the ninth century, leaving an unusually ample and complicated documentary trail for generations of scholars to contemplate. Courtney M. Booker and Mayke de Jong present us with two meticulously researched books on that fateful year in Carolingian and European history that for the first time subject all the ninth-century memories of 833 to highly sensitive and perceptive readings. Generations of scholars have mined the evidence to serve teleological purposes, to substantiate the inherent weakness of Louis the Pious—fated to follow his father, Charlemagne (reigned 768–814)—and the decline of the Carolingians. Either Booker's or de Jong's book, both published in the same year on essentially the same topic, very easily could have made the other redundant. Happily this is not the case. While Booker and de Jong survey the same sources, Booker takes a slightly more literary, historiographical, and theoretical perspective relative to de Jong's political, cultural, and religious orientation. The result is two important and thoughtful studies that complement each other.

Eschewing the two grand narratives of Carolingian history—one, a story of decline and decay, and the other, a more positive story of Carolingian energy and skill in the face of crisis—Booker focuses instead on the processes in play, "emphasizing improvisation and transformation" (p. 8). Rather than parsing the surviv-

ing memories of 833 to discover the “truth” of what happened and what it all meant, Booker respects the authors who wrote about Louis’s confession and whose “*emplotment*” (p. 24) reflects their competing values and convictions. As beneficiaries of three generations of intellectual reform, they were well armed with rhetorical techniques to represent the experience and memory of an event as dramatic as an emperor’s public penance. In fact, as Booker demonstrates in one of many fresh insights, many writers used the language of drama to frame the story of 833. The accounts loyal to Louis fostered the prevailing view that the emperor was betrayed, the victim of a “tragedy,” a view that inspired several eighteenth-century Enlightenment plays. Booker suggests that theater, especially French theater, revived speculation on the deep meaning of 833 anchored in an organic view of history that pinpointed the decline of the Carolingians and the breakup of their empire to that year. The story of betrayal and abandonment, burnished in the Enlightenment and filled out by the identification of the bishops who stage-managed the confession at Soissons as cynical culprits hiding behind religion, dominated historiography until the twentieth century.

Historians, starting with François-Louis Ganshof’s pathbreaking article of 1957 “reconsidering” Louis and continuing with Edward Peters, Thomas F. X. Noble, Janet Nelson, de Jong, and others, have invited a new perspective on Louis’s reign that casts the emperor less as Charlemagne’s disappointing heir than as the leader who made explicit fundamental implicit assumptions about Carolingian Christian society. Booker now joins this distinguished cohort, not least of all by focusing overdue attention on the “rebels,” the bishops, to counter the loyalist narrative that has so long shaped our understanding of 833. “[C]haracterizations of the bishops as either hypocritical or revolutionaries are binaries stemming from a modern, Western, market-driven system of reasoning about motives and expediency . . . [T]here are many other, seemingly strange kinds of social logic, and systems of meaning in the past, which all require careful and attentive reconstruction” (pp. 125–126). Booker bases his reconstruction on the bishops’ own meticulous report of what they did and why they did it, and also on a collection of documents put together by a participant, Bishop Agobard of Lyon. The bishops claimed that it was their duty and ministry to act, as the prophet Ezekiel said, as society’s watchmen. Louis’s breaking of oaths, his unwarranted military ventures, his subservience to his malevolent second wife, Judith of Bavaria, and other crimes endangered Christ’s people. Reinforced by the Apostle Paul’s direction to “reprove and entreat” sinners and by similar authority granted to abbots in the Benedictine Rule, the bishops had no choice but to heal society’s rupture with God by bringing its chief sinner to confession and correction. Booker suggests that this is a process that Louis “may very well have freely, even joyously embraced” (p. 158), since he had undergone public penance previously and understood its healing powers.

And, Booker, following de Jong, notes another congruence: both Louis’s opponents and his supporters spoke the same language of correction that coalesced suddenly in Louis’s reign around concepts of equity and iniquity. But what the bishops saw in the confession at Soissons as Louis’s withdrawal from public life and commitment to a monastic retreat Louis interpreted as a valuable means to heal himself and his empire and to return, restored and corrected, to authority. In the event, Louis did regain his throne to the great discomfit of the bishops. Booker astutely sees the irony in that “the particular ‘golden age’ formulation of the rebel bishops’ ministry was largely derived from a program of reform that Louis himself had fostered” (p. 180).

Penance was hardly a ninth-century innovation. Its place in Christian society was widely understood. What was new was that penance was actively adopted by the emperor as a tool to maintain the empire in God’s graces. The place of public penance in Carolingian society and the reason why Louis may have “joyously embraced” the ritual have been explored in a series of perceptive and influential essays by de Jong. She now brings that work together with an argument that penance came to stand for more than a ritual when it functioned as the primary means Carolingian society used to address conflict, crisis, and systemic questions of loyalty and disloyalty. De Jong opens with a long chapter that stands as the best account of Louis’s reign now available. Strong on generational and familial issues, de Jong also drives to the heart of evolving Carolingian ideas about rulership and authority. Descendant of a long line of warlords, Louis promoted the view that his authority was bestowed on him by God as a divine ministry to care for and to protect his church and his kingdom. The powerful concept of ministry also embraced all ecclesiastical and secular leaders whose power flowed from Louis’s “sublime authority” (p. 37). If this ninth-century version of the “plenitude of power” ideology supremely enhanced the ruler’s authority, it also entailed supreme responsibility since it made the ruler directly accountable to God. Louis’s first public penance in 822 stemmed not from weakness but “inaugurated a new wave of imperial confidence” in which the emperor led the way in correction, penance, and reconciliation with God (p. 36). Yet he also showed the way for others to publicly criticize his stewardship of the empire. The bishops, his fellow ministers, keenly aware of their own obligations as “watchmen for the house of Israel” (Ezekiel 3:17), were empowered to admonish him for his own sake and for the sake of the empire and God’s people. Criticism began to mount in the late 820s, when military reversals at the hands of pagans seemed to signal God’s displeasure with his people. There were also accusations launched against recalcitrant counts. As the penitential state went into “overdrive” (p. 151), the culture of “shaming and blaming” centered on Louis’s court and, specifically, his bedchamber and his wife, Judith, whose “alleged lasciviousness was presented as fatally undermining the order and integrity of the Frankish state” (p. 188). Again, in the face of accumu-

lated scandals, the question became how to make amends with God. This time, however, bishops had begun to think that the restoration of social order required revising that order. Rather than an all-encompassing ministry, bishops began to think in terms of two ministries—one priestly, the other royal. The crucial process was still penance and reconciliation, but in 833 the bishops drove the process.

Given the rapidly shifting attempts to provide a meaningful context for events and justifications for dealing with them appropriately, it is not difficult to account for the nuanced ways ninth-century observers tried to make sense of Louis's penance. Here de Jong stresses the common association the authors shared with the culture of the court and their proximity to the ruler, a "moral grid" that extended across generations and geography and upon which insiders debated with each other about the meaning of their history (p. 63). Her deep understanding of this culture superbly contextualizes the discordant and anguished voices of 833. Louis's rapid restoration to power and the embarrassment of the bishops who carried out the penance at Soissons deflated the "humiliation" of 833 in the recorded memories of later chroniclers of the Carolingian age. De Jong concludes that aspects of the penitential state remained vigorous, but never again would excommunication and public penance be marshaled to confirm a ruler's deposition. The events of 833 "proved to be a bridge too far" (p. 266).

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AMANDA JANE HINGST. *The Written World: Past and Place in the Work of Orderic Vitalis*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2009. Pp. xxiii, 272. \$40.00.

This book opens with the great storm that demolished churches and homes and felled countless oaks on December 24, 1117. Orderic Vitalis (1075–c.1143), the celebrated Norman historian, saw this natural disaster as intimately connected with subsequent events, including a contentious papal election and the Devil's appearance to a woman in childbed. For Orderic, the temporal and spatial proximity of these phenomena exemplified the interconnectedness of the human and the cosmic, the continuing omnipresence of divine forces on Earth, and the significance of place.

When Orderic began the modest project that became the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, he intended to write a local history, the foundation story of his Norman monastery of Ouche, a place once marked by an angel as the hermitage site for the Merovingian ascetic St. Evroul and his companions. As Amanda Jane Hingst shows, the sacred commingled with the secular there, just as the past informed the present. But Orderic came to enlarge his view to the size of the Norman world and beyond, to the vast reaches touched by Christian (especially Norman) presence. For Orderic those Normans in Normandy and England, in southern Italy and Sicily, and as far as

the principality of Antioch were a single *gens Normannorum*. In *The Normans and Their Myth* (1976), R. H. C. Davis argued that Orderic Vitalis was the primary architect of this idiosyncratic opinion that the Normans, despite their many cultural and linguistic adaptations in diaspora, were one distinct people. Hingst enters the debate that ensued with the conviction that Orderic's vision of a pan-Norman identity was authentic. For her, as for Orderic, "the Normans remained resolutely Norman, despite generations in new climates and under new skies" (p. 39).

Still, that Norman *gens* was mutable, existing in a changing world whose transformations Normans sometimes violently effected. When considering the Northmen who became Normans, and then their far-flung descendants, Orderic also emphasized this changeability, contra the historians following Orosius, whose geographical preface preserved the ancient geography, keeping ancient peoples with ancient names in their ancestral places. Significantly, Orderic deviated from that enduring historical tradition of identifying a static geography and ethnography.

Orderic's Norman contacts stretched his view of the *oikoumene*, the inhabited world. Hingst does a nice job (in a narrative interlude, *Entr'acte: At Sea*) of showing Orderic's widening scope, looking naturally to his birthplace, Norman Britain, across the North Sea, and then far into the Atlantic, beyond Greenland. She emphasizes Orderic's persistence in naming the island of Britain "Albion" as a unity existing through all time. As she points out, here Orderic was ahead of his own time in imagining the "England" that would re-emerge once the English identity of the people reasserted itself.

Orderic expanded his history far beyond the Anglo-Norman realm that held his monastic home. Placing the *Ecclesiastical History* alongside medieval *mappae mundi*, Hingst shows how Orderic's work too centers itself on Jerusalem. Here she introduces perhaps the most intriguing link in her larger argument, Orderic's knowledge of the Thorney manuscript (MS Oxford St John's College 17) with its *computus* texts and related images, works "intended to find order and meaning in the Christian concepts of time, space, and humanity." The next chapter, on the haunted landscape of tombs and on the penitent local dead, wandering by night near Orderic's monastery, further illustrates the conflation of past, present, and future.

Reorganizing the *Historia* in his later years, Orderic decided to situate his work within the broader temporal history of the church and God's creation. So he added the first two books, beginning with the life of Christ on Earth. This final revision leads Hingst to her concluding piece, on Orderic's vigorous attack against the heretical beliefs of Berengar of Tours that the bread and wine of the Eucharist did not physically become the body and blood of Christ. For Orderic, she convincingly claims, it was critical that Christ's body be present at the altar, bringing the miracle of the Incarnation into contemporary place and time again and again.

Hingst's far-ranging study, with its lush descriptions

of landscape and provocative arguments, offers a compelling call to read Orderic's history as the complete and spiritually anchored creation of a thoughtful man of his age. She positions Orderic within the twelfth-century revival of history and natural philosophy, and she neatly explains his intense antipathy to a central heresy of his day. But she might have placed Orderic even more thoroughly within an era transformed by extraordinary movements of peoples and individuals. Orderic was a remarkable historian working from a unique vantage point. Yet he observed and wrote within a larger, tumultuous context attested by his contemporaries, too, as they puzzled over the bonds that linked actors and events, mundane and monumental, working God's mysterious plan on Earth.

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BRUNO LEMESLE. *Conflits et justice au Moyen âge: Normes, loi et résolution des conflits en Anjou aux XI^e et XII^e siècles.* (Le nœud gordien.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 2008. Pp. viii, 330. €28.00.

Burgundy and the South were the stamping grounds of the old (mid-twentieth-century) structuralist account of how justice was privatized in the *mutation féodale*. Now, for the anti-*mutationiste* brigade, led by Stephen White, Dominique Barthélemy and Bruno Lemesle, the focus is on the Touraine, Anjou, and Maine. What is still missing is a comparable regional study of eleventh-century Germany, a post-Carolingian zone beyond the horizon of the two camps. Or at least we might hope for a break from the polarity of language about judicial change. The central section of Lemesle's book, in which there is an open reading of cases, comes close to this, but he frames the study within the customary terms of the debate. The book thus begins with what is by now the standard attack on the notion that there was a grim decline in the quality of justice in the post-Carolingian period (Carolingian courts were not so rule-based, nor so public for a public to private transition to be deduced). Lemesle then shows that the courts of Anjou in this period are worth studying in their own right. What follows is an excellent study that is more aware of anglophone scholarship than any French regional study I have ever seen. The result is a processual analysis informed by the work of White, Simon Roberts and John Comaroff, P. J. Hudson, and Chris Wickham among others. It is always aware of the nature of the record and of the ways in which that record can be shoe-horned into false or anachronistic paradigms, be they structuralist, overly anthropological, or just plain modernist.

The record lies in the rich monastic archives of the region, chief among which are the cartularies of St. Aubin of Angers and of La Trinité de Vendôme. Lemesle examines the makeup of judicial assemblies. He shows the interrelation of laws, norms, and custom, demonstrates the forms and workings of proof and ordeal, discusses the partiality inherent in the recording

of cases, and, finally, explains new developments across the twelfth century; the latter slowly eat away at the "world of custom" by introducing snippets of learned law and elements of romano-canonical procedure. The strength of the book is the way in which Lemesle works all these themes through detailed case studies, although it must be said that as the later cases become more prolix, so does the author.

Lemesle does a remarkable job in rendering comprehensible a record that is partisan and patchy. His readings look accurate and sensible, although reference to the Latin texts is too sporadic for one to check. This material is overwhelmingly concerned with disputes in which people strove to assert their rights over property donated to the church. The context is one of economic and demographic growth, with the more powerful ecclesiastical establishments striving to replace usufruct with more direct exploitation. It is this, rather than any struggle between lords and peasants or the imposition of newly oppressive "customs," that characterizes the struggles of the eleventh century. Lemesle shows how contending parties tried to get their perceptions of their rights and histories accepted and recorded. Within such a framework there was considerable flexibility in the means to settlement, and the opportunity to challenge everything, including the results of the ordeal, or, indeed, the fairness of the judge. Particularly instructive is an excursus on Ivo of Chartres that shows how he worked with custom to forward his ideas on the indissolubility of marriage betrothal. Although Ivo drew on the newly revamped canon law when appropriate, he also advised the use of ordeals and even judicial duels when it suited his purpose. It was this flexibility that would serve as the portal for change in the twelfth century as learned law began to come more into the mix (albeit very slowly). Above all, however, it was the stronger authority of counts and bishops that reduced the element of challenge. In his closing words the author chooses the reduction of challenge as the single most significant element of change: "*L'enterrement discret du défi, sans tambours ni trompettes, est bien la mutation essentielle dans la justice du XII^e siècle.*" So, with his pragmatic reading having rather cleverly closed down the *mutationiste* debate about the quality of post-Carolingian justice, Lemesle ends by reopening the issue. For one reading of Carolingian *placita* is that in a much earlier period, too, the authority of the count's court had been sufficient to deter *défi*.

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SABINA FLANAGAN. *Doubt in an Age of Faith: Uncertainty in the Long Twelfth Century.* (Disputatio, number 17.) Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2008. Pp. xiii, 212. €60.00.

In recent years the twelfth century has become increasingly seen as a difficult age to analyze. In conformity with C. H. Haskins's thesis, the idea of a renaissance may still persist, but the picture that emerges when fleshing this out in more detail has grown considerably

more complex. The thematization of doubt in Sabina Flanagan's book is at once an extension of this trend and a logical corollary. The "logic" here is apparent both in the way in which Flanagan confronts doubt as the correlate of faith and in the way in which she opens up and stretches the contrast between the two, as in the book's title, to engage in an epistemological debate about what kind of truth and certainty the twelfth century was after. Over the course of her book Flanagan draws on a wide array of sources, not only literary and exegetical texts but also theological and philosophical treatises, with authors like Baldwin of Forde, Herbert of Bosham, Otloh of St. Emmeram, John of Salisbury, Hugh of St. Victor, Hildegard of Bingen, Peter Abelard, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Peter the Venerable all making appearances, which makes her representation of twelfth-century doubt certainly believable.

The various chapters into which the book is divided each analyze a different aspect of doubt. They are preceded by a preliminary analysis of the nature of the term "doubt" and a comment on its ultimately paradoxical status (p. 13). After all, in Abelard's *Sic et Non* doubt famously holds the key to the elimination of uncertainty, since only through doubting do we come to question and only by questioning do we reach the truth. That truth for Abelard was the received notion of Christianity, which, through the arts of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic) including Aristotelian logic, needed to be shored up and elucidated beyond what the Bible and the church fathers had said.

Flanagan's *tour d'horizon* takes us from secular doubt (pp. 15–55, mostly on the judicial process), to spiritual doubt (pp. 57–89, ranging from personal salvation to doubt about biblical truth, and atheism), and on to a discussion of the nature of doubt (pp. 91–125). In this central chapter she gives the grammatical underpinnings of doubt in various adverbs (*fortasse*, *forsitan*, *haud dubium*) ranging from a modesty topos to an attempt to appear less dogmatic (pp. 91–94) and continues with a discussion of the epistemology and psychology of doubt, locating it on a continuum from despair to blasphemy. The psychology receives treatment by looking at Baldwin of Forde's view of the fall in sermon four, while the epistemology is discussed through Abelard, Hugh, and Baldwin. Abelard's interpretation of Hebrews 1:11 ("faith is the substance of things hoped for and the proof of things unseen") triggered the anger of Bernard, who, associating faith with certainty, took it as a definition of doubt (*ambiguum*), while Hugh saw faith as certainty of the mind beyond opinion but short of knowledge. Faith, as Flanagan states about Baldwin, was both belief and trust, and its opposite, doubt, therefore carried the risk not just of failure to believe but also of a rejection of what was to be believed (p. 114). Two more chapters consider the benefits of doubt, especially in triggering intellectual debate, as in Abelard's *Colationes*—a debate among a philosopher, a Christian, and a Jew (pp. 125–155)—and the disadvantages of doubt, with personal uncertainty leading to the scape-

goating of others, especially the Jews (pp. 157–183). A final chapter draws some contemporary connections.

What Flanagan's study of doubt lays bare most interestingly is how the twelfth century conflated, but did not thereby confuse, the realms of the "inner" and the "outer," as various uncertainties were either projected inward, as in Abelard's autobiography or his intentional ethics, or outward, as in Peter the Venerable's ranting hostility against the Jews. Doubt seems an important factor in this conflation, but Flanagan is correct not to jump to conclusions by seeing it as the driving force. Against Gavin Langmuir, who blamed the medieval transition from antijudaism to antisemitism on a psychological change in Christian doubt due to a new emphasis on empirical knowledge, Flanagan considers Peter the Venerable's opposition to the Jews as "irrational animals" rather a case of overblown certainty (pp. 181–183).

The topic of the book is also its greatest strength, as few eras lend themselves so well to an analysis of doubt as this one. Flanagan offers fresh insights in the discovery of the self, a prominent issue not just for authors of ego documents like Abelard but also for the self-identified prophetess Hildegard of Bingen. In her conclusion Flanagan compares the rich correspondence of the age to the modern culture of counseling, where some are sought out for expert advice (pp. 190–191). In such anachronistic connections the book's strength functions at times as its drawback by lifting doubt out of the medieval context of the *trivium*. Yet Flanagan's steady focus on doubt has much to offer, not the least of which is to nuance once again any one-dimensional idea of the twelfth century as one of intellectual progress alone.

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BRETT EDWARD WHALEN. *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. 328. \$29.95.

As an ideology, Christendom (*Christianitas*) was remarkably long-lived and potent. In medieval Europe it legitimized Latin Christian sovereignty, while simultaneously relegating Jews, Muslims, heretics, and pagans to the status of outsiders. Christendom encapsulates medieval Europe's grandest cultural vision of itself. Its meaning was programmatic and aspirational. At one and the same time it signified religious identity, territorial expansion, religio-political dominance, and Christian peoplehood. Historically, Christendom was a dynamic concept, ever receptive to events. Theologically, its scope embraced Christianity's Jewish past, its papal present, and its prophetic future.

That future culminated in mankind's "Last Days." Apocalypticism enriched medieval Christianity, endowing it with dramatic urgency and a coherent plot. Thanks in no small part to the influence of the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202), apocalypticism became the chief propellant of medieval sacral history.

Joachim's writings and those of his followers, the Joachites, were read and copied and misattributed through the late medieval centuries and the Renaissance, in spite of the efforts of the ecclesiastical authorities to contain them.

The most striking and original feature of Brett Edward Whalen's book is to parallel and ultimately merge his two major themes: the development of the ideology of Christendom, and the career of Joachite apocalypticism. Both topics, as Whalen perceives them, followed broadly comparable and intertwined historical trajectories. This reviewer can recall no other book that juxtaposes these two subjects in similar fashion, as if they belonged together, which they do. For this insight, Whalen deserves high praise.

With backward glances, Whalen begins his account of Christendom with the eleventh-century papal reform movement under Leo IX and especially Gregory VII. He makes the point that "by its very nature, the central question of the papal reform movement—how to properly order Christendom—was implicitly eschatological" (p. 12). The issue of papal supremacy, vis-à-vis Byzantium; the western empire; in determining eucharistic doctrine; or calling a crusade, became paramount. The crusades caused Christendom's frontiers to expand or shrink. Chroniclers "of the First Crusade attempted to integrate the expedition into the narrative of salvation history" (p. 45). Here Whalen builds upon Jonathan Riley-Smith's *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (1986).

Following the First Crusade, the "revitalized historical imagination of the Latin Church" paved the way for Joachim of Fiore (p. 76). Whalen's strong chapter four on Joachim's prophetic system would have earned him the warm approval of the late Marjorie Reeves, doyenne of Joachim scholars. Joachim, sharply attuned to the world around him, his eyes firmly on the future, put the Christian past to work as no one before him had done. Whalen's clear exposition of Joachim's intricately patterned future history perhaps can be accused of choosing expository lucidity over prophetic ambiguity.

For Christendom and the crusade, Innocent III's pontificate was a milestone. Innocent read events providentially and seems to have read Joachim as well. More could have been said about Innocent, heresy, Spain, and the Baltic region, but Whalen astutely signals James of Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn regarding Christendom's post-Fifth Crusade "engagement with the wider world" (pp. 150–154). Increasingly "bundled together" were "crusade, mission, and prophecy," as Franciscans and Dominicans penetrated the Saracen East and the pagan North (p. 159).

Franciscan Joachimism unites Whalen's twin themes, Christendom and prophecy. According to the Joachites, the year 1260, "the anticipated *annus horribilis et mirabilis*," would usher in Joachim's Third Age, transforming Christendom (pp. 172, 180–186). Whalen might have said more about 1260. The flagellant movement, European in scope, began that year in Perugia, where possible signs of Joachite influence exist. Moreover, in

1260, Salimbene of Parma, then a Joachite believer and later a disappointed chronicler, led flagellant processions.

Whalen's concluding chapters trace the growing "gap between the imagined Christendom and . . . the Roman Church's position in the world" during the later medieval centuries (p. 180). The Great Schism dealt a terrible blow to the "dream of Christendom," just as Franciscan Spirituals, such as Peter John Olivi and John of Rupescissa, true believers in apostolic poverty, drew on the radical Joachite tradition to castigate the papacy (p. 227). The execution of the Observant Dominican and prophet Girolamo Savonarola in 1498 completes the story. Thus the union of a papal Christendom (minus an Angelic Pope) and Joachite apocalypticism ended, as some awkward marriages do, in divorce.

Post-divorce, in the epilogue, some supplementary remarks about the one-time spouses might have been added. For the question of how Christendom became Europe, Denys Hay's *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* (1968) remains useful. Varieties of Christian apocalypticism still persist. As for contemporary secular apocalypticism, consult the Greens. All in all, Whalen's work is an eminently readable, well-referenced, well-organized, and well-argued book. It should prove attractive to students and scholars alike.

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JOHN D. COTTS. *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 320. \$74.95.

Thanks in large part to Richard W. Southern, Peter of Blois (ca. 1125/30–1212) has long been seen as an emblematic representative of twelfth-century humanism. This prolific letter writer was originally the focus of a doctoral thesis that Southern never completed (in part because of the onset of war), but to which he returned in later life, without ever producing a final synthesis. John D. Cotts has now stepped into those shoes with an impressive monograph that focuses not so much on the concept of humanism as on the anxieties of a highly literate secular cleric, who served the powerful but never obtained the reward of high episcopal office.

Peter of Blois was aware of his gifts as a wordsmith. In a later age, he would have found employment alternately as a speech writer and a columnist, both serving the powerful but also venting his spleen, as far as he felt it appropriate and politically safe to do so. Such individuals are always hard to penetrate. They leave a mass of words that may impress by their mastery of style but that often perplex because their true ideas and concerns are hard to decipher. Yet by virtue of their interaction with, and commentary on, those who did wield political power and influence, they can reveal much about the age in which they lived. In the case of Peter of Blois, we have someone who pursued literary studies at Tours, initially under Bernard Sylvestris and in the

shadow of another great letter writer, Hildebert of Lavardin, and then studied law at Bologna and theology in Paris before seeking employment at Canterbury. This was after an abortive enterprise in Sicily in 1166, when he entered the service of a group of French adventurers seeking to take control of the kingdom. Peter of Blois found more success in working for Thomas Becket's successor as archbishop, Richard of Dover. Given the way Becket had polarized ecclesiastical politics through his resistance to Henry II, this was no easy task.

Cotts succeeds admirably in tracing the complexities and uncertainties that confronted Peter of Blois throughout his career. Cotts has to confront some key literary problems occasioned by Peter's propensity to revise his self-image through rewriting letters, in the same manner as Petrarch. Is the Master Peter of Blois to whom Peter addresses letters 76 and 77 a different person of the same name (as Southern surmised) or is he a literary fiction, created by Peter of Blois, as Peter Dronke argued? Cotts is reserved toward Southern's hypothesis that there were two people called Peter, plausibly suggesting that Peter is projecting his concerns onto another person. Yet his approach is more historical than literary or theological. Letters rather than poems are the genre that he prefers to use as a medium for understanding his subject. While he distances himself from some of the sharper claims that Southern made about Peter of Blois—for example, that he turned suddenly from law to theology—he still follows that rich English biographical tradition that Southern did much to legitimize. Cotts also explains in an appendix the knotty textual problems presented by the many surviving manuscripts of Peter's letters, carefully reassessing Southern's judgments in the light of more recent studies.

Peter of Blois has often been charged by his critics with literary plagiarism. Even in his own day, he had to counter accusations that he was simply a compiler of texts rather than a serious author. Cotts recognizes the potential validity of these charges but views the process in a more positive light, as one of conscious participation in a literary tradition in which there were no beginnings. More could still be made of Peter's literary and theological debts and the way he transformed them. While his treatise on friendship (of enormous popularity in later centuries) took ideas from Aelred of Rievaulx, they are structured in quite a new way. Yet Cotts has made an important step in rehabilitating Peter's reputation. Even if Peter of Blois cannot match John of Salisbury for the intellectual solidity of his grasp of classical literature and philosophy, Cotts demonstrates that Peter of Blois became seriously concerned—certainly in later life—with the conflicting demands of public life and spiritual integrity. Possibly this was because he was someone who had thrown himself wholeheartedly into finding his way in the world. Cotts poignantly observes that for all his admiration of the monastic life, Peter never abandoned his calling as a secular cleric—even if he was acutely aware of the moral deficiencies of the class to which he belonged. As Southern recognized,

Peter of Blois did embody the tensions and uncertainties of his age.

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TERESA SHAWCROSS. *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece*. (Oxford Studies in Byzantium.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 401. \$150.00.

In the Frankish-held Morea of the 1320s, an anonymous author composed the *Chronicle of Morea* in vernacular Greek prose. That author employed techniques rooted in contemporary oral culture to create a form of vernacular historiography new to the Grecophone world. It was no longer based on imperial Byzantine or classical norms; instead, it reflected a new, non-Constantinopolitan-centered literary form. The author may have written his text under the patronage of a relatively recently arrived noble family, the le Maure. The *Chronicle* glorified the deeds of those longer-resident families with whom the le Maure had marital or matrilineal ties and thus crafted a lineage dating back to the founding of Frankish Greece. More important, claims Teresa Shawcross in her informative new monograph, the oldest versions of the chronicle articulated a Moreot proto-nationalist identity that bound native Greeks and Latin immigrants together in the face of considerable external pressures. But as the text was copied and translated, and Frankish Morea itself crumbled, the proto-nationalist agenda lacked resiliency, and later scribes and translators easily repurposed the original *Chronicle* to serve other masters and agendas.

Shawcross bases these arguments on her authoritative study of both the manuscript traditions for the *Chronicle* and the narrative techniques of the core Greek and French texts. In part one, Shawcross advances her thesis that the *Chronicle* was originally composed in a vernacular Greek text that has been lost. A later fourteenth-century Greek manuscript (now in Copenhagen), however, largely preserves the original's content and style. She also argues that a fourteenth-century French version likewise preserves some of the structure and content of the Greek original, whereas Aragonese and Italian versions are later translations that significantly deviate from the original text. Because the *Chronicle* is a key source for countless subjects relating to the twelfth and thirteenth-century eastern Mediterranean, all who consult the text will be pleased to employ Shawcross's detailed analysis of these divergent manuscript traditions.

Part two of the work compares the narrative structure, legacy of oral traditions, and distinctive grammatical features of the extant French and Greek texts. This section effectively applies the narrative theory of Gérard Genette, among others, to provide a terminology with which to assess the structural and grammatical elements of the medieval texts. Shawcross focuses her attention particularly on "speech acts," voice, and moments in which the narrative abruptly shifts from past

to present tense. She moves from points of commonality to critical elements of divergence between the French and Greek texts, thus demonstrating both how the French interpreter deliberately shifts the Greek ancestor into the norms of French prose historiography, while the Greek interpreter preserves oral and verse elements within his narrative. Hence, the French version of the *Chronicle* stands as a partisan text in a regional battle between verse and prose historiography, arguing against the preservation of oral recitation as less trustworthy than sober, seemingly objective, prose. The Greek narrative, by contrast, is an early example of what becomes a standard way to encounter one's past in the Greek-speaking Mediterranean. As Shawcross says, both "conformed fully to contemporary developments in historiography to their respective languages" (p. 180). This conformity, however, becomes the basis for Shawcross to argue that authors in the Peloponnese worked easily with newly developed modes of historical writing in both northwestern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean. Morea was "a centre of innovation and experimentalism" (p. 181).

In part three, Shawcross turns to her provocative argument about proto-nationalism and historiography as propaganda. She notes the presence of a consistent invocation of a "Moreot" identity that trumps divisions between Latins and Greeks. This statement of unity co-exists with a fairly standard effort to label other Greeks as naturally perfidious, cowardly, and heretical. The Moreot identity should be read as aspirational, she argues, reflecting a broader propaganda effort to draw Greek-speaking people into the Latin-ruled political entity of Morea. Shawcross concludes by noting the many challenges faced by the Moreot state as it declined and eventually collapsed. Successors and rivals expropriated the *Chronicle* for their own uses, stripping out the "proto-nationalist" identity, and either elevating the anti-Greek discourse (in Western texts) or removing it altogether as part of the re-Byzantinization of the recent past. The *Chronicle's* afterlife reflects the turbulent history of the Peloponnese.

This final section offers the most broadly significant conclusions but also those most likely to be challenged. Shawcross's arguments depend on a close reading of a number of texts through which, she reasonably speculates, she can access the lost ancestor and track changes over time. To support her analysis, she provides a long and fascinating appendix of twelve carefully chosen selections for which she provides an edition and literal translation from all four major manuscripts. These passages, which will open the rich world of the *Chronicle* to a wider audience, along with her detailed study of form, structure, style, and most of all, manuscript traditions, make Shawcross's monograph required reading for anyone seeking to understand the late medieval eastern Mediterranean and the people who tried to write its history.

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FRANCK COLLARD. *The Crime of Poison in the Middle Ages*. Translated by DEBORAH NELSON-CAMPBELL. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2008. Pp. xviii, 292. \$49.95.

Widely acclaimed in francophone circles, Franck Collard's 2003 study of poisoning in medieval Europe received relatively little attention from English-language reviewers. One hopes that this translation will rectify that situation. At the book's heart are some four hundred cases of alleged criminal poisoning found in narrative and judicial sources from 500 to 1500 C.E. A rare crime, poisoning appears to have increased dramatically after the mid-thirteenth century. Sixty percent of Collard's cases come from the later Middle Ages, as do numbers of treatises about poison. Collard admits, however, that "the only measurable reality is perceived reality" (p. 21). Focusing, accordingly, on the imaginary of poison, he ably demonstrates its relevance for a wide variety of topics.

Poisoning did not constitute a separate category of crime before the early modern era. In Roman law and throughout the Middle Ages, the meaning of *veneficium* mingled with that of magic. Furthermore, there existed no single judicial procedure for cases of poison, which were dealt with in a variety of secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The heinous and secretive nature of the crime subjected those accused of it (such as witches) to torture, but convicted poisoners only rarely suffered the harshest of penalties. In Collard's sources, much poison (like much magic) comes from elsewhere: the Orient, the land of Islam, the Iberian peninsula. But experts closer to home also could provide poison, and Collard offers a fascinating laundry list of poisons, remedies, and preventive measures. Inventories of ecclesiastical and lay lords confirm the late medieval paranoia about poison, as they brim with unicorns' horns that could neutralize venom and snakes' tongues that would sweat in poison's presence.

The imaginary of poison also touches on notions of power and community. Collard establishes poisoning as quintessentially affecting the powerful, although judicial records also reveal more humble victims. Poisoners, because of the heinous nature of the crime, were typically depicted as outsiders and infidels. The crime tore at basic social units, rupturing the family, the spiritual family of the cloister, and the ties between servant and master or lord and vassal. Poison was particularly abominable because the degree of intimacy needed to administer poison implied a betrayal of trust. Writers frequently described poisoning with the language of treason. Poisoning bypassed the "ritual of challenge" (p. 133) of a normal murder, thus yielding an unanticipated death, and involved all the planning, accomplices, and preparation associated with conspiracy. Above all, poisoning represented a perversion of the *fides* on which good society rested and hence was often, by extension, imputed to a plot to "poison" the Christian faith, whether by Muslims during the Crusades, or in the supposed plots of lepers in 1321 and Jews in 1348.

Because poison conjured up such a potent set of as-

sociations, as Collard notes, stories about poisoning could glorify the victim (whether a saint whom poison could not harm or a ruler now seen as a royal martyr) or tar the perpetrator. He also notes the political and cathartic uses of a poisoning charge, which became an important way to vilify political rivals, remove tyrannical overlords, or discredit upstart courtiers. Tales of poisoners, Collard asserts, helped to cement national identities and to unite a community behind its threatened leader. Collard also suggests tantalizing parallels between the rise of the witch trials and the late medieval obsession with poison, a subject about which he has elsewhere written more broadly. Like accusations of magic and witchcraft in the fourteenth century, the charge of poisoning was put to wide political use, but also created an image of a pure society threatened by evil outsiders. Only rarely, however, does Collard venture to make comparisons between the imaginary and the real. Admittedly, one must read sources with caution; still, some cases are better documented than others, and Collard might have speculated more about whether late medieval princes were in as much danger from poison as they feared. That the danger was more perceived than real would strengthen Collard's point about the propaganda uses of poisoning charges.

In short, Collard's book is an immensely rewarding study, and it is fitting that it will be available to a wider English-speaking readership. Unfortunately, the text is marred by Deborah Nelson-Campbell's sometimes sloppy translation. Personal and place names (even when not French) are frequently left confusingly untranslated, as are section headings within the bibliography. The occasional mistranslation distorts the meaning: for example, supplying "courtesan" where "courtier" is meant (pp. 91, 233), or rendering "le Mur" (the inquisitors' prison) as "wall punishment" (p. 201). Still, Collard's provocative juxtaposition of judicial records with literary and narrative sources yields a rich treasure trove of medieval ideas about poison. Although a crime of extreme rarity, poisoning sheds light on the ways medieval Europeans perceived power and social relations and imagined their society threatened by evil, traitorous outsiders.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ALFRED HIATT. *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 298. \$60.00.

In this rigorously researched and elegantly written monograph, Alfred Hiatt offers an engaging analysis of the various ways in which places and peoples outside the known world were imagined, written about, and pictured in and through European science, statecraft, and satire from classical antiquity through the end of the sixteenth century. Drawing on a rich complex of nar-

ratives ranging from Greek geometry to medieval Christian theological and cosmological treatises and early modern travel accounts and satires, he demonstrates the consistent, if frequently quixotic, preoccupation in these works with the "antipodes," a term that at first referred to people dwelling opposite to—literally, with feet against—the known world, but subsequently expanded to denote the world outside the *ecumene* (p. 3). Antipodal theory was initially the product of classical Greek geometry that posited the existence of lands and peoples on the underside of a spherical earth (chapter two). Subsequently over the course of the European Middle Ages, Christian theologians and philosophers debated questions central to antipodal habitation. Could antipodeans exist beyond the reach of God? Were such peoples in fact human? Their responses ranged from Augustine's categorical rejection to cautious acceptance and creative adaptation by authors such as Tertullian and Origen (chapter three). At the cusp of the early modern, two developments profoundly changed the antipodal imagination as elaborated in chapters six and seven. First, the translation of Ptolemy's *Geographia* into Latin in 1406–1407 encouraged mapmakers to depict unknown lands as contiguous with the known world rather than separated by impenetrable barriers of heat and ocean. Second, the finding of the Americas led to a cognitive shift from "lands unknown" to "lands not yet discovered." Following this discovery, the antipodes come to be labeled as *Terra Australis*, a vast southern landmass that mirrored the northern *ecumene* on maps and in narratives until the eighteenth-century Dutch voyages, and the discoveries of James Cook in the Pacific (chapter eight).

For Hiatt, one function of the antipodes lay in their capacity "to turn the European gaze back upon itself" (p. 244), to serve as "a means of mirroring the absurdities and pretensions of the satirist's own society" (p. 6). But more is at stake in this work: the richness of "antipodal" theory, Hiatt argues, is proof of the willingness in the classical and medieval world "to think about the other side of the earth, to envisage it, to consider the possibility of habitable land there, even while arguing against the possibility of human habitation" (p. 59). The very existence of the antipodal imagination suggests the vigor and reach of medieval debates about abstract space and other forms of humanity, and thus questions older arguments, well entrenched in the scholarly literature, about the "closed" system of pre-modern and Christian world view. Instead, "the known world itself was not represented as entirely closed off, despite the theories of its insularity and of the impossibility of communication with other regions" (pp. 84–85). Indeed, the complex, variegated, and sometimes amusing discourse about the antipodes belongs to a rich body of what we might call "earth lore," prior to their systematization as earth sciences from the Enlightenment on. This earth lore confirms that learned Europeans implicitly and explicitly believed in the sphericity of Earth—the antipodal imagination could not have flourished otherwise—contrary to modernist argu-

ments about medieval notions of the flat earth. Debates about the location of the earthly paradise also belong to this rich vein of earth lore, running alongside the discourse about the antipodes (p. 126), as do deliberations about the societies and mores of the "Other."

Conceptually, the most important contribution of this work lies in its elaboration of a medieval visual culture in which "world images" played a constitutive role, related on the one hand to the written word, but also establishing their own lines of transmission and posing their own set of representational problems. Indeed, visual representations of the antipodes "enhanced rather than diminished the credibility of the idea" (p. 66), for as one fifth-century commentary had it, "because the path to the intellect is easier through the eyes, that which language describes should be given visual form" (p. 63 n. 40). In the systematic use made almost from the very start of the discourse on the antipodes to supplement words with images, we have an opportunity to think of the deep history of the scientific illustration reaching back into classical antiquity. By bringing to our attention such diagrams of the earth and world images, Hiatt's work also reminds us of the importance of "non-places" and "not yet known places" to the development of the science of mapping the world. For historians, Hiatt's study also offers an important model of spatial history, tracking for us the spatial forms and fantasies through which Europeans from classical antiquity on attempted to work out their place on Earth and their relationship to "Others" in lands unknown or waiting to be known.

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A. LYNN MARTIN. *Alcohol, Violence, and Disorder in Traditional Europe*. (Early Modern Studies, number 2.) Kirksville: Truman State University Press. 2009. Pp. ix, 269. \$48.00.

In the late 1960s, anthropologists Craig MacAndrew and Robert B. Edgerton teamed up to study how people in different cultures behave when they are intoxicated. The book that came out of that project, *Drunken Comportment: A Social Explanation* (1969), created a sensation, for it said that drunken behavior is learned and varies from culture to culture. People in some cultures become aggressive when they drink; people in others do not. The same logic led MacAndrew and Edgerton to conclude that the norms governing drunken comportment can and do change as a culture changes, and that cultures are perfectly capable of having different scripts for different settings. Aggressive behavior may be acceptable in some settings and unacceptable in others.

I mention *Drunken Comportment* because it is the touchstone of A. Lynn Martin's work. In his book, Martin casts a wide net, covering four centuries (1300–1700) and three different drinking cultures (England, France, and Italy). Under the circumstances, it is surprising that he finds so few variations over time and across cultures—Italians drank the most but com-

plained the least, women were vaguely more tolerated in drinking establishments in England than they were in France and Italy, and English law was distinctive because it deemed drunkenness an aggravating factor in the commission of a crime. In each century and in each culture he returns to the same conclusion: high levels of drinking did not correlate with high levels of interpersonal violence, and if there was any correlation, it was because drinking establishments inevitably attracted a rogues' gallery of "thieves, gangs of criminals, prostitutes and their pimps, gamblers, vagabonds, and other denizens of the underworld" (p. 161).

This last assertion contains an element of truth, but it hardly does justice to the several excellent histories we now have of early modern drinking establishments: Peter Clark's *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200–1830* (1983), Keith Wrightson's essay, "Alehouses, Order and Reformation in Rural England, 1590–1660," printed in *Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590–1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure* (1981), Thomas Brennan's *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (1988), and, more recently, B. Ann Tlusty's *Bacchus and Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (2001). I could name more, including the essays Tlusty and Beat Kümin edited in *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (2002), but my basic point is that the field is a crowded one, and that the better part of Martin's book, chapters two through six, simply does not break new ground.

Martin's claim to originality lies in his focus on alcohol and violence, but the large house he has built rests on the wobbliest of foundations. The first problem is its reliance on printed sources. While the study purports to be about three separate cultures—England, France, and Italy—it is mostly about the first, if only because there are more printed materials from that country. A second flaw is the assumption that prosecutions can tell us anything about the actual incidence of crime, in this case disorderly drinking establishments and drunken brawls. Since so much of Martin's argument rests on English records, it seems only fair to point out that the costs associated with prosecuting a case deterred many individuals from going to court. Nor, I might add, are those same records especially strong on motive. Factor in all of the other problems associated with interpreting crime statistics and there is simply no basis for the assertion that "all the quantitative data from England . . . indicate that the moralists were guilty of exaggeration" (p. 221). Nor, it seems to me, is there a strong basis for saying that medieval and early modern Europeans drank much more than we do. To say this is to ignore the many material constraints on producing and preserving beverages in a preindustrial society. The oversight is all the more surprising given Martin's invocation of the *annalistes*. Beer and ale, to state the obvious, require fuel and grain, two things that were often in short supply, while wine did not keep, meaning that supplies often ran out in the months before a new vintage.

One's confidence in the argument is further undermined by a series of statements that have no place in a piece of serious history. At one point, the Puritans are described as "moral do-gooders" (p. 213). At another, we are told that we should think of the old alehouses as "merry" (p. 132). Elsewhere, we read that "people attempted to appear more important than permitted by their social status," and that this was because of the "obsession with honor that characterized all levels of society in traditional Europe" (p. 162). This last assertion, while technically correct, at best scratches the surface of the literature.

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MICHAEL CURTIS. *Orientalism and Islam: European Thinkers on Oriental Despotism in the Middle East and India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. ix, 382. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$22.99.

The subject of this book is indicated in its subtitle rather than its title: it is a study not of Orientalism and Islam but of the views on Oriental despotism held by a selection of Western thinkers from the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries. After an introduction and three preliminary chapters providing general surveys of such themes as the relations between Europe and the Muslim world, European views of Islam, and works by travellers to the East, Michael Curtis devotes a chapter each to Montesquieu, Edmund Burke, Alexis de Tocqueville, James and John Stuart Mill, Karl Marx, and Max Weber. These chapters contain quite detailed studies of the writings of each thinker, which provide useful summaries of their views of despotism and the Orient. Curtis has scoured their works for relevant discussions, which he situates carefully in relation to their broader views. It should however be noted that the chapter on Tocqueville is mainly devoted to the issue of the colonization of Algeria, in which the question of despotism hardly appears, while the Mills' discussion of India is largely concerned with Hindu rather than Muslim civilization, and Weber's analysis of patrimonialism ranges over a huge chronological and geographical field.

This indicates a problem with the author's aim and approach. The main body of the work is framed by the introduction and conclusion, which expound the principles on which it is based. Curtis makes it clear that his book is intended as a counter to postmodern analyses, condemned on the first page as "simplistic and reductionist." He is seeking to retrieve European writing on the Muslim Orient as an aid to understanding contemporary Muslim societies and the "cultural identities of the peoples in the Orient" (p. 2), instead of seeing it as the manifestation of a desire for power implying "a hegemonic imperialist or colonial attitude" (p. 6). It is difficult to argue with his criticism of essentialist distinctions between a "West" and an "Orient" (p. 8) or his insistence that European perceptions of the Orient must be understood in historical context. But he mainly

limits his own discussion of historical context to the threat posed to Europe by Islam before the eighteenth century. Despite references to contemporary events, the detailed summaries of the works are often insufficiently related to their historical or intellectual contexts such as, for the Mills, Scottish conjectural history. In the chapter on Burke, which includes an interesting comparison of his views on India with those of Warren Hastings, the issues surrounding the East India Company are insufficiently explained.

In fact this study, which ignores the methods of intellectual history, is itself open to the very criticism made against "neo-Foucauldian" writers. Curtis essentializes an unchanging and ill-defined Orient, which at times denotes a vast and disparate reality going beyond the Islamic world, while the partially anachronistic term "Middle East" and the phrase "Islamic fundamentalism" are used without being defined. The concept of despotism, as distinct from descriptions of particular governments, could also have been explored in greater depth. Curtis's aim is first to make a claim for these writers' "objectivity" and to defend them against the charges of "imperialist hubris" (p. 299) or racism.

But above all, his general thesis, hammered home in the introduction and conclusion, bears little relation to his detailed analyses of each author's writings. The conclusion in particular makes sweeping generalizations about the views of the writers studied, which are not borne out by the preceding chapters. It conflates despotism and "apocalyptic passions and violence" (p. 300) in an attempt to demonstrate that these thinkers can help us to understand "current Islamic militant groups" (p. 303), and curiously combines Islamic fatalism and the Hindu caste system as part of a single Oriental reality (p. 307). The distinctions made in the introduction are forgotten as Curtis underlines the differences the writers saw between their Western systems and the East; the list of the "Western features" that he claims all the writers studied in the book saw as missing in Oriental societies surprisingly includes "free association," "rotation of power," "minority rights," "popular sovereignty," "fair meaningful elections," and "a culture of diversity" (p. 305). The essentialized distinction between East and West reappears as Curtis emphasizes the danger now confronting the West, in the shape of an eternally militant Islamic ideology and "the increasing number of Islamic immigrants in European countries" (p. 303), presented in a threatening light. The writers studied in this book are thus recruited as auxiliaries in the unchanging confrontation between "Christian and Islamic countries" (p. 311) in an ahistorical conflation of diverse interpretations, preoccupations, and situations that does justice neither to the nuanced analyses of the individual writers nor to the complexity of the current situation in the Muslim world and elsewhere.

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DAVID R. LAWRENCE. *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603–1645*. (History of Warfare, number 53.) Boston: Brill. 2009. Pp. xix, 439. \$221.00.

David R. Lawrence has written a noteworthy addition to the beautifully produced but prodigiously expensive “History of Warfare” series published by Brill. The old notion that the British Civil Wars, 1642–1651, were “amateur” depended upon representing the English aristocracy and gentry as unmilitary: following the resolution of the Wars of the Roses in 1485, they hung up their swords and shields in manorial halls and settled down to local government and the better management of their estates.

More recent interpretations have stressed that, from the very beginning, the wars were conducted by many relatively experienced officers who had learned their trade in the Irish wars of Elizabeth I, the Dutch armies fighting against Spain, and the Thirty Years’ War. Although Britain officially avoided involvement in the latter conflict—with the exception of Horace de Vere’s expedition to the Palatinate in 1620—thousands of Scottish, Irish, and English subjects fought as private individuals or in mercenary formations in the forces of the Danes, Swedes, and United Provinces. Some of this talent returned home to fight in the Bishops’ Wars and the Irish Revolt, and even more came back to take commissions in the Parliamentary and Royalist armies from 1642 onward. Not only was the British landed class already quite heavily “militarized” on the eve of the civil wars, but it participated in a thriving domestic martial culture. Naturally, service in the civil wars enhanced those foundations, improving competence and performance while several gentlemen unfamiliar with Mars discovered their true *métier*, most notably Oliver Cromwell. Even Cromwell, though, had read of the exploits of Gustav II Adolf of Sweden (p. 226). Prewar militarism was reinforced by the remodelling of the militia and the subsequent employment of many gentry as part-time officers, necessitating instruction in the most up-to-date techniques. In the absence of active campaigning, the only way of acquiring this information was through the printed word. Building on works examining military literature, including Maurice J. D. Cockle’s bibliography of military books printed up to 1642 (1900), Ian Beckett’s *Amateur Military Tradition* (1991), Sydney Anglo’s *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (2000), the books of Mark Charles Fissel (1994, 2001) and Anna Simoni (2003), and Stanley Carpenter’s *Military Leadership in the British Civil Wars* (2005), David Lawrence has produced an examination of this literature and attempted to assess its impact.

Most Englishmen pursuing a military career gravitated toward the Dutch Republic, which created a niche market for specialist military treatises. In preparation for their service, Englishmen had no difficulty in purchasing the latest, imported continental works in translation as well as those published in England. Most popular and influential were the manuals of Johann Jacobi

von Wallhausen and the plagiarist John Cruso. Veterans of the Elizabethan wars remained in the Low Countries after 1604 and, following the demise of the earls of Leicester and Essex, sought new sponsors. Francis and Horace de Vere and Henry, Prince of Wales, became the principal new patrons, and, for a short time, Henry’s household at St. James’s Palace was the nearest English equivalent to a continental military court. War books, says Lawrence, played an important role within these clientage networks. Based on the Dutch system, *The Instructions for Musters and Armes* (1623)—revised editions were printed in 1625 and 1631—has some claim to being the first state-sponsored drill manual. It informed the tactical training of the remodelled militia as well as the troops for the expeditions to Cadiz and La Rochelle and the 12,000 “volunteers” raised by Ernst von Mansfeld in 1624. Both Royalist and Parliamentary armies probably adhered to the methods described in *The Instructions*.

Following the Bishops’ Wars, gentlemen with little or no previous military experience required rapid answers to the practical problems of command, giving rise to the publication of more analytical studies, especially in the late 1630s and early 1640s. Books tended to concentrate upon infantry rather than cavalry because infantry was more versatile, cheaper to train and equip, and the various Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline armies and detachments had invariably contained a heavy preponderance of foot over horse. The mercenary regiments in Germany and the Netherlands were always of infantry, but, nevertheless, a number of books devoted themselves to the management and exercise of mounted troops.

Finally, Lawrence studies the manuals of fortification and siege warfare, even though England lacked both the extent and modernity of the *trace italienne* mushrooming on the continent. Generalship, however, could not be taught from books, and nearly all the general officers who fought in the civil wars had previously experienced only regimental command; it was in the higher direction of war at the operational and strategic level that “amateurism” was to be found. Lawrence’s well-written and organized book will be of value to those investigating the origins of military professionalism in Britain and offers much to historians of the book and book trade.

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S. J. CONNOLLY. *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630–1800*. (Oxford History of Early Modern Europe.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 519. \$70.00.

In the last twenty years, a number of historians have sought to re-examine and reframe early modern Ireland with varying degrees of success. S. J. Connolly comes to the task with impeccable credentials and promising form. His *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780–1845* (1982) and survey chapters in volume five of the *New History of Ireland* (1986) comprise some of the

best writing on the immediate pre-Famine period. The influential monograph *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (1992) played a key role in refocusing attention away from the last three crowded decades of the eighteenth century and influencing a new generation of historians. Various editorial projects, including his *Kingdoms United: Great Britain and Ireland since 1500* (1999), *Oxford Companion to Irish History* (1998), and *Political Ideas in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (2000) have copper-fastened Connolly's acknowledged reputation.

The volume under review, the second installment of his two-volume contribution to the *Oxford History of Early Modern Europe*, is a work that both merits and rewards careful reading and rereading. Many Irish historians might not always agree with the author's views of early modern Ireland, but few will dispute his original and innovative contribution to the canon. History is, after all, about argument. Connolly thrives on historical controversy and his exuberance always sparks off the pages, particularly in those areas where he is most comfortable: the Church of Ireland, Irish economic and social history, law and order, popular history, and culture. Thanks to Connolly's travails in the archives and an uncanny ability to synthesize and condense material, further allied to willingness to import British, European, and colonial ideas and concepts, few readers will put this book down without having learned something.

His achievement here should not be underestimated. Over the course of five hundred pages he succeeds in distilling a huge volume of recent research. Twelve lively chronological chapters coalesce around the time-honored themes of reform, conquest, plantation, rising, reconquest, settlement, consolidation, opposition, revolution, and counter-revolution. He leads fellow historians, fervent postgraduates, bewildered undergraduates, and uninitiated enthusiasts through the crisis of composite monarchy, the various theaters of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, the Stuart Restoration, the Jacobite Succession, "Glorious Revolution" and the emergence of the "Protestant Nation," New Lights and Old Fights, Rulers and Ruled, Ireland's role in the British colonial, imperial, and Atlantic worlds, imperial crisis, revolution, and counter-revolution.

The book's particular strength lies in the author's ability to summarize and simplify complex military, political, and diplomatic history alongside his deft appraisal of the socioeconomic, political, and cultural impact of the Confederate/Cromwellian War, reconquest and plantation and restoration settlements, Protestant ascendancy, revolution, counter-revolution, and union. The result is a volume replete with splendid definitions, synopses, and descriptions. Examples include his brief survey of the three main political and religious groups that inhabit the island, his deft handling of the political machinations of the earl of Strafford, and competent forays into other Stuart kingdoms, European, and colonial history. These pre-empt his balanced appraisal of the background and causes of the outbreak and course of the 1641 rebellion, which sets up his wide-ranging (in

both thematic and geographical terms) reappraisal of the rebellion, particularly the manner in which the puritanical lords justices repudiated increasingly desperate Old English attempts to reach an accommodation with the king. His treatment of the war engages with a staggering array of secondary writing, showing an author who is fully conversant with an often bewildering succession of military and political alliances and allegiances.

Catholic Ireland does not fare so well in Connolly's chronicle and defies his valiant attempts, here and elsewhere, to shoehorn it into a time-honored Whig metanarrative. In fairness to the author, the constraints of a general survey hamper any attempt to re-engage with these debates. That said, even a cursory examination of the nature and evolution of an Irish national identity (or proto-nationalism, to use Connolly's own phrase), Catholic belief and practice, and Irish Jacobitism, which sustained Irish Catholics between the Battle of the Boyne and the French Revolution, necessitates a more extensive engagement with the surviving canonical texts, both poetry and prose. It is not good enough to reiterate Michelle O'Riordan's discredited thesis on the persistence of long-established literary genres and motifs in Irish poetry, Louis Cullen's contested reassessment of Daniel Corkery's so-called "Hidden Ireland," or the lack of an Irish-language print culture in the eighteenth century. Indeed, it is odd that Connolly insists on citing Cullen's 1969 article on the Hidden Ireland despite the fact that Cullen himself, possibly smarting from the trenchant criticism of Brendan Ó Buachalla and Michelle O'Riordan, substantially rewrote the piece in 1988. Besides, the "Hidden" Ireland is only really hidden to those historians who have not (or cannot) engage with its literary remains. Moreover, to suggest that scholars who have questioned Cullen's "classic exposition" have sought explicitly or implicitly to rehabilitate the concept is to throw out the baby of eighteenth-century Irish literature with the bathwater of Corkery's imagined, shared common culture between big house and peasant's hut.

These disagreements aside, this is a remarkable scholarly achievement. It is a worthy contribution to the histories of early modern Ireland and Europe and an invaluable addition to the library of any historian who wishes to understand the divided kingdom's transformation and its place in the European and British Atlantic world.

ÉAMONN Ó CIARDHA
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JAMES KELLY. *Sir Richard Musgrave, 1746–1818: Ultra-Protestant Ideologue*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2009. Pp. 266. \$70.00.

Most people who actually knew the Irish baronet Sir Richard Musgrave would probably agree with James Kelly's observation that he was "a somewhat dysfunctional human being" (p. 38). Already in his youth he was described as an "odd eccentric man"; the Irish Chief

Secretary Thomas Orde dismissed him as “a very whimsical man”; and his wife, Lady Deborah Cavendish, deemed him “half mad by nature” and “the most unfeeling and abominable of fanatics” (it was an unhappy marriage, which ended in divorce). His distinctive rigidity and uncompromising conservatism was mocked by the contemporary raconteur Sir Jonah Barrington, who noted that Musgrave was “generally in his senses,” “except on the abstract topics of politics, religion, martial law, his wife, the pope, the pretender, the Jesuits, Napper Tandy, and the whipping-post.” Though his political career was rather unimpressive, definitely when compared to others in his social circle, such as Sir Edward Newenham (who is the subject of a previous, equally superb, study by Kelly), recent research is increasingly making a case for Musgrave’s central importance for the history of Anglo-Irish loyalism and even for the ideological development of British conservatism. The extent of this claim, which is put forward with authority in this study, needs to be qualified with caution.

Although he cited David Hume to support his arguments on the inherent malignity of Catholics, Musgrave was no *philosophe* and his writings showed nothing of the intellectual caliber of Edmund Burke (with whose critique of the French Revolution Musgrave agreed). He was, however, prominent within a clique of shrill ultra-Protestant propagandists, whose polemical writings came to the fore in the heated debates on Catholic emancipation at the time of the passage of the Act of Union and its aftermath. Initially affiliated with the Whiggish reformist politics of his patrons the Ponsonbys, he found his purpose in life as a staunch defender of the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland while combating Catholic agrarian agitation as sheriff of County Waterford in the 1780s, hard-heartedly demonstrating his determination by personally administering a punishment of one hundred lashes to a convicted Rightboy when no one else would perform the gruesome task. Seditious attempts by the radical secret Society of the United Irishmen to organize a French invasion and the large-scale rebellion that shook Ireland in 1798 prompted him to pen a pamphlet advocating stern counter-insurgency measures. In 1799, under the pseudonym Veridicus, he responded to the Catholic bishop James Caulfield’s claim that it was a political insurrection, forcefully insisting that it was in essence a popish plot driven by inbred religious hatred.

Musgrave made a name for himself with his monumental history of the rebellion, *Memoirs of the Different Rebellions in Ireland* (1801). Following in the tradition of Sir John Temple’s account of massacres perpetrated by Catholics in 1641 and William King’s account of Protestant tribulations in the 1680s-1690s, Musgrave focused on sectarian atrocities committed by “popish banditti.” Two revised editions were issued shortly (in 1801 and 1802) with a total print run of 3,850, which was exceptional for an expensive book of close to one thousand pages. From the time it first appeared, critics have lambasted the heavily biased interpretation, in which all

events are filtered through an extreme loyalist lens (resulting also in an expurgated account of the rebellion in Ulster, which did not conform to Musgrave’s thesis). In Kelly’s assessment, this was “not a monotone loyalist rant” and also includes perceptive insights, a judicious point that has been previously made by David Dickson, among others. Musgrave utilized many contemporary government sources alongside personal testimonies, which he zealously collected from “suffering loyalists.” For all its prejudice, the book is rich in historical detail, which all historians of 1798 consult. Kelly not only follows the contemporary reception of this book and the controversies it sparked but also does meticulous detective work to track down a large number of articles that Musgrave subsequently published in different conservative journals under various pseudonyms—Camillus, Ussher, Crito, Verax, Somers, Melanchton, Veridicus, Hibernicus, and Cranmer—thus exposing an impressive, and hitherto partly unknown, polemic oeuvre. This seems to justify his conclusion that Musgrave was the “chief ideologist and pre-eminent propagandist of Irish ultra-Protestant loyalism in the early years of the nineteenth century” (p. 183).

Previously, Jacqueline Hill has demonstrated the significant contribution of Anglo-Irish loyalists to British politics and James Sack has called attention to Musgrave’s importance. Stuart Andrews covers some of the same terrain in a concurrent publication on Protestant polemics of the 1798 rebellion (2006). Kelly’s characteristically thorough and incisive study is comprehensive. It exposes many extant misunderstandings, not least in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry, which has Musgrave’s date of birth wrong, miscalculates his income as excise collector for Dublin port, and more significantly claims in error that “Musgrave wrote very little after the *Memoirs*, publishing only one pamphlet critical of Catholic affairs in 1814. In time the book gradually lost credibility and readership, coming to be seen as a historically worthless sectarian diatribe.” However, it should also be acknowledged that Musgrave’s *magnum opus* was not reissued until 1996, when a fourth limited-run edition was quickly snapped up by scholars. Despite its rehabilitation, the bold argument for its lasting legacy as a founding text of British conservatism needs to be critically examined in closer detail, beyond the suggestive points briefly presented in Kelly’s conclusion.

GUY BEINER

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KRISTINA STRAUB. *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism, and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. ix, 223. \$55.00.

An enduring narrative in the history of the family is the shift from a world of strict deference to one of deeper affective ties. Recent works, however, have examined both the continuance in the eighteenth century of models of household governance and understandings of the

family as a unit of reciprocal relationships of friendship, work, and authority. A related account describes the increasingly private nature of the family. Michael McKeon's *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (2006) has demonstrated that not only did the location of privacy shift during this period, but that by the end domesticity was conflated with—and not separate from—the public. Social histories of servants have not yet been integrated into these debates. Indebted to McKeon, and also to the work of Naomi Tadmor and Dror Wahrman (whose name is misspelled throughout), Kristina Straub develops some of these new threads of scholarly work.

Straub's analysis exposes how servants disrupted a series of oppositions—labor relations and gendered/sexual relations, work and love, public and private, political and personal—that “criss-crossed” the household. Indeed, an important ambition is to “address the crucial role that servant-employer relations play in the history of modern gender and sexuality theory,” a history that is rooted in the household (p. 4). “The modern separation between domestic and public life,” Straub writes, “is not so much a screen that hides the historical ‘truth’ about servants and their employers as it is an embodiment of one of the most important elaborations of history’s ‘solution’ to ‘the servant problem’” (p. 18). The problem was that servants were friends, family, and lovers while also being paid workers.

During the eighteenth century, service transformed from a life-stage for the young to an occupation for “a standing work force of domestics of all ages” (p. 20). Regardless, the insistence that servants should be in “the Posture of Children” (p. 22), as Daniel Defoe put it in 1715, continued in conduct literature on “the servant problem,” examined here in chapter two. It is in other sources that we can observe the troubled process through which servants were reimagined as adults and fully gendered men and women. For male servants, this meant an increasingly well-developed and expressive sexual identity, “an adult masculine agency” (p. 45). Female servants, by contrast, were increasingly presented as innocent victims whose sexuality was an enigma; it is, Straub asserts, this “riddle of female desire upon which modern gendered domesticity depends” (p. 46).

Chapter three explores what for Straub is a turning point in the story: the publication of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* in 1740–1741. Paid worker but also domestic and moral woman, Pamela's sexuality is the focus for “growing tension between affective and instrumental relations within the family” (p. 58). Chapter four covers the years 1724 to 1767 and leads with Daniel Defoe's *The Fortunate Mistress, or, a History of . . . Roxana* (1724). Straub's reading sees the relationship between Roxana and Amy (the servant) as a dramatization of the contractual but also affective nature of the servant-master/mistress relationship. The closing case-study, that of the criminal trial of Elizabeth Brownrigg for the murder of one of many female servants in her charge in 1767, underlined how “sexuality

is as much the business of social, political life as of the family and the domestic sphere” (p. 109).

Chapters five and six turn to male servants in drama from 1730 to 1760 and novels from 1740 to 1794. In plays and novels Straub locates a thoroughly gendered and sexualized virile form of masculinity, one that connected men of different classes in a bond of heterosexual desire. Straub overplays, I think, the tensions that servitude posed for masculinity: it was necessary for all men (save, perhaps, the king) to be subordinate to someone in this ranked society. Nevertheless, she identifies an increasingly prominent characteristic of the male servant: the devotion that the servant showed toward his master. It was this devotion that resolved the tension between “shared heterosexual masculinity” and “class-specific subordination to upper-class men” (p. 159). Class differences legitimized “a universal masculinity” (p. 177). This kernel of fraternity, as worked out and represented through the male servant and master relationship, was to become crucial in the production of modern gender differences.

Straub hopes to show that analysis of “relationships comprising [the early modern] family must comprehend those of labor as well as kinship” (p. 188). Historians of the family know well that this applied to all those in the eighteenth-century “household economy.” Straub might have been clearer on the social level of the different households and also on the matter of class and the changing contexts of social structure and work. Yet Straub's triumph is to expose the play of sexuality within shifting household relationships and to demonstrate the significance of gendered desires to women's and men's private and public personae.

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JAMES S. DONNELLY, JR. *Captain Rock: The Irish Agrarian Rebellion of 1821–1824*. (History of Ireland and the Irish Diaspora.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 508. \$35.00.

The “Rockite” rebellion of 1821–1824 demonstrates the folly of explaining the turbulence of Irish history in crude colonial, class, or sectarian terms. Indeed, James S. Donnelly's new book is the definitive history of that eruption, illustrating the complexity of mid-nineteenth-century Ireland in a study that only a historian of his ability and authority could afford. Elegantly written and impeccably researched, it offers an unparalleled insight into the brutal realities of pre-famine Ireland.

From the outset one is struck by the extreme violence of the age. From 1641 onward, the history of Ireland is punctuated by rebellion and violent outrage. Donnelly describes the barbaric burning of Wildgoose Lodge (1816)—in which eight men, women, and children perished—as a mere “hillock” in a whole range of agrarian murders during the years 1800–1845, but nothing compared to the terror unleashed in the Rockite revolt. Beginning in response to the tyranny of Alexander Hoskins, the chief agent on Viscount Courtenay's Limerick

estate, the subsequent rebellion presented a nightmarish challenge to Dublin Castle. The organized violence of the Rockites, named after their mythical leader "Captain Rock," revealed the limitations of state security, and the passage of a draconian Insurrection Act (1822) failed to restore order. Indeed, the official response, which included spectacular displays of judicial repression and highly orchestrated executions, frequently served to strengthen Rockite resolve and prompted a radical reform of the administration of law and order in Ireland.

Crucially, the Rockites and the state response were of their time. Attempts have been made to place the movement within a continuum which included the Whiteboys of the 1760s, the subsequent Rightboys, Defenders, and a succession of agrarian societies. Donnelly rejects such interpretations and argues that while there were inherited techniques and tactics of opposition, the Rockites were uniquely molded by the particularity of the 1820s.

Donnelly provides an analysis of the complex mosaic of provincial Munster. A lifetime of research has enabled him to reconstruct a mature anatomy of the circumstances that combined to create this lethal cocktail: postwar readjustment, frustrated youthful expectations, a malfunctioning economy, hated tithes, and an unsophisticated nationalism. Previous commentators have identified a similar menu of discontent, but Donnelly's nuanced analysis advances the contribution of Joe Lee, Fergus O'Farrell, and Tom Garvin. Moreover, he exposes the limitations of Michael Beames's economic interpretation of Rockism and disputes George Rudé's observations on the impact of the Insurrection Act.

Unlike the earlier Defenders, the Rockites had scribes in abundance who have left a rich corpus of material, proclamations, threatening letters, and notices, all of which allow for a reconstruction of their "mental world." Donnelly embraces this task with confidence, and a forensic examination of a range of sources—including parliamentary papers, police reports, and pamphlets—informs his conclusion that their radical politicization deserves greater attention than it has so far received. Similarly, his reflection of millenarianism reveals much about the embedded sectarianism of Irish society, but the deliverance expected by the Rockites involved liberation from more than "the foreign cubs of Calvin." Donnelly's analysis of conflict within social strata is fascinating, and the blatant anti-clericalism of the rebels emphasized the deep fissures within the Catholic community itself. Significantly, one of the most prominent victims of "Captain Rock" was John Marum, brother of the Catholic bishop of Ossory. The victim, "a bigoted hater of Protestants" himself, was despised by local Catholics as an avaricious land-grabber. There was little sympathy for his passing, and while co-ordinated gatherings were a feature of Rockite protests, none rivalled the attendance of twenty thousand who assembled to witness the hanging of the six men convicted for his murder.

Yet while the movement remained impervious to the influence of the church, the Catholic clergy displayed an ambivalent attitude toward the sectarianism of the age. Significantly, only two bishops published pastorals condemning the inflammatory "Pastorini" (a pseudonym of Charles Walmsley) who predicted the extermination of Protestants. It was, perhaps, that such prophecies served as a bulwark against the inroads of proselytism. Indeed, there was ambivalence on the part of Daniel O'Connell, too. Significantly, the "Liberator" established his reputation as the greatest defense barrister of the day in a series of Rockite trials in the early 1820s. Moreover, Donnelly asserts that O'Connell was the principal political beneficiary of the ferment, since, as many Protestants believed, notwithstanding his rhetoric of passivism, Catholics flocked to the standard of the Catholic Association believing that "the Great Dan" was about to lead an armed revolt.

It is Donnelly's mastery of the high politics, combined with his unequalled authority on the history of Irish economy and society, which make this contribution invaluable. Seldom do scholars warrant their publisher's blurbs, but Donnelly deserves the honors for this superlative history of pre-famine Ireland.

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TIMOTHY ALBORN. *Regulated Lives: Life Insurance and British Society, 1800–1914*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 439. \$80.00.

After reading this book, I agree with Timothy Alborn that "few institutions in the nineteenth century were as adept at juggling multiple modernities as life insurance companies were" (p. 297). His book is not a conventional business history of a subsector of the financial industry, nor can it simply be labeled a cultural history of life insurance. In terms of its larger framework of transition to modernity, the book was written at the intersection of the inspirations of Max Weber and Michel Foucault. The various chapters represent the multiplicity of layers of that intersection.

Chapter one is a survey of the expansion of the life insurance market in terms of policies, premiums, insured sums, and the organizational structure of joint-stock companies, mutual offices, branch agents, and other components. Like several of the chapters that follow, it is based on a quantitative and qualitative study of a large set of insurance companies' business records. Chapter two follows the life cycle of insurance companies. Failed firms were merged into larger ones, but a few of the largest amalgamated companies went bankrupt, leaving policyholders devastated. The level of disclosure that the Companies Act imposed on all joint-stock companies could not provide a proper account of the actuarial ability of a company to balance current premium payments with long-term probabilities of death. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed repeated failures and experiments in the regu-

lation of insurance. The model adopted in 1870 and reaffirmed in 1909 of "freedom with publicity" worked well for Britain. But why? Alborn admits (p. 74) that customers were unable to understand the increasing flow of complex information. He claims that intermediaries such as actuaries, branch managers, and brokers processed the data and explained its implications to customers. This is a standard market mechanism. It does not amount to licensing, investment portfolio regulation, or capital adequacy requirements set and supervised by state authorities. I am unsure as to why this disclosure regulation functioned then and there, despite its inadequacy in other places and times.

Chapter three argues that insurance was one of the first sectors—with banking and railways—that nurtured salaried professional management. In time, more of the salesmanship was performed by independent agents rather than company employees. These agents were primarily required to have an extended social network. Bankers, lawyers, and shopkeepers were thus ideal agents. The latter became essential as insurance was increasingly marketed to the lower classes. The fact that women were almost altogether absent among agents is instructive.

Death was the cornerstone of life insurance. The industry counted deaths to predict the life expectancy of potential customers. Life tables had been in use since the seventeenth century, and Alborn fascinatingly relates their history, combining demography, statistics, medicine, actuary, and business management. It is a story of the interaction of disciplines and professions, of converting death and uncertainty into measurable risk, and of the standardization and commoditization of human beings. In addition to calculating deaths, the industry also sold death. Policies throughout much of the period were sold to secure creditors' interests or protect dependants. The first was a commercial transaction by lenders reacting to the increasing number of individuals who intended to repay their debt out of future income based on their human capital and wages rather than rent on lands. The second was a family matter. Evoking evangelicalism and Victorian novels, salesmen convinced customers that death was imminent and that their dependants would not survive without proper insurance. By the 1880s as theological motivations lost ground, insurance companies had to change their marketing tactics. Rather than approaching men, firms marketed directly to women, suggesting that they should consider men a financial investment and insist on their husbands' insurance.

The changing status of death forced companies to modify their insurance products. Chapters six and seven document this shift at the turn of the twentieth century. Insurance companies now offered high yielding capitalist investments in the form of bonuses and endowment insurance. But to increase revenues at the same time they also targeted working class customers who could not invest much. In the pre-welfare state era, the coupling of life insurance with old age saving was a preferable solution. In this, insurance companies entered

into competition with other types of financial institutions such as savings banks and friendly societies.

The last two chapters deal with the tension in modern life insurance between tendencies to standardization and normalization and exceptions and deviations. Salespersons had to bargain with the medical profession and actuaries to sell more policies to new, non-standard groups and individuals. The medical profession had to learn how to convert diagnostic and therapeutic knowledge into skills that would be useful to insurance managers. Actuaries had to learn how to calculate premiums for less than perfect men.

A focus on the life insurance sector has its drawbacks. The history of a single company can better expose interrelationships between organization, management, finance, and marketing. A study of risk management in Victorian Britain can put life insurance into the wider context of mechanisms for dealing with the consequences of death that included the family, associations, and the state. But the framework of this book has immense strengths, and its research and writing exploit them to the utmost. It will prove essential reading for historians of the medical and legal professions, managerialism and marketing, science and statistics, accounting and business, religion, death, the body, and regulation. For now, thanks to Alborn, I am an ardent believer that modernity is all about life insurance and vice versa.

RON HARRIS
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PHILIP HOWELL. *Geographies of Regulation: Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Empire*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 43.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 299. \$99.00.

Studies of prostitution, like so many others in Victorian Britain, have become a part of imperial history; at their best, these works illuminate both colony and metropole. Philip Howell's new book studies two domestic and two imperial regulation regimes to further this project, making three important contributions. First, his examples, though not typical, show the vital importance of local conditions, law codes, and social norms for the rise and fall of regulation. Second, he stresses the influence of specifically military concerns; regulation of prostitution followed, and was justified by, the specific needs of the British army and navy. Third, Howell's analysis demonstrates that regulation in or outside of Britain did not begin or end with the Contagious Diseases (CD) Acts, although opposition to the acts had a major influence on the ending of regulation everywhere.

After a careful review of the history and historiography of the CD Acts, Howell turns to his four case studies: Liverpool, Cambridge, Gibraltar, and Hong Kong. The CD Acts did not extend to Liverpool or Cambridge, yet both places regulated prostitution. Liverpool used existing police powers to "contain" pros-

titution. The police tolerated brothels in specific neighborhoods only; they arrested women for vagrancy or drunkenness if they moved outside the accepted parameters. Cambridge, in contrast, used the "proctorial system," a form of regulation that dated from the medieval period. The Vice-Chancellor's court could arrest, detain, or order medical examinations for prostitutes in order to protect undergraduates from harm. Howell's careful mapping of both cities shows how such regulation limited prostitution to certain neighborhoods and reinforced gender and class differences. Still, the informality of these regimes did not protect them from the anti-regulationists, and both were gone by the late nineteenth century.

Howell's two imperial examples show the same mix of formal and informal controls. In Gibraltar, for instance, the British did not need the CD Acts to police prostitution. Since only a tiny fraction of the population had permanent citizenship, officials could revoke the work permits or rights of residence of any woman who refused medical examination or treatment. This process was quite effective; the imperial government in Gibraltar strictly segregated the "moral" and "immoral" neighborhoods from each other without any formal legislation. In Hong Kong, regulation was more direct and centered on military priorities and racial difference, especially the notion that Asians were natural "sexual mercenaries" (p. 211). As a result, the imperial government passed regulations for brothel keeping, but only for those which Europeans patronized. Not surprisingly, the regime had limited success in battling the spread of venereal disease or "brothel slavery" and thus was vulnerable to criticisms from feminist and evangelical reformers. Nevertheless, Howell impressively demonstrates the sharp division of brothels into certain neighborhoods as long as the regime existed (pp. 213–216). This chapter also contributes to historians' understanding of the influence of race on empire and vice versa; Howell concludes that in Hong Kong, race "was less of a biological category than the product of a spatialised political epistemology that laid down the limits to liberty and the legitimacy of British moral intervention" (p. 228). As with the two domestic examples, these imperial systems both disappeared by the early twentieth century, though Hong Kong had local ordinances much longer.

Howell's work is full of subtle insights that a brief review cannot fully describe. Based on impressive primary research, it is well written and includes many beautifully-produced charts and maps. Of course, any short study will have omissions, and this book is not an exception. For one thing, except for the chapter on Cambridge, the book stresses regulations far more than the women being regulated. Partly this is due to the sources, but sometimes Howell could have done more with the data he had. His list of brothels in Liverpool (pp. 111–112), for example, shows that most "brothels" had only two or three prostitutes (in one district, 123 brothels had only two prostitutes, compared to ten brothels that had between four and six). Did small-scale

operations have advantages, or was this organization simply a function of limited housing? And how did this small-scale organization affect the experience of prostitution (and of patronizing prostitutes)? Did regulation lead to small groups of women banding together, or did regulation uncover an already familiar pattern? Possibly Howell could not have answered these questions, but he might at least have raised them. For another thing, Howell needed to consider more fully the end of these regulationist regimes. Though he clearly delineates the local differences in operation, the downfall of regulation was much less varied. More emphasis on this similarity—and his thoughts of why "abolitionists" succeeded even in such heterogeneous circumstances—is needed; the triumph of anti-regulation in all four places indicates there were limits to local differences. These are, however, minor issues. Howell's work contributes to women's, imperial, and even military history in an innovative and engaging way and deserves wide readership.

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CHRISTOPHER HARVIE. *A Floating Commonwealth: Politics, Culture, and Technology on Britain's Atlantic Coast, 1860–1930*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 319. \$110.00.

World War I, for Christopher Harvie, occasioned the dissolution of a particular sort of British unity that had characterized Britain's Atlantic region, its littoral west. In the decades before the war, regions of specialized production—in shipping or engineering, for example—had, through pragmatic economic and industrial interactions, become integrated in a particular way: distinguished by different forms of socialization but tending toward similar social goals and displaying similar conventions. The demands of industrial war attenuated these ties. What had been the "floating commonwealth," regions connected by the sea and marked by the great and cosmopolitan port cities, was strained by violent Irish nationalism and the inept response both of Ireland's Welsh and Scottish partners and of the land-based core of London. Harvie's goal is to understand the heredity of contemporary troubles of British identity and to seek in a time of integration an illustration of how unity might be achieved. His method is the analysis of literary culture, of the novels, poetry, and political and economic treatises that give access to the environment he wishes to recapture.

The war mobilized Britain against the Central Powers but most particularly it mobilized the littoral west—both "technologically and morally" (p. 30). The demands of the war were distinctly industrial, as David Lloyd George emphasized to the Cabinet early in 1915, remarking that all "engineering works of the country ought to be turned to the production of war material," and that the populace should be prepared to suffer "deprivation and hardships" in service of war production (p. 214). Harvie quotes John Terraine: what Britain

faced was the first war fought in the air and under the sea, the first to use internal combustion, and the first to rely on mass production and mass administration. The industrial littoral triumphed in the challenge but at a cost, for regions familiar with decentralized industrial structures and more diffuse political arrangements were now made part of a munitions and reconstruction drive administered from the core. Harvie cites Scottish working-class truculence in the face of production demands and describes Clydeside as a "battleground more important than Flanders" (p. 232). Skirmishes in this industrial battle were the usual: skilled labor replaced by new machines and more exacting and "scientific" management. The press of time was unique: a ten-fold increase in munitions and war materiel achieved in less than four years. In the urgency of war politics became managerial, and the demands for munitions further allied politics with industrial business owners and industrial managers, inflicting what Harvie calls "a type of trauma" in which government ceased to be responsive to the usual public and community checks.

This description of Harvie's argument does not reveal the grace with which it is made and the deep learning upon which it is based. The argument proceeds by allusion and accretion in an essayistic style reminiscent of E. P. Thompson. Rudyard Kipling's monologue *MacAndrew's Hymn* (1894) illustrates the engineer as both Scottish and transnational; sport and games, a "muscular celtism" shared across the littoral, appears in the stories of John Buchan and the work of Liberal politician and Free Church leader Henry Drummond. Harvie finds in Thomas Carlyle anticipation both of the transport-centered industrialization that would unite the Atlantic coast and the answering rejection of "mechanized" humanity; a "religious-literary landscape" emphasizing rural values characterized not only the Scottish folk world and the Welsh *gwerin* but influencing also Ireland's devotional revolution. The examples accrue with relentless and specific force alongside calls for further work (for example on Irish engineer William Dragan, who is "badly in need of a biography" [p. 97]), discussions of recent studies of the periodization of industry and Celtic nationalism, and other topics of more general import. Harvie was himself elected to the Scottish Parliament in 2007 as a member of the Scottish Nationalist Party; for him this book was not an academic exercise, and for the reader it is a rich and varied pleasure. Scholars interested in British unity and nationalisms, British industry and engineering, or subregions of the Atlantic world are encouraged to consult it.

JENNIFER KARNS ALEXANDER
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PAUL McMAHON. *British Spies and Irish Rebels: British Intelligence and Ireland, 1916–1945*. (History of British Intelligence.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 516. \$115.00.

The history of espionage and intelligence has emerged in recent years as a vibrant subfield of historical scholarship. One cardinal test for any work in this relatively new field, however, is the extent to which it offers fresh perspectives on issues that transcend the field itself, so that its findings speak not only to specialists but also to the wider community of scholars. This is a test that Paul McMahon's book passes triumphantly. Not only does it provide the most comprehensive treatment available of the very uneven record of British intelligence on Ireland during the first half of the twentieth century, it also sheds fresh light on issues of British strategy and foreign policy during this period and on British-Irish relations more generally.

The book begins with a detailed account of the failures of British intelligence during the Irish struggle for independence. We have known for decades that the Anglo-Irish war was in essential respects an intelligence war, that Michael Collins conceived of it as such, and that success for the weaker (Irish) side in the conflict depended crucially on gaining and preserving the advantage in detailed knowledge of the other side's agents, forces, and tactics. British intelligence in Ireland, which had performed so well during the nineteenth century, failed dismally on both the tactical and strategic levels during the crisis years between 1916 and 1921. This failure in the covert intelligence war forced the British to resort to heavy-handed methods of counterinsurgency that alienated the population of southern Ireland and ultimately determined Britain's defeat. McMahon tells this relatively familiar story with verve and superb command of detail. He also shows how quickly the British recovered from the failure of their counterinsurgency efforts, flirting with disaster in the intelligence vacuum that followed the Anglo-Irish war but achieving some degree of stability in Anglo-Irish relations by 1923. Only by cooperating with the new government in Dublin could the British hope to respond effectively to the continuing security threat posed by the sectarian violence of militant Irish republicans.

One of the surprises of the book is the extent to which southern Ireland became terra incognita for the British during the period between the wars. As the leaders of the Irish Free State concentrated on economic recovery in the aftermath of the traumatic years of war and civil war, the attention of British policy makers drifted elsewhere. The British allowed their intelligence on Ireland to lapse and scrambled to restore it only when Eamon de Valera, a diehard opponent of the partition of the island, was elected president in 1932. In the absence of sound intelligence, McMahon argues persuasively, British leaders fell back on stereotypes and preconceptions about Irish behavior that distorted judgments and precluded any consistent response to the challenge posed by de Valera. The problem was bad enough during the difficult decade of the 1930s but especially dangerous with the outbreak of World War II.

Eunan O'Halpin has already given us a first-rate account of the challenge posed by Irish neutrality to British intelligence and the British war effort (*Spying on*

Ireland: British Intelligence and Irish Neutrality During the Second World War [2008]), combining detailed analysis of the activities of British intelligence agencies in Ireland with comparative investigation of other cases of neutrality during World War II. Building on O'Halpin's work, McMahon shows how Winston Churchill's bitter resentment of Irish neutrality, and British fears about a potential "fifth column" in Ireland preparing the way for a German invasion, nearly led to a disastrous British military intervention in 1940 and again in 1941. But by 1942, the British had enhanced their intelligence efforts in Ireland and developed a remarkably effective cooperative relationship with Dublin on security issues. The fifth column had been exposed as a chimera, invasion fears had dissipated, Irish opinion had swung behind the Allied war effort, and concerns about leakage of sensitive information had been addressed by tight control of Irish communications and aggressive investigation of potential cases of German espionage. The crucial contribution of British intelligence in Ireland was to confirm the strength of the Irish commitment to an official policy of neutrality, while underscoring the advantages of what amounted to a covert security alliance.

McMahon's excellent book traces the long path from the intelligence debacle of 1916–1921 to the successful security partnership of World War II. By helping to puncture myths about the Irish, British intelligence laid the foundation for a more mature British-Irish relationship in the years after the war: fewer false expectations and alarms, and a greater degree of realism. McMahon succeeds admirably not only in illuminating intelligence and security issues, but also the wider trajectory of Anglo-Irish relations over the course of the twentieth century.

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SUSAN D. PENNYBACKER. *From Scottsboro to Munich: Race and Political Culture in 1930s Britain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 382. \$27.95.

Susan D. Pennybacker's book seeks to place "race" squarely in the frame of transatlantic political activism in the 1930s. She traces the interconnections among various leftist activists and their international campaigns on the "negro question" in the United States, the racial basis of discrimination and persecution within the British Empire, and the rise of fascism in Europe. While this book does not entirely displace older narratives of the rise and significance of transnational leftist activism in the interwar years, it does succeed in providing an entirely new, and convincing, interpretation of the place of "race" as a problematic analytical category for the Left prior to World War II. This agenda, its signal success in showing the deeply contradictory nature of anti-racist activism in the 1930s, and the immense amount of archival labor that went into illuminating the book's themes are all impressive. It is an important

book, and one that deserves to be read widely by twentieth-century European historians.

By pairing key individuals to particular events, Pennybacker weaves together a number of case studies—internationally reported trials and activist campaigns organized around them—through which international and politically sectarian discourses concerned with racial justice converged. The book presents the notorious Scottsboro case, in which eleven young black men were wrongly convicted of raping two white women in Alabama, through the lens of the travels of Ada Wright, the mother of two of the defendants, who spread the story of her sons' unjust treatment across the United States and Europe on a Communist-organized and funded speaking tour. Pennybacker approaches anti-racist politics in London in the 1930s through the far-flung activities of now little-known black activist and communist fellow-traveler George Padmore. Meanwhile, the British trial of trade-union activists in Meerut, India, targeted because of their real or supposed links to communism, is explained via the intervention of the better-known British Communist MP Shapurji Saklatvala. The book offers a completely new understanding of why some liberals supported appeasement in the mid-1930s through a discussion of Lady Kathleen and her husband Sir John Simon and their support for anti-slavery campaigns throughout the 1930s. She led the lobbying of the British Anti-Slavery Society and he, as a cabinet minister, brought into government the Society's position that Italian imperialism in Abyssinia would be a lesser evil than the slave trade that flourished there under African rule. In addition, Pennybacker incorporates a thorough discussion of how anti-racism and anti-imperialism were transformed into anti-fascism through the mock trial of defendants accused by the Nazi government of burning down the Reichstag and the plight of leftist activists in Germany and France, particularly the circle around communist journalist Willi Münzenberg, after the Munich Agreement in 1938.

Pennybacker tells the stories of these individuals and events with an exacting amount of detail and tremendous nuance. She is sensitive to the presence of the competing and shifting dictates of Soviet ideology and policy in the 1930s, arguing that the Comintern's changing orthodoxy was in dynamic tension with the views of many of her communists and fellow travelers. Race was a key category of analysis for the Left within Britain and Europe, but it was a complicated and fractured politics of race that resulted with her protagonists, Padmore especially, recognizing that much of the European Left's critical engagement with anti-racism and imperialism was ultimately shaped by its own collective racist and imperialist attitudes. The transatlantic political culture of the Left was thus connected by demands for racial justice in the Scottsboro campaign and Munich. But, as Pennybacker concludes, the "deep ironies of 1930s racial politics" would not be resolved by the world war that ultimately resulted. The fight against (a racially based) fascism replaced the wider struggle against racial and imperial injustice, leading to a continuation of

imperialism and racial injustice after the war. This book is an attempt to explain that larger irony.

While the book's conception and focus are admirable, the organization and prose style make it hard going. Jam-packed with detail, the chapters lack flow; numerous events and issues are mentioned in each paragraph without obvious connection. Moreover, long lists of notables who signed a petition or attended a meeting become a little tedious. More development of the importance of those individuals (or, for that matter, demonstrating that they had more than the passing interest of signing a petition) is necessary, or else the lists ought to have been put in the appendices or explanatory footnotes. Finally, in what is a magnificently researched book, Pennybacker has been poorly served by her copyeditor, particularly in the scholarly apparatus: there are a number of errors with dates (e.g., the Communist Party of Great Britain cannot have been founded in both 1920 and 1921 [pp. 342–343]) and with population figures (p. 344), among others. But these minor criticisms should not detract from what is otherwise a remarkable achievement.

STEPHEN HEATHORN
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JOSHUA GOODE. *Impurity of Blood: Defining Race in Spain, 1870–1930*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 295. \$39.95.

Joshua Goode provides an antidote to the Nazi-centric debate over the modern history of European racial ideas. While some historians have attempted to extrapolate into Spanish history the same type of “Aryan” vision that so distorted science in nineteenth and twentieth-century Germany and other nations, Goode presents clear evidence to the contrary. Through careful use of primary sources, most notably social scientific and medical publications from the period, he demonstrates that Spanish academics, researchers, and public figures identified “the Spaniard” as a hybrid race, the result of the fusion of many ethnic and racial groups. The author addresses the relative neglect of Spanish racial and ethnic thought in a European racial intellectual climate dominated by polemicists such as Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Arthur de Gobineau, arguing successfully for the uniqueness of this field of study.

In the book's eight chapters, Goode traces the development of Spanish racial thought primarily during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Spain was part of broader European developments including the emergence of physical anthropology, and the effort to identify a Spanish physical specimen occurred most notably through the detailed measurement of human skulls (phrenology). Unlike in Germany, Spanish researchers identified the characteristics of Spaniards as the result of a “stable racial mixture” (p. 57) of Romano-Celts, Visigoths, Jews, Arabs, and others. The physician Federico Olóriz y Aguilera received international acclaim for his studies of Spanish phrenology

even as he argued against the superiority of the “Aryan” skull. His primary text on the subject also became the standard volume on phrenology in Spain for the next fifty years and remained one of the foundational works in Spanish anthropology. Spaniards, under his influence, thought of themselves as a mixed race, albeit a superior one.

Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898 lent impetus to a movement known as “regenerationism,” an intellectual and political effort to revive the nation's fortunes. Anthropologists, linguists, ethnographers, historians, and others attempted to identify the reasons for Spain's general malaise and decline from imperial greatness. For the next few decades, Spanish academics wrestled with how to define race and how to cope with the new challenge of regionalist ethnic claims, especially from the Basques.

In some ways, Goode argues, racial and anthropological arguments about the defeat of 1898 were particularly well suited to Spain. Rather than admitting failures of leadership or the obsolescence of their military, Spanish politicians preferred to lay the blame for national defeat on their soldiers. Arguing that the Spanish army did not represent the best attributes of the Spanish race, or that soldiers could have fought better with improved racial hygiene, medical doctors and others proposed reforms in recruiting and health care to bring out the nation's best on the battlefield.

Physical anthropology, with a focus on racial types, became a key element of criminology as well. Researchers argued that rising criminal activity could be explained through the upsetting of the traditional Spanish racial mixture. An increase in the African and “gypsy” populations, in particular, exaggerated negative influences. While Spain did not implement the wide-scale eugenics programs that these arguments supported, the focus on the origins of criminality did lead to some professionalization, modern prisons, and training for those operating in the penal system.

While some ethnic additives to the Spanish fusion were considered more negative, there was some enthusiasm—surprising given the broader European context of antisemitism—for restoring the Jewish element into the Spanish ethnic mix. From 1890 to 1923, key intellectuals argued successfully that Sephardic Jews—those representing communities that had been expelled in 1492—should be encouraged to immigrate to Spain. This movement, led by the former army physician Ángel Pulido Fernández, argued that the eviction of the Jews from Iberia had led to the overall decay of the Spanish race. In 1924, dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera formalized this policy, offering the right of return to Sephardic Jews.

With the coming of the regime of General Francisco Franco, the victor in the Spanish Civil War, Spain seemed on the verge of allying with Nazi Germany in 1939. Some Nazi leaders even argued that Spaniards were, if not “Aryans,” at least close enough to be racial allies. As Goode has demonstrated, this argument would not have found much echo among Spaniards,

even among those on the Right who governed Spain, including Franco. In a period in which the Nazi vision of racial struggle dominated the continent, the Spanish perspective, formed over the previous century, provided an alternative vision. Mixture, fusion, and integration, rather than a search for racial "purity," characterized the definition of race in Spain. Goode's work, impressive as it is persuasive, makes a substantial contribution to our understanding of the origins of anthropology, European racial thought, and intellectual history.

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SUZANNE DESAN and JEFFREY MERRICK, editors. *Family, Gender, and Law in Early Modern France*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. xxvi, 277. \$55.00.

Students and scholars alike will benefit greatly from this first-rate collection coedited by historians Suzanne Desan and Jeffrey Merrick. The volume originated in a symposium organized by Desan and Richard Ross in 2002 at the University of Wisconsin Law School. It consists of seven essays, each by a specialist in French social history, that shed new light on the interconnections among family, law, and gender in early modern France, particularly in the eighteenth century.

When organizing a project of this kind, editors face the challenge of maintaining thematic cohesion. Desan and Merrick meet this challenge very effectively in their introduction by outlining common threads and key questions that together provide a thematic framework for the volume. They point out that the contributors "share an emphasis on the malleability of families, which were not given but made, unmade, and remade, not static and closed but flexible and permeable, changeable through individual choices, collective decisions, and outside influences" (p. xvi). A second unifying thread is that the essays all examine family members as individuals with complex agendas and strategies of their own, each with a particular perspective reflecting his or her gender, generation, and lineage. As they grappled with issues concerning marriage, separation, guardianship, and illegitimate children, these individuals were affected by larger forces at work in early modern France—changes in social, economic, and political structures, as well as legal norms, which are also examined by contributors. Among the questions they explore are how marital and family relations were influenced by the sexual and moral standards of the Catholic Reformation, the consumer revolution, and the political culture of the later years of the *ancien régime*; how couples negotiated sexual needs and power relations, managed money and property, and dealt with marital conflict; and to what extent individuals accepted or resisted absolutist visions of social order and attempts to enforce new royal legislation concerning the family.

Although the essays in this collection focus on France, they exemplify recent methodological ap-

proaches to the history of the European family. In their introduction, Desan and Merrick trace the changing methodologies for analyzing the history of European families, beginning with Philippe Ariès, Edward Shorter, and Lawrence Stone in the 1960s and 1970s, and the challenges to their views voiced in the following decades by feminist scholars and other social historians, who tended to separate the study of gender history from that of family history. More recently, historians have begun to reexamine the interconnections between family history and gender, as well as economic, legal, and political history. The contributors to this volume build on the insights offered by legal historians, who point to disparities between law and actual practice and to the agency of multiple actors in legal processes, and on studies by socioeconomic historians who have long stressed the complementary roles of family members in forging a family economy.

The essays deal in turn with marriage law, marital choice and husband-wife relations, wives' access to money and credit, marital conflict and separation suits, and legal issues concerning parenthood—particularly guardianship and legitimation suits.

In the first essay, Desan provides background for the case studies that follow through an overview of marriage as a social and legal practice. She examines how marriage laws and practices varied across classes and regions with particular attention to variations in property law. Among the questions she addresses are when and why people married, what expectations and criteria they had in choosing a spouse, how changing gender roles and norms affected conjugal dynamics, and the options for separation (and later divorce) if the marriage went awry.

Dena Goodman then looks at the courtship and marriages of two propertied couples. Bernard de Bonnard and Sophie Silvestre married for financial reasons and hardly knew each other beforehand, but they developed a happy, loving relationship. In contrast, Manon Phlippon and Jean-Marie Roland chose each other freely despite family opposition but were unable to find happiness together. Goodman uses their examples to challenge the notion popularized by novelists of the period and perpetuated by historians that freedom to choose one's spouse would lead to happy marriages.

In the next essay, Clare Crowston explores how married women's increased access to money and credit led to collective anxiety about luxury and moral corruption in the decades leading up to the French Revolution. She examines lawsuits over debts incurred by clients of a prominent fashion merchant to show that wives had much greater ability to spend money and accrue debt than commonly thought. Although customary law limited their control of marital property, a loophole for so-called "household expenses" enabled women of the aristocracy and *haute bourgeoisie* to spend large sums for clothing and other luxury items—spending habits that helped fuel the consumer revolution of late eighteenth-century France, as well as resentment against the privileged classes.

The next two essays both deal with marital conflict and separation suits. In her study of 150 cases in Nantes, Julie Hardwick shows how witnesses shaped the state's justice at the grass-roots level by reinterpreting abstract norms and by articulating communal views of appropriate behavior within marriage. She found that, contrary to common assumptions about early modern society, witnesses expressed disapproval of abusive or adulterous male behavior more often than they did of female sexual misbehavior. Merrick focuses on two high-profile separation cases in the mid-1770s. He shows how plaintiffs, lawyers, judges, and the public viewed marital disputes in political terms in the wake of charges of despotism and debauchery made against Louis XV, his mistresses, and his ministers. Merrick argues that the abusive comte du Bosage and the unruly marquise de Chambonas lost their suits not only because their alleged misconduct violated gender norms, but also because of the negative political resonance their behavior had at a time when family values were being celebrated.

The focus shifts in the last two essays from marriage to the meaning and practice of parenthood. In his analysis of guardianship cases in early modern Burgundy, Christopher Corley shows how kin groups' interest in preserving the lineage property of their daughters and sisters encouraged them to resist attempts to weaken the influence of widowed mothers, despite legal restrictions on a widow's control over her husband's estate. Pointing to the significant role often played by maternal kin in guardianship cases, Corley raises a question generally ignored by social historians: how kinship relations shaped gender dynamics.

In the final essay, Matthew Gerber looks at how lawsuits involving children born out of wedlock and the issues of property and identity they raise allow us to examine the cultural construction of the family at its margins. Although both church and state stigmatized "bastards," the royal government sold letters of legitimation to parents who wished to recognize illegitimate children. Some parents were motivated by strategic reasons, such as the desire to perpetuate a family line or to facilitate an advantageous marriage; others simply claimed to be motivated by affection for their progeny. Gerber documents new trends that emerged in the eighteenth century: a wider range of parents who purchased letters of legitimation, often using sentimental language to express their feelings toward their "natural" children, and judges who began to authorize inheritance of property by these children. He argues that these shifts in attitudes and practices paved the way for proposals in the 1790s to give full civil and inheritance rights to illegitimate children.

An innovative feature of the collection is the inclusion of sample documents at the end of each essay illustrating the kinds of sources (judicial, epistolary, literary, polemical) used by the contributors. For example, in her comparison of the marriages of the Rolands and the Bonnards, Goodman includes excerpts from the two couples' letters and diaries that deepen

our understanding of their relationships and the expectations of marriage that were either fulfilled or disappointed by their spouse. Similarly, the case studies of separation suits by Hardwick and Merrick and of legitimation suits by Gerber are enhanced by inclusion of excerpts from court documents and legal briefs. Students in particular will benefit from seeing how the authors have interpreted these archival sources and what they bring to their analyses.

The volume's only weakness is the rather limited bibliography at the end of the book, but additional references are found in the notes at the end of each essay. Overall, this is an important and timely collection that opens new lines of inquiry into the history of the family in early modern Europe.

MARY TROUILLE
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DARRYL DEE. *Expansion and Crisis in Louis XIV's France: Franche-Comté and Absolute Monarchy, 1674–1715*. (Changing Perspectives on Early Modern Europe, number 13.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 245. \$80.00.

Since the 1980s the traditional picture of the reign of Louis XIV as the embodiment of early modern "absolutism" has been transformed. In place of centralized authority triumphing over localism and aristocratic privilege, we are offered the picture of a conservative regime upholding established provincial and corporate elites and buying acquiescence through compromise and collaboration. Yet two questions linger in what seems a wholesale *renversement* of historical assumptions about the Sun King's government: key studies that have contributed to this revisionism have been based on analysis of the *pays d'états*, those powerful, outlying provinces whose quasi-autonomy and privileges had usually been respected by the French crown; the arguments for collaboration work well in the first decades of the reign, but from the later 1680s Louis XIV's government, driven by warfare on an unprecedented scale, embarked on a series of fiscal policies that attacked elite privilege and autonomy.

Darryl Dee's new book addresses both these questions. Franche-Comté, conquered by French arms in 1674, was far removed from the privileged status of a *pays d'état* such as Languedoc. The process of integrating Franche-Comté and its elites into the monarchy required much more deliberate policy initiatives from the center, and these were imposed from the 1670s through to the end of the reign. Dee demonstrates that in this context, for a territory under military occupation and with no presumptions that its privileges were non-negotiable, Louis's government had teeth and was not afraid to show them to local elites who misinterpreted concessions for weakness. The magistrates of Besançon, hitherto elected by popular suffrage, believed that they could bargain with their new ruler for the preservation of municipal autonomy. In 1676 that body was suppressed without formality, and a new civic govern-

ment established on the pattern of other lesser cities in Franche-Comté, with limited powers and a narrowly oligarchic membership. The king's council, through the *intendant*, decided that a body whose members were accountable to the citizens would never prove an effective agent of royal government, while as an additional precaution the range of the activities of the remodeled magistracy was reduced and shared with a *bailliage* court. Yet at the same time, Besançon, stripped of its privileges, was elevated to the status of provincial capital, hitherto held by Dôle, a change marked by the transfer of the supreme law court, the *parlement*, to Besançon. These concessions, indicative of a stick and carrot approach by royal government that Dee delineates throughout very effectively, came at a price: Besançon was to pay 300,000 *livres* over three years in return for its *parlement*. This was the start of what was to be a progressive, though uneven, escalation in the fiscal demands placed on the territory.

In 1692, a previously hesitant crown introduced venality of office into the province, opening up extensive possibilities for directly tapping the wealth of the local elites. But as Dee points out, what had initially been regarded with hostility by the elites came to be accepted with realism and even enthusiasm. Office held as private property ensured, as elsewhere in France, the even stronger and more permanent dominance of ruling families. Moreover, those newly subjected to venality needed to borrow the sums of money required to buy their offices and then to pay for the steady flow of additional charges imposed on the officeholders. Maintaining access to credit, and indeed the attractiveness of venal office, imposed on the crown the reciprocal necessity of respecting privilege and the long-term integrity of officeholding.

The book demonstrates very clearly the complex negotiations and realignments between a demanding but politically astute center, and local elites who were prepared to support policies apparently damaging to their own financial interests. A critical factor in achieving this acquiescence was the precocious collaboration of particular individuals. Claude Boisot had enthusiastically cooperated in the first French invasion of 1668, which was short-lived and brought a wave of public anger against those seen as traitors to the territory. Surviving this, Boisot and his fellows established ties with the invading forces after 1674, providing the Marquis de Louvois with institutional and personal information about their fellow Comtois, and taking the bribes and positions that the French government dispensed in return for such early and enthusiastic commitment to the new regime. The issues are doubtless clouded by the assumption that Franche-Comté was somehow "naturally" destined to be a part of France, but this reviewer still found slightly jarring the matter-of-fact way in which this self-interested betrayal of colleagues and rights is neutrally characterized as part of the process of governmental integration. But we have all encountered the Boisots of the world, and can draw our own conclusions. This is an impressive and important work

that will contribute substantially to the refinement of our understanding of central-provincial relations in the later decades of Louis XIV's reign.

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PAUL A. RAHE, *Montesquieu and the Logic of Liberty: War, Religion, Commerce, Climate, Terrain, Technology, Uneasiness of Mind, the Spirit of Political Vigilance, and the Foundations of the Modern Republic*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xxv, 369. \$45.00.

Hot on the heels of his recent *Soft Despotism, Democracy's Drift: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Tocqueville, and the Modern Prospect* (2009), Paul A. Rahe has set his sights firmly on Montesquieu, dedicating most of his latest study to an analysis of *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748). The result, from a thematic if not organizational perspective, is a four-part study. First, the reader is treated to Rahe's political editorializing, with comments ranging from criticisms of Michelle Obama to musings about Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin. Regardless of one's political views, these sections of the book are mostly puzzling for their general lack of relevance to the subject at hand.

In a second part, Rahe reconstructs the publishing history of Montesquieu's *Reflections on Universal Monarchy in Europe* (drafted in 1733, but not published until 1891). This text, Rahe argues, was originally meant to be published alongside the *Considerations on the Causes of Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline* (which appeared in 1734), and a text on the English constitution, which would subsequently become the famous Book XI, chapter six, of *The Spirit of the Laws*. While Rahe's argument is seductive, his interpretation of this abandoned scheme is debatable: simply because Montesquieu may have considered printing these three texts together does not entail that they formed a dialectical whole, with the English constitution emerging as the successful synthesis of the problematic Roman and French models.

The third and most developed part of the book is a detailed analysis of Montesquieu's arguments in *The Spirit of the Laws*. This is the most successful part: Rahe's explanations are well written and clearly laid out. Newcomers to Montesquieu will find the author's overviews helpful, and the forty-page index will make his book a useful reference tool. Specialists may be somewhat disappointed, as Rahe paraphrases and quotes at length but offers few particularly original interpretations. He more than makes up for this shortcoming, however, in the fourth part of the book, where he proposes a far more polemical reading of Montesquieu.

This reading is not, in fact, all that new: as have many American commentators before him, Rahe argues that Montesquieu considered the English constitutional model far superior to all others, and in particular to that of the French monarchy. But Rahe's method is different: to make his case, he relies on excerpts from Mon-

tesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721) and from the posthumous collection of his aphorisms known as the *Pensées*. He also leans heavily on the rather Straussian thesis that Montesquieu obscured his true meaning in order to avoid censorship. These methodological choices are problematic. It is widely accepted that Montesquieu's youthful novel, for instance, displayed a rebellious and playful streak that had mostly vanished by the time the author published his mature work. Quoting these works side by side conveys the false impression that the Montesquieu of 1721 should have the last word on matters that the Montesquieu of 1748 had spent his whole life thinking about.

More generally, Rahe's thesis that Montesquieu believed that the French monarchy was on its way out, and that the English (read: American) constitutional model was the wave of the future, is unconvincing. First, if Montesquieu had really wanted to end the monarchy, he would have needed to give up on the nobility as well: *point de monarchie, point de noblesse*, as the famous adage in *The Spirit of the Laws* goes. The English, after all, had decimated their aristocratic institutions (with the exception of the feeble House of Lords). But Rahe provides no evidence that Montesquieu was willing to abandon his class, and indeed all the evidence points in the opposite direction.

Second, Rahe does not sufficiently distinguish between Montesquieu's criticism of monarchic despotism and his more favorable comments concerning monarchy. Montesquieu did not have Louis XIV in mind when he described the ideal-type monarch; quite the contrary, the Sun King was an incarnation of despotism, similar to the infamous Oriental sultan. To criticize a monarch is not to criticize monarchy: François Fénelon had made this distinction clear in his 1699 *Adventures of Telemachus*.

Finally, it is somewhat ironic that a conservative writer such as Rahe should have overlooked Montesquieu's own conservatism, even if the latter's brand was more Machiavellian in character. It is highly doubtful that Montesquieu, who decried the "corruption" of Frankish legislation by Roman law, should have advocated for the assimilation of a foreign, English model in France. Montesquieu's ideal French government was ultimately quite similar to the monarchy Niccolò Machiavelli himself had hailed as the most stable in all of Europe, since "its kings are constrained by countless laws which also provide for the security of all its people" (*Discourses on Livy* [1517], Book I, chapter seventeen). He was referring to the kingdom of France.

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SUSAN PINKARD. *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine, 1650–1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 317. \$32.00.

Myths abound in culinary history, and Susan Pinkard begins this book by presenting a short selection of some popular myths that are historically unfounded: fine cui-

sine having been brought to France by the chefs accompanying Catherine de Médicis; spices being used to disguise inferior ingredients; Dom Pierre Pérignon inventing champagne; the "Columbian exchange" instantly transforming the European diet (p. xi). Such hoary myths have been put to the sword many times before (including by the present reviewer), but, like some Disney cartoon character flattened by a steamroller, they instantly pick themselves up and resume their lives. As a historical sociologist, I am interested in the social reasons for their indestructibility. One reason is simply that, although the history of food, diet, and cooking is an important and thoroughly worthwhile academic enterprise that has burgeoned in recent decades, it has an open frontier with more popular genres of food writing—within which neither the writers nor the readers are primarily concerned with rigorous historical research and reasoning.

Pinkard's research has not trawled up significant new primary sources. It is essentially based on a review of already very well-known manuscripts and books, ranging from the late medieval work of Guillaume Tirel (Taillevent) and *Le Ménagier de Paris* through the seventeenth-century landmarks of Nicolas de Bonnefons, François Pierre de la Varenne, the nearly anonymous L. S. R., and François Massialot, the *nouvelle cuisine* controversy of the 1740s, the French Revolution, the dissolution of aristocratic kitchens, and the rise of the restaurant. In reexamining these themes, she draws admirably on a wealth of secondary sources arising during the last quarter century from the work of such food historians as Philip and Mary Hyman and Jean-Louis Flandrin, and from such cultural and social historians of France as Colin Jones and Daniel Roche. She pays quite a lot of attention to the interrelation of food habits and medical beliefs, a topic I have tended to think was overstressed in the literature of the earlier twentieth century, although renewed attention to it might be justified in the light of the writings of Michel Foucault (whom Pinkard does not mention) and historians of medicine such as Roy Porter and Jones.

The book is divided into three parts. Part one, "Before the Culinary Revolution," deals with the "ancient roots of medieval cooking"—interesting, but in my opinion still highly uncertain and an area particularly vulnerable to mythologization. The most valuable aspect of part two, "Toward a New Culinary Aesthetic," is the chapter concerning the changes that took place in the period 1600–1650, about which far less was known when I was writing my book *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (1985). Part three, "Cooking, Eating, and Drinking in the Enlightenment, 1735–1789," includes a very good chapter on "the revolution in wine." The book concludes with an epilogue, "After the Revolution," and an appendix containing a selection of recipes representative of early modern French cuisine.

What I found least satisfying about her otherwise satisfying book was the way Pinkard deals with questions of historical causality (or, better, questions of develop-

mental processes) in this aspect of culture. On pages 78–79, there is a long footnote on the work of Norbert Elias. Pinkard is quite right to draw attention to the criticisms made of *The Court Society* (the book that especially influenced my own work on food history, not *The Civilizing Process* as she implies) by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Daniel Gordon, and others. But this all needed to be discussed in greater depth; I do not think Pinkard is aware that that controversy was entwined, in typically Parisian-Byzantine fashion, with rivalries between Ladurie and Pierre Bourdieu. (Pinkard consistently misspells Bourdieu's name as "Bordieu.") She could also have mentioned Roche's more nuanced qualifications to Elias's probably exaggerated view of the relative impoverishment of the court nobility. The main point about the effect of "court society" on French cuisine—and subsequently European cookery more generally—is that it does not depend solely on things happening within the court in the narrow sense. The "court society" is the much wider social formation of power structures in early modern societies overall. An example of my concern is a summary of an argument I made myself: "Deprived of a courtly base in the mid-1600s . . . English cookery developed in the kitchens of the country gentry" (p. 79). I did not say anything quite as simple as that: one needs to relate changes in cultural styles to subtler changing and diverging power ratios in whole countries.

Despite my reservations on these minor points, this book is a valuable contribution to European food history.

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MORAG MARTIN. *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750–1830*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 127th series, number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 228. \$55.00.

Eighteenth-century cosmetics included concoctions to whiten the face and to cover blemishes, rouge to give the face an artificial color, powders for use on wigs or hair, beauty spots, depilatory creams, false eyebrows, hair dyes, teeth whiteners, breath fresheners, and agents for cleaning the skin and hair or for perfuming the body. Such artifice came to seem increasingly problematic in the 1770s and 1780s as moralists excoriated the deception and hypocrisy of the court and vaunted naturalness and transparency as foundations of a new civic order. Aristocratic artifice was rejected; the domesticated mother was to replace the painted coquette. Yet despite vociferous criticism, Morag Martin argues, "the commerce of cosmetics expanded and prospered in the late eighteenth century, during the revolutionary period, and into the nineteenth century" (p. 2).

Martin shows that by the 1770s and 1780s quite ordinary Parisians—artisans, shopkeepers, even milkmaids—were buying cosmetics. There was a shift away from do-it-yourself recipes to the consumption of pre-

fabricated products. Makeup was "a cheap and available way for women and men to participate in the consumer revolution" (p. 31). The manufacture and retailing of cosmetics was a leading sector in the development of a consumer-driven market economy. Beauty aids could be manufactured inexpensively, and the requisite knowledge and ingredients were widely available. Competition among guilds and loopholes in corporate regulations allowed independent producers to operate, while any product that could claim to be new was exempt from guild control. The most successful retailing model was one in which the seller established a shop and sold to a socially diverse range of consumers. Some of these shops were luxury emporiums, but modest, functional premises were more typical. Most producers and retailers were small fry, and lived a relatively precarious existence.

Martin argues that retailers of cosmetics helped forge a new "culture of advertising," "stressing buyers' dreams and desires"—a claim not fully borne out by the evidence she presents. The chief vehicles for promoting cosmetics were the *affiches*, or advertising press, the circulation of which was relatively small because of the high price of a subscription. Moreover, only a small fraction of retailers actually advertised and, unlike in England, advertisements were purely textual. As Martin concedes, "advertisements for cosmetics were primarily lists of information" (p. 57). Even the advertisements of genuinely creative retailers, such as Antoine-Claude Maille, read "more like prospectuses than pithy advertisements" (p. 60). Martin suggests that such publicity "produced a sense of competence, discovery, and transparency" (p. 62), but this claim is difficult to verify.

Martin contests the argument of much existing scholarship that fashion, consumption, and beauty became an exclusively feminine sphere in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While men largely abandoned the use of visible makeup, she argues, they "continued to buy other toiletries such as powder, creams, and perfumes in large quantities" (p. 24). It was in attending to their hair, in particular, that men remained consumers of beauty products. As wigs came to seem old-fashioned, male baldness emerged as a particularly significant problem, giving rise to a commercially important market for toupees, hair lotions, and oils.

In some of the most stimulating chapters of the book, Martin explores the way cosmetics retailers re-legitimated their wares in the face of widespread moralizing about the evils of artifice. Developing some of Jennifer Jones's insights and pursuing her own, Martin shows that marketers turned the arguments of critics around and used the badges of naturalness and authenticity to sell their products. Cosmetics, it was claimed, would heighten natural beauty rather than mask deformity. They served the useful function of preserving feminine beauty and thus fostering happy marriages. Not all beauty trades could pull off this trick—hair powder was a particular casualty of the 1790s—but, in general, the cosmetics industry not only survived but prospered. A

key role in making cosmetics respectable again was played by physicians. (Martin reveals that doctors wrote half the beauty advice manuals published between 1750 and 1818.) While promoting better hygiene as an alternative to aristocratic grooming habits, medical professionals endorsed the use of cosmetics that did not contain toxins, such as white lead or mercury. Doctors thereby helped de-link cosmetics from the old culture of artifice and immorality.

Martin's study has its limits: she is uninterested in accounting for the acutely problematic status of artifice, invoking "Enlightenment values" as a blanket explanation; nor does she press her argument to yield a broader reconsideration of material and symbolic transformations in this period. That said, this book makes a scholarly and critical contribution to histories of the consumer revolution, commercial culture, and gender.

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JAN GOLDSTEIN. *Hysteria Complicated by Ecstasy: The Case of Nanette Leroux*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2010. Pp. xi, 246. \$29.95.

Jan Goldstein's microhistorical analysis of the case of Nanette Leroux effectively tells several interwoven stories at once. By illuminating the world of medical diagnosis, gender relations, and social history in early nineteenth-century Savoy, she relates the story of Leroux, a peasant girl diagnosed as having "hysteria complicated by ecstasy" whose case unfolded between 1822 and 1825. This eighteen-year-old fell into catalepsy, a rigid state complicated by intermittent convulsions, somnambulant trances, and bizarre sensory difficulties. Goldstein's sensitive yet rigorous account is a tour de force of analysis, and her exploration of this foreign world is so insightful because it forces us to reconsider our contemporary visions of psychophysical illness.

Leroux was the patient of Antoine Despine, educated at Montpellier and a prosperous physician at Aix-les-Bains, a spa town in Savoy. Although she was a charity patient, the report was actually written up by a younger physician, Alexandre Bertrand, a Parisian versed in the most up-to-date medical theories. This collaboration resulted in what Goldstein has termed a "curious polyphony of conflicting authorial voices" (p. 6), in which Bertrand regularly disagreed with his older colleague. By analyzing their different interpretations, Goldstein reveals the discordant medical visions of the case. As an unconventional deist, Bertrand described Leroux's somnambulant trances as "ecstasy," normally a category associated with Catholic mystical experience, but in this instance deployed to demonstrate the compatibility between science and religion. In contrast, Despine looked back to the eighteenth century, and believed that Nanette's symptoms were the result of an electric (rather than magnetic) fluid that roamed around the body and caused the strange "transport des sens."

The doctors only agreed on one thing: that her illness had been sparked off by an "*attentat à la pudeur*," an

unspecified assault on her womanly modesty perpetrated by a low-ranking *garde champêtre*, an official who combined the role of forest ranger, game warden, and police officer. But what seems immediately intelligible to us—hysterical symptoms following sexual trauma—never occurred to either physician. The notion of "trauma" that took hold of the medical community in the 1870s and 1880s with hypnosis was entirely absent from their discussion.

The case becomes even more intriguing because of its Savoyard setting. Savoy had experienced the French Revolution and was then reincorporated into Piedmont. Goldstein recreates both the world of the provincial Restoration notability to which Despine belonged as well as the peculiar milieu of the spa town, with its genteel, and often wealthy, itinerant visitors in search of recreation and cure. Although Leroux was not the poorest of the poor (she had learned to read and write), her sojourns in Aix as a servant girl exposed her to all the temptations of nascent consumerism. During her illness, she shuttled back and forth between the peasant world of deprivation and the spa town's luxurious possibilities. In pages that are some of her best, Goldstein analyzes the way that Leroux experienced a temporary alleviation of symptoms when fingering the alluring wares of a peddler. She had a keen yearning for a *montre à savonnette*, a watch more like a jewel, which fashionable women wore on a chain around their necks. Leroux was convinced that having the watch might ease her pain. Despine purchased it for her and, for a while, her condition improved.

But Leroux's symptoms were recalcitrant, her illness protean; indeed, the attention Despine subjected her to at both public and private gatherings may well have contributed to her malady's persistence. Nor was Despine always emotionally reliable. When she underwent a particularly harsh form of hydrotherapy called a Scottish shower, Despine invited visitors to observe her against her will. Naked and watched, Nanette screamed in protest and, in retaliation, devised her own "Scottish showers." In a warm bath she had drawn for herself, she effected her own cure with a stick of sealing wax (one of the tools that Despine regularly used in his magnetic experiments), and thereby showed the learned physician that he was an inadequate therapist.

In the end, the only person who really helped her was Mailland, a middle-age man who devotedly nursed Leroux when she convalesced in her village. We know little of him except that he was from her own milieu. Mailland slips tantalizingly in and out of the doctors' memoir, for them an incarnation of folksy, practical wisdom. They recognized how important he was to Leroux and her sentimental universe, but did not fully grasp that his love and devotion was central to her improvement.

At the end of the book we learn that Leroux married shortly after her recovery. When she became pregnant, however, her illness returned. We, no doubt, would conclude that the fear of the confining possibilities of

motherhood brought on the recurrence, but we will never know: the document trail simply disappears.

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DANA S. HALE. *Races on Display: French Representations of Colonized Peoples 1886–1940*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 215. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

In recent years a number of studies have been published on the representation of European empires at international and colonial exhibitions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Dana S. Hale's book contributes to this burgeoning literature, which, when put alongside work on ethnographic museums and collections of non-European art, necessarily raises questions about the politics of display, orientalist aesthetics, and the European embrace of "primitivism." Hale sets out to write a comprehensive history of the major colonial exhibitions in France during the Third Republic, while also focusing on trademarks using colonial imagery, in order to explore how they were shaped by a set of racial ideas and stereotypes between 1886 and 1940.

The book is divided into two parts, each consisting of four chapters. After providing an overview of the development of the French empire in the nineteenth century and the racial imagery that was deployed in commerce and government, Hale focuses on the content of this imagery as it pertained to sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, and Indochina in the world's fairs and colonial exhibitions from 1886 to World War I. She argues that each of these colonial territories was represented quite differently, even if they were categorized in terms of a hierarchy of "races" that placed Europeans or whites at the top, followed by the Indochinese, North Africans, and sub-Saharan Africans in terms of their level of "savagery" or civilization. Hale relies first and foremost on a visual evaluation of commercial trademarks as well as notices or official publications issued by various commissions charged with preparing exhibits under the aegis of the Colonial Ministry. She also uses reports produced by overseas colonial administration in this regard. On the basis of these sources she argues that black Africans were systematically regarded as "uncivilized types," while North Africans were rendered "mysterious" and orientalized. Finally, she argues that the Indochinese were regarded much more favorably, as industrious and gentle subjects who were the most amenable to France's *mission civilisatrice*.

Part two, which explores the representation of the three colonial areas in the interwar period, is predicated on the idea that World War I in some ways marked a change in terms of how French colonies were displayed. This change was shaped by the experience of the war itself and colonial contributions to the war effort. Colonial laborers replaced French workers who went to the front. Approximately one million tons of food and material were shipped to France from its co-

lonial possessions, and about 800,000 colonial subjects fought for France in the war. These contributions were highlighted in colonial exhibitions and world's fairs, and sub-Saharan Africans, in particular, were portrayed in a more positive light, even though many stereotypes persisted, particularly with respect to North Africans and the Indochinese. The French state, according to Hale, tended to emphasize fraternal and paternal metaphors to characterize France's relationship with her colonized subjects in order to neutralize the critics of empire and to highlight the alleged benefits of colonialism. Indeed, throughout this period international colonial exhibitions showcased France's empire and attempted to drum up popular support for French colonialism.

Hale's study draws primarily on archives associated with world's fairs and colonial exhibitions in Paris and Aix-en-Provence, as well as on official publications associated with them. It builds on earlier work on exhibitions in France by Shanny Peer, Zeynep Çelik, and Pascal Ory, among others, but it neglects the rich literature that has appeared on the representation of colonialism in museums and exhibitions in other European countries, references to Robert Rydell and Peter Greenhalgh notwithstanding. A consideration of the work of Annie E. Coombes, for example, might have given Hale's work greater nuance (see *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* [1994]). Indeed, one of the chief problems surrounding the book's conceptual scaffolding concerns Hale's discussion of "race" and racial imagery. Race is never adequately defined, and there is little discussion of how alleged "racial ideas" came into being or how colonial officials and commissions drew on them. Indeed, discussing the representation of Africans and the Indochinese, the reader is left wondering whether those representations have more to do with cultural stereotypes in the emphasis on difference. This is particularly evident in her discussion of North Africans, given the prominence of Islam in colonial discourse on this subject. In one of the book's most interesting sections, which explores the beauty contest Miss France d'Outre-Mer at the 1937 Paris World's Fair, which featured women born to French men and indigenous women, the complexities of representations of "race" are revealed. This contest gave rise to the Meilleur Mariage Colonial contest. What is the important place that the concept of *métissage* holds in representations of race, and how did French ideas on the subject change in the context of conceptions of empire that were based on assimilationist or associationist ideas during the period that Hale surveys? While this book presents some new material that will interest French cultural and colonial historians, these and other questions remain unanswered.

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THOMAS J. LAUB. *After the Fall: German Policy in Occupied France, 1940–1944*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xvii, 330. \$110.00.

Ever since Robert O. Paxton's *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940–1944* (1972), historians of wartime France have emphasized the degree of autonomy exercised by the Vichy government. In spite, or perhaps because, of the extensive use of German sources, the Germans themselves were not much studied. During the trial of Maurice Papon in 1997 and 1998, a French journalist complained that most people now had a picture of an "occupation without Germans." Historians of France often see the occupation as part of a "Franco-French" conflict that pitted *maquisards* against *miliciens*. Purely military historians of World War II have tended to focus on those theaters in which large armies came into conflict, which means that they are not much interested in what happened in France between the moment when the last British soldiers scrambled aboard their ships at Dunkirk in 1940 and the moment when the first Allied troops hit the beaches of Normandy in 1944. As for historians of Nazi Germany, their interest in occupation tends to go with an interest in the barbarization of warfare, and therefore they devote most of their energy to the killing fields of the Eastern Front.

Thomas J. Laub looks at the German presence in France as an object of study in itself rather than as a backdrop to work on Vichy. He examines the German arrival and the need to improvise an administration in France after the unexpectedly quick victory of 1940. He looks at the changing nature of the German authorities and the increasingly aggressive campaigns against those sections of the French population believed to be hostile to them. He examines the campaign to deport Jews from France and compares it with the campaign to recruit forced labor to Germany, which was, in simple numerical terms, more successful.

Most of all, Laub emphasizes the degree of conflict and competition between different German agencies. He also points out that quite small considerations could determine who won these various conflicts; Laub suggests that the Final Solution in France was expedited by the fact that the officer in charge of railways, Lieutenant General Otto Kohl, was particularly interested in the "Jewish problem." German authority in France gave rise to all sorts of uncertainties. Some Germans (notably those attached to the embassy in Paris) had or hoped to have good relations with parts of the French population, a hope that Adolf Hitler himself seems to have regarded with disdain. Some senior officers in France, such as Ernst Jünger, were hostile to some aspects of Nazism. Three senior German officers in France rebelled against Hitler's authority in important ways. The first of these was Otto von Stülpnagel, who became German commander in France in October 1940 and who resigned in February 1942 after disagreeing with Berlin about the kinds of repression to be employed in France. The second was Carl-Heinrich von Stülpnagel, who replaced his cousin Otto and was then

himself executed for his involvement in the plot against Hitler of July 1944. The third was Dietrich von Choltitz, who commanded in Paris in August 1944 and who disregarded Hitler's orders that the city should be destroyed.

At times, I felt that the concision of this book prevented Laub from exploring some issues. I would have liked a more developed conclusion, and in particular, a more systematic attempt to compare German behavior in France with German behavior in other parts of Europe. How far did the Germans see the gentile population of France as a homogeneous bloc? Would it be fair to say that their destruction of the old port neighborhood in Marseilles in 1943 bore more resemblance to their tactics on the Eastern Front than it did to their treatment of, say, western France during the early years of the Occupation? How far did the anti-Nazism of some senior officers in France spring from their circumstances? Did a compromise peace in 1944 simply seem more plausible in Paris than it would have done in Warsaw? The focus on policy and on senior officials also sometimes leaves the reader wondering how things worked further down the hierarchy. What was it like to be, for instance, a sergeant in a garrison on the Atlantic Wall? How did such people think of the French, and how far did their relations with the French (relations of sex, commerce, or friendship) escape from official control? It is significant that this book ends with the Allied arrival in Paris, although a few German garrisons in France held out until May 1945. Perhaps, however, these are unfair quibbles to raise with regard to a work that is, of necessity, limited in scope and that will be extremely useful for historians interested in both occupied France and in the nature of Nazi organization.

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PETER SCHRIJVERS. *Liberators: The Allies and Belgian Society, 1944–1945*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, number 31.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 340. Cloth \$99.00, paper \$34.99.

On July 22, 1945, the Belgian village of Oneux celebrated its liberation with a peace parade. One float, a canvas replica of a jeep, carried three men dressed as GIs and wearing blackface, a fourth who had painted his face half black and half white, and two young women, one standing arm-in-arm with one of the black GI impersonators, the other one at the steering wheel. The group enacted, as the inscription on the vehicle read, "Modern Liberation"—the start of a new era, in which, as Peter Schrijvers argues, neither racial relations nor male authority would ever be the same again. The jeep, though as yet horse-drawn, already represented abundance (p. 318). Schrijvers ends his excellent book on this image. It illustrates his argument for understanding the liberation of 1944–1945 as a transformative experience, and not simply because it ended the

Nazi occupation. The presence and the prestige of the Anglo-American liberators in and of itself generated change. Belgium's political elite, to be sure, remained much the same. However, this relative restoration went hand in hand with a groundswell of democratization that far exceeded the political realm, revolutionizing people's very expectations. While the "hard power" of the liberators, as Schrijvers writes, made it possible for the Belgian political elite to reestablish its power in September 1944, their "soft power" made them "a catalyst of change" (p. 257). The new horizon included, first of all, security. William Beveridge's welfare state report was commented on in great detail in the press, lending added credibility to social rights schemes developed within Belgium. But the new desires also encompassed abundance, and this is where the GIs came in—and the staggering profusion of things they carried. The Americans became "living billboards" of material abundance (p. 260), rather ironically so for sons of the Depression. They also represented another kind of luxury: that of a more relaxed way of moving in the world (p. 91). Their panache lent prestige to the restoration of democracy. In 1940, the German advance had facilitated acceptance of the New Order; the 1944 retreat underscored its bankruptcy. Schrijvers devotes a compelling chapter to this retreat, which was punctuated with episodes of frenetic looting by the Belgians, for whom abundance had already become "a fascination." Amid the chaos and the looting, "the Germans slowly faded away," unnoticed by the not quite yet liberated, who were too busy craning their necks for the first sight of the Allied armies (pp. 24–25). The Belgian Resistance did not measure up; though it "had behaved with utmost courage during the occupation" (p. 92), the malnourished and disheveled resisters cut a poor figure next to the tall liberators, who smelled of toothpaste, real tobacco, and wheat bread and drove vehicles powered by real gasoline—an irresistible olfactory mix (p. 54). The Allied troops were greeted ecstatically; the euphoria exceeded, some observed, that in France (pp. 57–58). In some cases, the party started with combat just around the corner: in one Walloon village, the locals were too busy proffering drinks to run for cover; in a Flemish locality south of Bruges, on September 9, 1944, the Canadians were fighting while sounds of marching bands drifted from the liberated western side of the canal (pp. 63, 65).

The Allied triumph was also, as is well known, a sexual one. The eroticized atmosphere raised eyebrows; some of the clergy went into a "moral panic," preaching against dance-halls even as the Battle of the Bulge was raging (p. 287). This disapproval did not stop even respectable newspapers from obliging their female readership with lexicons of useful phrases in English such as "You look handsome. Are you married?" (p. 142). Many Belgian men felt humiliated. Discontent deepened throughout the winter of 1944–1945; open protest surrounded the army-sanctioned brothels. These army brothels were closed to black soldiers, as were Allied club dances (pp. 218–219). In general, the segregation

imposed on African American troops surprised Belgians; one woman said she had expected the Americans to be "ahead of the others" (p. 310). For the moment, however, this disappointment did not make much of a dent in Belgians' own racial prejudices: black soldiers were seen as more of a threat to women, resulting, as in France, in a greater readiness to report rapes when the perpetrators were black (p. 311). (Schrijvers also notes, as have other scholars such as Alice Kaplan, that the U.S. military executed black rapists—or blacks accused of rape—far more readily than it did whites [pp. 228–229]).

The liberation, then, was not a time of seamless harmony; Schrijvers devotes one of his chapters to these "currents of discontent." There is perhaps one apparent inconsistency: the author reports Allied satisfaction over Antwerp dock workers' unfaltering devotion to their work (p. 111) but suggests that hunger and V1–V2 bombings "left the dockers discouraged," precluding a much-needed boost in imports (p. 167). But this is a very minor point. This riveting and important book makes remarkable use of the rich collections (including the photographs) at the Centre d'Études Guerre et Sociétés (CEGES/SOMA) at Brussels. Schrijvers returns time and again, and very convincingly, to the theme of material abundance. He makes it clear that the end of the "bourgeois regime of consumption," to quote Victoria de Grazia's term, meant an end to old habits of deference. This refusal of a life of subsistence, Schrijvers suggests, was not an entirely new phenomenon; some have traced its origins back to Belgium's first liberation in 1918. But, at the time, the "Anglo-Americans" were hardly such a forceful presence (p. 273). The "Modern Liberation" was long in the making, but it was also a crucial, irreversible, irritable, yet dionysiac moment of encounter—one that is admirably captured in this book.

SOPHIE DE SCHAEPPDRIJVER
Penn State University

IRIS BRUIJN. *Ship's Surgeons of the Dutch East India Company: Commerce and the Progress of Medicine in the Eighteenth Century*. Leiden: Leiden University Press, distributed by the University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. 388. \$39.95.

Ship's surgeons in the early modern world have had scores of detractors. They have been routinely depicted as illiterate village barbers who tormented their crews, and their bad reputation has survived to this day in novels and scholarly works. Those in the employ of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) are no exception, perhaps because its ship's surgeons were forbidden to practice ashore in the Dutch Republic. Another factor may have been the VOC's habit, especially at the Cape of Good Hope, of recruiting soldiers for the surgical profession. Iris Bruijn suggests that this practice may not be as odd as it seems, since company officials probably hired many German surgeons whom they initially used as soldiers.

Bruijn's monograph aims to rehabilitate the VOC surgeons, arguing that their responsibilities differed markedly from those of their landlubber counterparts. Not only were they spared the task of shaving, which occupied all land-based surgeons in Europe, they were cogs in the professional machine that the company ran. Its professionalism, Bruijn argues, was characterized by the examination of surgeons prior to sailing, keeping medical logs, separation of the sick on board, instruction on cleanliness, and an interest in pharmacopoeia and diet. To what extent the eighteenth-century Dutch were more professional than other countries remains to be seen, however. As the author herself admits, the French and English also examined their ship's surgeons. Besides, medical logs were dutifully kept in the wake of one five-year period of extremely high mortality rates, but later fell into disuse.

One would expect Bruijn to have looked for archival materials documenting surgeons' actual practices on board VOC ships and ashore in Asia in order to set the record straight. However, such materials are unavailable. Bruijn's methodology is, rather, to situate the surgeons in the context in which they worked. The author gives a fine overview of the living conditions on board and of the diseases that depleted the ranks of VOC personnel in the Asian factories. From 1719 to 1744, fatalities in Batavia's City Hospital, which received patients from among the floating population, consistently accounted for over ninety percent of all deaths in the city. As the eighteenth century advanced, shipboard conditions only worsened. None of this, Bruijn maintains, was the result of surgeons' neglect, but due to the company's refusal to provide enough funding and the increasingly poor "quality" of recruits. Nor could surgeons "escape the Galenic brainwashing they encountered" (p. 255).

Having exonerated them, Bruijn goes on to praise the surgeons for their achievements, albeit again without providing much detail. Their presumed accomplishments derived from the "full-fledged" health service that the VOC set up in Asia. The company's own hospitals—eight alone in Ceylon and five in Batavia, including a Moorish and a Chinese Hospital—were built to cure the ill and the injured, which was a considerable advance over European hospitals that typically served the social interests of those who founded or supported them. In VOC hospitals, the surgeons served as physicians in treating the many infectious diseases they encountered.

One of the many insights Bruijn offers regarding the medical world in the Dutch establishments in Asia is that VOC personnel, in spite of the surgeons' negative reputation, preferred their services over those of indigenous healers. Then again, the company made it hard for its employees to seek recourse to native doctors. Those whose term had expired and who settled in Asia were in a different position, as they assimilated to mainstream culture. One wonders how they felt about the healing capacity of ship's surgeons. What does seem to confirm this book's argument is the alleged preference

of Muslim sailors for European surgeons, which was the pretext the company used to abolish the position of Muslim physician in Batavia's Moorish Hospital. Yet ultimately, Bruijn's book is informative and suggestive, but not entirely convincing.

WIM KLOOSTER
Clark University

THOMAS EKMAN JØRGENSEN. *Transformations and Crises: The Left and the Nation in Denmark and Sweden, 1956–1980*. (Protest, Culture and Society, number 2.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2008. Pp. viii, 219. \$90.00.

This book aims to provide a description of how members of the Danish and Swedish Left conceptualized the nation, and how their ideas evolved in response to changing historical contexts in the two countries (p. 1). Thomas Ekman Jørgensen also seeks to present a more general interpretation of the development of the Left during the postwar era as seen through the concept of nation (p. 16).

The theoretical discourse of the study adheres to the tradition of conceptual history where the focus is on mapping different interpretations of concepts, as well as relating the concept (of nation) to its references (Denmark and Sweden of the period 1956–1980): "The aim is thus to watch for changes in the semantics of the concept and how it relates to social, cultural and political change, or the other way around: how and why a concept keeps its content despite of changes" (p. 12). The two major concepts used in the study are therefore clarified. Following Pierre Bourdieu, the Left is defined as a "political and social field" (p. 9), whereas the concept of nation is understood as containing three elements: nation in the international context, the internal stratification of the nation, and the placement of the nation over time (p. 181).

From a methodological point of view the comparison of the Left in two countries could entail a comparative design; however Jørgensen's study "will not be a systematic account of two parallel histories, but rather an integrated description of two milieux" (p. 3). The methodological credo is explicit as the author states that "a merely quantitative approach is meaningless"; rather, this book offers "a master narrative of crisis, innovation, stagnation and the new crisis" (p. 6). The chief sources on which the study is based are publications in the form of "journal articles, pamphlets and books" (p. 16).

The major part of this book provides a reliable narrative of the development of the Left in Denmark and Sweden during the postwar period. It is basically chronological, even noting the presence of left-wing terrorism in Denmark, such as the Blekingegadebanden, that was only uncovered in the late 1980s (pp. 16, 179). The comparative analysis focuses mainly on differences between the Left in the two countries: the Danmarks Kommunistiske Parti (DKP) was more dependent on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) than was the Sveriges Kommunistiska Parti (SKP) (p. 40); in

the 1970s the Swedish Left focused more on social themes while culture was on the agenda for the Danish Left (p. 138); the Danish Left was also more theoretical and intellectual, as well as more activist than the Swedish Left (pp. 154, 195). These differences may be accounted for by variations between the two societies with respect to size, economic structure (p. 22), orientation toward the outside world (p. 61), and the nature of political participation (p. 195), to list some of the factors discussed in the study.

The Left's concept of the nation changed over time; the 1960s and 1980s especially witnessed shifts in meaning reflecting the varying political contexts of the previous decades. This finding is summarized by the author: "The crisis of communism and the crisis of the New Left did indeed occur when the references of the concepts disappeared and the interpretations lost plausibility" (p. 186).

The strength of this book is the narrative. The author shows a good acquaintance with the relevant research literature available in Danish and Swedish and clearly maps the development of the Left during the period studied. Less convincing is the analysis of the concept of nation, as the author's narrative of this concept seems to encompass almost anything of relevance for the Left. The comparative analysis could also have been conducted in a more systematic way, articulating well-formulated research problems to which the findings could be more easily related.

The factual basis of the narrative is solid, yet there are a few mistakes. The theoretical journal of the Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna (VPK), *Socialistisk Debatt*, was not issued between 1968 and 1969 but reappeared in 1970 (cf. pp. 17, 135); DKP party leader Aksel Larsen was arrested in November 1942 rather than in 1941 (p. 25); and the Swedish party leader C.-H. Hermansson should have been identified as an economist, not a political scientist (p. 50).

SVANTE ERSSON
Umeå University

JOHAN JARLBRINK. *Det våras för journalisten: Symboler och handlingsmönster för den svenska pressens medarbetare från 1870-tal till 1930-tal* [Springtime for the Journalist: Symbols and Courses of Action for Members of the Swedish Press, the 1870s to the 1930s]. (Mediehistoriskt Arkiv, number 11; Linköping Studies in Arts and Sciences, number 463.) Stockholm: Kungliga Biblioteket. 2009. Pp. 346. kr.150.00.

Members of the press are spineless liars and hopeless losers. Some might feel that this is a pertinent description of journalists today, but it is in fact how they were portrayed in 1879 by the Swedish writer August Strindberg in his satire on Stockholm society, *The Red Room*. The statement provides the opening to Johan Jarlbrink's book about the changing nature of the Swedish press from the last decades of the nineteenth century to the 1930s. Representations of the press in literature and movies, according to Jarlbrink, played an important

part of this story, and he detects significant changes in the period under scrutiny.

Journalism in Sweden matured during the golden age of urbanization and modernization covered in this book. Members of the press went from being a motley crowd of publishers and authors, mostly part-timers, to practitioners of an increasingly professionalized métier whose members were called *journalister*. It was, however, not until the founding of the Union of Swedish Journalists in 1901 that this designation began to be commonplace. The three parts of the book center chronologically on technological breakthroughs that decisively shaped the conditions for the journalist's work: the quill, scissors, and glue used in the original cut-and-paste techniques, then the pen and the notebook, and finally the typewriter and the airplane. Jarlbrink argues that these technologies also came to symbolize members of the press to the wider Swedish public, as seen in novels, pictures, short stories, and movies.

With the introduction of telegraphs, print machines, and cheaper paper, the press could deliver news faster to more people. Journalists began to incorporate new techniques into their work such as interviews, and they distinguished more consciously between different genres such as political news, investigative journalism, and sensational reporting. Where members of the press had been seen as a rather pathetic bunch in Strindberg's days, novels and movies slowly began to portray journalists as adventurous, heroic, and progressive. So did many journalists themselves, and Sweden attained an increasingly self-aware press corps that attracted people who wanted to play the role. Jarlbrink identifies an idealization of the reporter in Swedish fiction and elsewhere that in particular borrowed from representations of American journalists. But as the typewriter replaced the quill and the pen, printing was mechanized, and newspapers became available to a mass audience, the journalist was reduced to being merely a cog in a larger machine. The general narrative structure of the book in many ways conforms to the classical tale of modernity, and this makes for a good and rich story.

This book is based on a wide range of sources, and Jarlbrink has combed through numerous newspapers, journalists' diaries, nine films, and some novels and short stories. All these materials are treated as primary sources, and the book therefore attempts a complex exercise wherein the distinction between fact and fiction is not clear-cut.

Jarlbrink classifies the book as media and cultural history. It is framed theoretically by Pierre Bourdieu's metaphor of field, and by Erving Goffman's distinction between frontstage and backstage behavior. While these choices are well made in relation to the topic of the book, the author does not manage to convince the reader that these choices have in fact been guiding the analysis. Rather it seems as if the two theorists merely sandwich the historical narrative. That suspicion is confirmed in the index of names provided in the back of the book. Also missing is a clearer theoretical and conceptual approach to symbols and courses (perhaps better

translated as patterns) of behavior, as both are mentioned in the title of the book.

This is above all a book about Sweden. First, the book neglects perhaps a little too much the rather extensive transnational communication and networks across Scandinavia through most of the time covered. At times the analysis draws in references to other countries; apart from the United States, however, no criteria seem to have been established for why certain countries were chosen, or when the comparisons are needed to give the analysis a comparative perspective. Second, the reader is expected to be intimately familiar with the host of figures from Sweden's intelligentsia that are listed on several occasions. While there is an appendix with some names, as well as a name index, it would be a courtesy to the reader to simply introduce people the first time they are mentioned, which is not always the case. Third, as the book is written in Swedish, Jarlbrink takes sides in a sensitive discussion about the language of publication that plays out among scholars in many smaller language areas. That said, Jarlbrink should certainly consider publishing the thrust of his findings for an international audience who would find the topic stimulating and the methodology interesting.

ANN-CHRISTINA L. KNUDSEN
Aarhus University

JOUKO KOKKONEN. *Kansakunta kilpasilla: Urheilu nationalismin kanavana ja lähteenä Suomessa 1900–1952* [*A Competing Nation: Sports as Channel and Source of Nationalism in Finland 1900–1952*]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 119.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2008. Pp. 357. €29.00.

That sports and nationalism have been closely connected since both developed in their modern forms in the nineteenth century is not news. What remain worthy of scholarly exploration, however, are the specific mechanisms of and local variations in the symbiosis between sports and nationalism. Jouko Kokkonen's book does this in an exemplary way for the Finnish case.

Nationalism is not epiphenomenal in Kokkonen's argument. Sports and the discourses around them have mirrored and shaped not only what Finns have believed but, through such beliefs, what Finnish society looked like. That is, discourses around sports have played a significant role in the shaping of Finnish identity, society, and even the Finnish state.

The book moves chronologically from (roughly) 1900 to 1952, when the Finnish "nationalist sports project" culminated in the Helsinki Olympic Games. Following Anthony D. Smith, Kokkonen treats national identity as a process and traces its relationship to sports through the moments, practices, and people that were particularly important in Finland. The moments include, in addition to the Helsinki Olympics, the 1912 Stockholm Olympics, in which Finland participated still as an autonomous grand duchy of the Russian Empire and where the first "Flying Finn," Hannes Kolehmainen, "ran Finland onto the world map," as the nationalist

story goes. As Kokkonen shows, successes such as Kolehmainen's partly transformed both elite discourse and popular interest. At the turn of the century, physical culture had stressed non-competitive gymnastics as a means to building national character; by the second decade, competitive sports became the focus and individual athletes, particularly the distance runners Kolehmainen and Paavo Nurmi, were framed as two exemplary if different representatives of Finnish national character.

Many of the contours in the Finnish nationalist sports project will be recognizable to people familiar with early twentieth-century sports nationalism. There is the rhetoric about the importance of physical education for military purposes and the concomitant focus on men and masculinity, as well as the racialized understanding of ethnic identities. Still, readers will learn much from this book's analysis of the Finnish case. For example, Kokkonen explains why individual as opposed to team sports remained the paradigmatic exemplars of Finnish virtues: an individual man's toughness and solitary perseverance against harsh nature were the secrets of Finnish success.

Finland does offer some interesting anomalies within the larger story of sports and nationalism. For example, Finland's bloody civil war in 1918, soon after it had gained its independence from Russia, intensely divided Finnish society—and thereby sports and even individual athletes' loyalties—for two decades, roughly along class lines. National unity only emerged in the late 1930s, in two different but parallel national projects, as Kokkonen shows: Finland's preparation to host the 1940 Olympics and fighting the 1939 Winter War against the Soviet Union. World War II of course prevented the games, but national unity remained in 1952 when the Helsinki Olympics finally took place. Kokkonen points out that the Helsinki Games were slightly problematic for Finns' understanding of themselves as a uniquely athletic nation: by the early 1950s, Finns were no longer the dominant force in track and field. But that is partly why the games were politically even more important. They exemplified not so much athletic prowess as the general fortitude of a small nation that had survived a brutal war and a demanding reparations program.

Theoretically, Kokkonen draws from the usual suspects in the study of nationalism: Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, Ernst Gellner, Anthony D. Smith, and Craig Calhoun, among others. Lively and accessible prose as well as Kokkonen's ability to anchor the account in the facts on the ground keep the book and its argument coherent, despite the eclectic theoretical framework. There are small problems, though. One might have wanted slightly more discussion of the influence of German *Turnen*-style gymnastics on Finnish discourse, and gender deserves more attention than the one short section Kokkonen devotes to it. Finally, a major obstacle to the book's accessibility is the language. The brief English summary cannot do justice to the richness of Kokkonen's account.

One of the main contributions of this book is its challenge to sports ideology in Finland. Like sports, Finnish historiography was for a long time ideological and partisan. For this reason, Kokkonen's choice to write in Finnish seems justified: where the international scholarly community will miss one careful study of the mechanisms of sports nationalism, Kokkonen's Finnish audience gets an accessibly written but sophisticated corrective to many of its simplistic and even misguided beliefs about Finnish sports prowess and uniqueness.

MIKA LA VAQUE-MANTY
University of Michigan

LYNN K. NYHART. *Modern Nature: The Rise of the Biological Perspective in Germany*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 423. \$45.00.

A quotation from Karl August Möbius's diary from 1863 could have served as an epigraph for this book by Lynn K. Nyhart. In a longer passage in which Möbius contemplates his life and professional struggles, Nyhart finds the line: "It is easy for us to consider ourselves more independent of the whole than we are" (p. 158). Although the direct focus of only one chapter, the life and work of Möbius (1825–1908) are at the heart of Nyhart's study. Relentlessly hardworking and ambitious but always feeling like an outsider, Möbius began his career as an elementary school teacher and ended it as professor at the University of Berlin and director of the Museum für Naturkunde, the leading natural history museum of Germany. In the process, as Nyhart shows, Möbius compressed into a single career a process of professional climbing that would normally have taken generations. His empirical research, presented in such works as *Die Fauna der Kieler Bucht* (coauthored with Heinrich Adolf Meyer, the first volume appeared in 1865) and *Die Auster und die Austernwirtschaft* (1877), was grounded in careful observation and recording, but it is for his profoundly influential theoretical contribution of the *Lebensgemeinschaft*—a community of living beings together with the specific environment in which they live—that Möbius is best known.

In many ways, as Nyhart shows, Möbius's career parallels the broader history of the biological concept in nineteenth-century Germany. Like Möbius, biological thinking in Germany did not spring from an elite class of university professors who were, at the time, more concerned with the empirical work of taxonomy and the theoretical work of evolution. Nyhart argues that biological thinking "trickled up" from the work of a collection of practical naturalists, elementary and secondary school teachers and reformers, and eventually, the leaders of local natural history and other museums who for a variety of reasons sought to show the lives of animals and people through their connections to shared communities. In the end, Nyhart demonstrates that in less than one hundred years, "museum-based natural history" developed from "a science of collecting, sorting, and sizing up the similarities and differences

among animals, aimed at detecting an underlying taxonomic order in nature" to a science in which taxonomy became only a tool in examining "broader questions about the dynamic interactions of organisms with one another and with their environments" (p. 355).

Nyhart relates this history through studies of several key figures, especially the practical naturalist, taxidermist, and natural history reformer Philipp Leopold Martin (1815–1886); Möbius; and Friedrich Junge (1832–1905), the educational reformer and author of *Natural History in the Primary School: The Village Pond as a Living Community* (1885). From such individuals, Nyhart traces the development of critical ideas in popular natural-scientific magazines and institutions such as zoological gardens and museums (especially the Museum für Natur-, Völker-, und Handelskunde in Bremen, the Altona City Museum, and the Museum für Meereskunde in Berlin). Fundamentally, Nyhart seeks to understand the modernization of ideas and displays of natural history in the years around 1900 as animals began to be seen in biological groups and naturalistic scenes instead of being conceptualized as stand-alone species arranged in taxonomies. This territory has been explored by other authors, but among the strengths of Nyhart's approach is a broadly successful effort to work amid a "circulation of ideas" (p. 123) to show not simply how an innovation in one arena found a home in another, but how a dynamic exchange of ideas across a community of thinkers and reformers came to be expressed in a wide variety of contexts.

But this is, of course, a German story, even if it played out within an international context in which similar ideas were being developed across Europe and North America. While it is not a central preoccupation of this book, Nyhart does not fail to signal from the beginning that the "biological perspective . . . embodied both the challenges and the opportunities presented by modern German society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (p. 4). In discussing Junge's curriculum for natural history in the primary schools, to give one example, Nyhart recognizes that Junge's reforms "would remain potent in German education through the Weimar and Nazi periods, as ideas about community, citizenship, and nature would continue to be advanced explicitly through biology education" (p. 195). This book does not focus on drawing lines between ideas underlying *Lebensgemeinschaft*, *Heimat*, and the Third Reich. Instead Nyhart provides significant insight into the connections between the lives of individuals, their innovative ideas about nature and animals, and how their ideas came to be expressed in important social institutions. This is an exemplary book of historical scholarship with an expertly crafted argument.

NIGEL ROTHFELS
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

ELIZABETH B. JONES. *Gender and Rural Modernity: Farm Women and the Politics of Labor in Germany, 1871–1933*. (Studies in Labour History.) Burlington,

Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2009. Pp. xvi, 238. \$99.95.

This important book focuses on the growing conflict between the productive and reproductive roles of women in German agriculture from 1871 to 1933. Rationalization within the primary sector brought about an intensification of women's work, an increasing shortage of female farm hands (*Mägde*), and higher rates of out-migration as young women turned their backs on agricultural employment in favor of the economic and cultural attractions of urban life. Contemporary debates over women's work and family duties were increasingly shaped by tensions within the primary sector, by a greater focus during the Weimar period on the biological and cultural duties of rural women, and by the changing relationship between rural inhabitants and the state, as political parties and official agencies sought to retain the prescriptive controls embodied in the *Gesindeordnungen* (regulations governing rights and duties of servants) while responding to the cultural and social demands of women involved in agricultural production. The study focuses on the case of Saxony, primarily because its earlier transition to industrial production in comparison with other regions of Germany had led to a greater intensification of agriculture with a marked degree of specialization, but also because the politicization of women's agricultural labor was a critical factor in the radicalization of rural politics and because Germany's first rural household management school was established in 1926 in the Saxon village of Pommritz. At the same time, regional evidence exists within a wider, national framework, as Elizabeth B. Jones traces the implicit links among the shifting experiences of work by women employed in the primary sector, broader patterns of historical change, and competing interpretations of German modernity.

Sensibly, Jones adopts a chronological approach. The first two chapters explore the interrelationship between women, work, and agricultural politics in the Kaiserreich, emphasizing the extent to which the intensification of agricultural production gave rise to local complaints about the "unruliness" of rural women. The increasing tendency for rural maids to run away was interpreted in certain quarters as a "clear symptom of rural disintegration," while a growing number of grievance petitions provided clear testimony of the breakdown in rural society. The pressures generated by World War I inevitably reinforced trends that had been evident from the late nineteenth century onward. Although women were excluded from the terms of the Auxiliary Service Law (with the result that labor shortages in agricultural regions became even more acute), concrete steps were taken to restrict the out-migration of women from rural areas, and local authorities were empowered to conscript both men and women for agricultural work "appropriate to their strength and abilities." Although the *Gesindeordnungen* and the wartime ordinances designed to protect the supply of agricultural labor were rescinded in November 1918, the im-

mediate postwar situation was even more critical: the shortage of maids was "catastrophic"; a growing number of young women resisted a new ordinance to relieve labor shortages in the primary sector; and there were persistent complaints over the shortage of female agricultural workers in Saxony throughout the 1920s. The following two chapters (four and five) focus explicitly on the Weimar period, highlighting the campaigns to rationalize women's work in the primary sector and examining the process by which the concern over the wider ramifications of female employment in agriculture became increasingly politicized. Jones devotes particular attention to the role of agricultural experts, rural social welfare reformers, and state officials in advocating farm rationalization and propagating a "new type of farm wife," while the rural home economics school at Pommritz emphasized the contribution that women could make as agents of change, tested different rakes for potato husbandry, and provided advice on a more efficient layout of rooms. But given the persistence of labor shortages and the underlying weakness of the primary sector throughout the 1920s, a situation that deteriorated significantly during the Great Depression, it is not surprising that the issue of women's work became highly politicized. The National Rural Housewives' Association often expressed "conservative sentiments"; there were close political ties with ultraconservative women's organizations; and many women responded to right-wing appeals for support; while state attempts to stem the continued out-migration of female labor from rural areas were generally unsuccessful.

Jones bases her analysis on a comprehensive review of contemporary publications, particularly by noted rural sociologists and agricultural reformers, and draws on archival sources to examine the nature and severity of tensions created by the changing burden of women's work in the primary sector of Saxony. However, there is a potential disjuncture between the micro-analysis of grievance cases in the Flöha district of Saxony (only forty-seven of which were lodged by maids) and the evidence extracted from contemporary reports and publications that deal primarily with agrarian conditions in other regions of Germany. The narrative emphasis shifts from maids in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to farm wives during the 1920s, and a more rigorous critique of the published material would have been welcome, specifically in relation to the disciplinary context of rural sociologists and the training background of individual agricultural reformers. But these points should not detract from an important piece of work that represents a useful addition to the existing historiography.

ROBERT LEE
University of Liverpool

STEFAN VOGT. *Nationaler Sozialismus und Soziale Demokratie: Die sozialdemokratische Junge Rechte 1918–1945*. (Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 70.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 2006. Pp. 502. €48.00.

The Junge Rechte (Young Right) within the Social Democratic Party (SPD) of Weimar was a small circle of mostly younger socialists who were opposed to orthodox Marxism and the rhetoric of class struggle, more national-minded than the SPD as a whole, and open to a kind of authoritarianism normally associated with the political right. Stefan Vogt has written a detailed intellectual history of this group, whose roots reach far back into the prewar period. Though the group began to form as early as 1923, it is often associated with the *Neue Blätter für den Sozialismus*, published between January 1930 and June 1933. The circle of about thirty to fifty members included former SPD ministers such as Wilhelm Sollmann and Gustav Radbruch, prominent figures such as Hermann Heller and Paul Tillich, and younger socialists such as Carl Mierendorff, Theodor Haubach, and Gustav Dahrendorf. In five long, well-structured chapters Vogt analyzes the Junge Rechte's intellectual antecedents, development during the Weimar Republic, main ideological orientations, participation in Weimar's political struggles, and involvement in resistance against the Nazi regime. Vogt's thorough and comprehensive study is based on a vast array of archival sources, including files (often literary bequests) from well over a dozen archives, as well as an exhaustive selection of printed primary materials.

Vogt identifies three constituent elements that formed the ideological foundation of the group. The first set includes the increasing national mindedness of the revisionist and reformist parts of the SPD during the empire (the author considers Eduard Bernstein's revisionism an essential precondition for socialism opening itself to the new nationalism), the "ideas of 1914," and the ideology of *Kriegssozialismus*, which considered the war economy as the basis for a future state socialism. During World War I, intensely national-minded socialists were not uncommon. A case in point was the prominent nationalist SPD politician Eduard David, who argued that "German socialism" was bound to prevail against the liberal and individualistic ideology of the West. The second source was the ethical and religious socialism that would play an important role in the Weimar Republic. At its root lay the *Neukantianismus* of Hermann Cohen and Paul Natorp, who regarded Marxist socialism as contradictory to life and the inner needs of man (p. 65). This ethical and religious socialism gained momentum after the collapse of 1918, when religious socialists, such as Tillich and Belgian socialist theoretician Hendrik de Man, attempted to base socialism on non-materialist foundations.

Vogt cites the proletarian and bourgeois youth movement as the third important source, since the Junge Rechte was recruited mostly from among those socialists born in the 1890s. The youth movement exerted great influence among Weimar's younger socialists, who frequently banded together in so-called young socialist communities. Particularly important for the formation of the Junge Rechte was the Hofgeismar circle, named after a 1923 conference in a Hessian town of that name. The Hofgeismar meeting was dominated by nationally

oriented younger socialists who rejected materialism in favor of an ethically based socialism. Concepts such as *Volk*, *Staat*, and *Volksgemeinschaft* occupied pride of place and even superseded class as the central political reference point, so that socialist and nationalist movements could be reconciled (p. 87). Vogt holds that while the ideological roots of the Junge Rechte dated back to the prewar period, the formation of the Hofgeismar circle of young socialists marked the organizational beginning of the group. According to the author, the experience of community and the shock of the Ruhr occupation were of central importance to the young socialists.

The period of relative stability in Weimar's middle years was a time of stagnation for the Junge Rechte. It became more organized during the republic's last phase, which also coincided with the foundation of the *Neue Blätter für den Sozialismus* in January 1930. Even though the circle consisted of only a few dozen people and the readership of the *Neue Blätter* was limited to several thousand (circulation was about 3,000), group members gained important positions in the SPD organization, party press, the trade unions, and the *Reichsbanner*. Vogt stresses that the Junge Rechte possessed a network of reliable contacts in the party leadership that the left wing of the SPD did not have. The *Reichsbanner*, with its more overt nationalism and tendency to reconcile class struggle with *Volksgemeinschaft*, formed another stronghold of the group, as several of its key members figured among *Reichsbanner* regional leaders.

Vogt characterizes the Junge Rechte's ideology as *nationaler Sozialismus* and stresses the group's "ambivalent relationship to reason and enlightenment" (p. 255). He sees a great deal of ideological common ground with the *Tatkreis*, arguing that, ideologically, the Junge Rechte could be considered part of the conservative revolution. Yet despite commonalities there was no complete congruence. Notwithstanding concessions to authoritarianism, members of the Junge Rechte were never quite prepared to sacrifice democracy and continued to insist on a leading role for the working classes and social democracy. The group tended to view Nazism through the lens of its own antipathy toward capitalism; sympathy with Nazi anti-capitalism is discernible. Nazism was interpreted as a vast protest movement against capitalism: its supporters viewed as misguided anti-capitalists and its success explained by the ever-swelling anti-capitalist wave among those classes of the population that remained untouched by socialism. National Socialism was thus judged to be part of an inescapable intellectual and cultural development that was aimed at overcoming liberalism, individualism, and rationalism. It was certainly not perceived as the mortal danger for the republic that it turned out to be. Despite certain affinities, however, the Junge Rechte was implacable in its political struggle against the NSDAP. Several of its members, such as Mierendorff and Haubach, became prominent in the opposition to the Nazi regime.

With his meticulous research and probing analysis,

Vogt has written a profound intellectual history of the Junge Rechte, demonstrating how certain rightist concepts exerted great attraction on some members of the political left. By illustrating that the acceptance of specific components of National Socialism was more widespread than previously acknowledged, Vogt has not only shed light on the SPD's Junge Rechte but also opened up venues for further research.

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DEREK HASTINGS. *Catholicism and the Roots of Nazism: Religious Identity and National Socialism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xv, 290. \$29.95.

In this book, Derek Hastings tries to uncover one of darkest aspects of the Catholic public sphere in Germany during the early 1920s by studying *Rechtskatholizismus* (right-wing Catholicism) and *Völkischkatholizismus* (National Catholicism) within the Nazi party (NSDAP) during its formative year in the Catholic city of Munich. Despite admirable efforts, his findings are not quite convincing.

Hastings's methodological approach originates from the history of ideas and intellectual history. His main contribution is to demonstrate how believing Catholics and their ideals played a central role in the development and activity of the NSDAP before the famous Beer Hall Putsch of November 1923 that changed drastically the nature of the party. In contrast to many scholars who argue that the NSDAP stemmed from semi-secretive mystical clubs such as the *völkisch*, anti-Catholic Thule Society, Hastings stresses that the Catholic orientation of the early NSDAP was central to the party's ability to establish broader appeal and a strong political foothold in Catholic Munich and its surroundings. By doing so, Hastings re-examines the immediate roots of Nazism in terms of the party's survival during its vulnerable infancy. In addition and on a much broader lever, Hastings, together with scholars such as Claus-Ekkehard Bärsch, Michael Burleigh, Richard Steigmann-Gall, and Doris Bergen, tries to extend our understanding of Third Reich religious identity and Nazism as political religion (pp. 8, 182). I am not sure he has fulfilled his aim.

Hastings bases his findings mainly on published documents of a famous local Catholic and antisemitic writer, Franz Schröngamer-Heimdal, and a group of Catholic right-wing, Munich-based anti-ultramontanists who were part of a prewar phenomenon known as Reform Catholicism. Hastings examines the connection between this group and the earliest years of the NSDAP. He argues that the party's successful mobilization of Munich's inhabitants after World War I was a result of the party's ability to step into the vacuum left by the demise of *völkisch* Reform Catholicism (p. 9). Hastings starts with the nature of Catholic *völkisch* circles in Munich before the war, antisemitic groups that argued for moral purity, a classless society, Nordic-Aryan identity, and a strong Reich. The next chapters

focus on Munich after the war and on *völkisch* anti-ultramontanists (not all of them Catholic) such as Anton Drexler, Karl Harrer, Gottfried Feder, Dietrich Eckart, and, most importantly for Hastings's story, the influential Schröngamer-Heimdal. These men established the German Workers' Party (Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, which later turned into the NSDAP) in an effort to strengthen political power within Munich's *völkisch* milieu and to mix *völkisch* Catholic ideology with (early) Nazi ideology. The term "positive Christianity," which appeared in the NSDAP program from 1920, was the result of this hybrid *Weltanschauung*. Hastings describes in detail the years before the putsch and, in contrast to the well-known history of the NSDAP in Bavaria during this period, he stresses the Catholic, *völkisch*-oriented activity and speeches of Eckart, Adolf Hitler ("a convinced Catholic" [p. 147]) and Heinrich Himmler (who "was quite successful in reconciling this growing *völkisch* involvement with a continued commitment to his Catholic identity" [p. 154]). But from 1923, as the result of the growing influence of the Protestant, antisemitic, national war hero Erich Ludendorff and the Protestant Franconia Nazi members, the NSDAP started to lose its *völkisch* nature. After the putsch it was no longer possible to reconcile the party's new identity with Catholic faith.

Hastings devotes a little time to the post-1923 period and highlights some case studies where minor figures in the NSDAP published *völkisch* Catholic pamphlets in the manner of the pre-putsch period, but he concludes that "the concepts became increasingly hollow and artificial" (p. 144). Although Hastings says that his story stems from "historical curiosity" (p. 182), he hardly breaks new ground. For an English reader who is not familiar with 1970s historiography on the early years of the NSDAP, this book might shed new light, but researchers who read German know that the *völkisch* Catholic roots of the NSDAP have been discussed not only in the early historiography but also in most new local studies (such as the ones by Oded Heilbrunner, Mathias Rösch, and Richard Bauer) on the Nazi Party in Bavaria and Munich.

Hastings could have made a real contribution to an understanding of the origins and success of early Catholic Nazism had he considered Catholic practices in the Nazi chapters in Catholic Bavaria or priests and NSDAP member corporations in rural Bavaria. He could have studied the Catholic bourgeois Liberals in prewar Munich, who were much more popular there than most of the *völkisch* Catholics he describes who joined and supported the NSDAP after the 1920s. He could have developed the ideas first raised a decade ago by myself and Roger Chickering on the NSDAP clubs in Munich as Catholic voluntary associations (*Verein*) or on local Nazi supporters and chapters in Munich as armed bohemians. Because Hastings relies more on ideas, per-

sonalities, and intellectual writing, he has failed to discern even deeper Catholic roots of Nazism.

ODED HEILBRONNER

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CHRISTIAN GOESCHEL. *Suicide in Nazi Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 247. \$40.00.

In this book, Christian Goeschel addresses a fascinating topic that opens up new perspectives on the history of National Socialism. Drawing on a wide range of hitherto little-used sources, he fleshes out a picture that goes considerably beyond the well-known suicides that occurred during, at the end of, and long after the collapse of the Third Reich—Walter Benjamin, Adolf Hitler, and Primo Levi, to name only three—to include the countless ordinary Germans and Jews who took their own lives under the Nazis.

As a historical topos, suicide has long remained elusive. Beginning with Émile Durkheim, social scientists connected suicide with the transformations of the modern era yet struggled to make it fully legible as a social phenomenon. Early twentieth-century German commentators pursued similar aims in response to a perceived rise in suicide rates that, by the Weimar period, had taken on alarming proportions. Was this increase significant or simply an artifact of greater interest and reporting? In Goeschel's study the statistical picture remains rather inconclusive. Real enough, however, was the discursive weight attached to the perception that postwar Germany was in the grip of what many called a "suicide epidemic." This perception took on a life of its own and became thematized by extremists on both the left and right as a leading indicator of the Weimar system's pathologies.

Whether this politicization of suicide actually contributed to the delegitimization of Weimar, as Goeschel suggests, remains more asserted than proven, but what is certainly clear is that once in power the Nazis treated the problem of suicide with utmost seriousness. In a speech in May 1933 Hitler denounced the Versailles Treaty and the resulting misery it had caused for having condemned over 200,000 Germans to death by suicide. The Third Reich's self-portrayal as a regime borne along by a wave of mass enthusiasm made it imperative to uphold the claim that suicide had ended with the fall of Weimar—a claim reinforced by a virtual media blackout on suicide reports and by the passage of laws imposing harsh penalties on those who tried to take their own lives.

Yet as these very laws attest, suicide did not disappear as an issue. For one thing, ordinary Germans continued to experience economic and social dislocation, particularly if they were homosexual or otherwise singled out for persecution. Moreover, just as the Depression had produced an increase in suicide rates, so too did major turning points in the history of the Third Reich: for Jews, the *Anschluss*, *Kristallnacht*, and de-

portations to the East; for Germans, ranging from top party members to ordinary citizens, the end of the war. Drawing on police and church archives, Goeschel documents the continuing hold that suicide exercised over the lives of Germans. The bulk of his analysis rests on an extensive collection of suicide notes and police reports that offer fascinating glimpses into the inner life of individuals caught up in the maelstrom of the Nazi's efforts to forge a new *Volksgemeinschaft*. Many of these notes are deeply moving, and in the case of Jews who took their own lives rather than face deportation, offer suggestive evidence that suicide could represent a form of defiance, a final act of self-determination over the moment and method of one's death.

The Third Reich ended in a massive wave of suicide that took the lives of virtually all the party's top leaders. Meanwhile, as Russians descended on the capital, Hitler Youth members distributed cyanide capsules to the audience of the last performance of the Berlin Philharmonic. How did a regime that anathematized suicide for the *Volksgenossen* end itself in this collective self-immolation? By tying this seeming paradox to "the inability of a form of government based largely on Hitler's 'charismatic authority' to reproduce itself or to attain 'normality' or routine" (p. 151), Goeschel adds a new dimension to the self-destructive dynamic historians have often attributed to Nazism.

Goeschel shows well how the "suicide epidemic" first identified in the Weimar period became an object of cultural and political discourse. One wishes only that he had paid more attention to the role of medical experts in making it an object of scientific discourse. We are frequently told that police reports on suicide invoked Social Darwinist concepts of "weakness," yet Social Darwinism remains a somewhat underexamined explanatory concept here, particularly in light of the reversals that marked Nazi policy. Initially the regime welcomed suicide among Jews, before eventually changing course and reasserting the primacy of the state's power over the right to life and death by intervening to prevent Jews from committing suicide rather than being shipped to the camps. This at the very least suggests a need to explore more fully the interaction between scientific worldview and state prerogative. But this caveat aside, Goeschel's study, by using suicide notes "to bring the individual back into history," significantly enriches our picture of the history of the self under National Socialism.

ANDREAS KILLEN

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MICHAEL BERKOWITZ. *The Crime of My Very Existence: Nazism and the Myth of Jewish Criminality*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. xxix, 321. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

Michael Berkowitz takes us a step beyond delineations of Nazi antisemitism to answer an important question: what motivated law-abiding Germans to accept and

participate in the social isolation, persecution, deportation, and murder of Jews? Was racist propaganda sufficient to reassure them that their actions were appropriate? The answer Berkowitz proposes is that Nazi antisemitism propagandized against Jews not simply as foreign and dangerous but as criminals deserving punishment, thus transforming Nazi crimes against Jews into due and proper deterrence, restraint, and punishment, as well as protection of Germans from Jewish crime.

Historians of the Third Reich will be grateful to Berkowitz for amassing a treasure of data, both archival and published, describing the "criminalization" of Jews in Nazi antisemitic propaganda and its afterlife in the immediate postwar years. Going further, he demonstrates the ways that propaganda was implemented in the Nazi treatment of Jews. His book ranges widely through records from concentration camps, memoirs, and court documents, as well as propaganda texts and images.

Even as the Third Reich presented itself as a bastion of law and order, the regime stigmatized Jews as criminals, both as individuals and as a collective, to the point, Berkowitz suggests, that "the association of Jews with criminality had a liturgical quality" (p. xvii). Christian Europe had long associated Jews with criminal behavior in order to justify their societal exclusion; indeed Christianity was built on what it considered the most heinous crime of all, deicide, charged against all Jews of all generations.

Racial theory pursued by German academics as well as racist crackpots had become too sophisticated by the 1930s for popular propagandistic distribution, so the Nazis simplified their antisemitic message by describing Jews as criminals against whom Germans had to protect themselves.

The regime pursued the association of Jews with criminality in many ways: for example, by drawing or photographing Jews in a particular style to make them appear as criminals (p. 94), and by defining Jewish professional success as an illegal effort to gain economic power and destroy Germans. During the first years of the Third Reich, Berkowitz notes, courts actively prosecuted Jews for violating property and tax laws.

In other situations, charges of criminality could protect Jews: the status of "criminal" was ranked higher than "Jew" in the concentration camps, for instance. Berkowitz recounts the dramatic story of a Jewish woman plucked from the gas chamber at Auschwitz when her "criminal" status was suddenly discovered (pp. 90–91). Other Jews were transferred from death camps (and likely death) to satellite labor camps (where no selections took place) for "criminally" producing counterfeit money. Yet in other circumstances, the alleged criminality of Jews could be manipulated to hide Nazi crimes, as happened when SS officials investigated and falsely blamed a massacre at the Auschwitz satellite labor camp at Budy on an escape attempt by Jewish inmates (pp. 97–107).

Berkowitz claims that opposition to Zionism, a move-

ment that had been long portrayed as an international Jewish conspiracy, became central to Nazi propaganda in the spring of 1944, marking what he calls an "evolution of modern anti-Semitic thinking" by inventing a new form of anti-Jewish discourse (p. 113). Zionism, he argues, was portrayed as the great threat to Germany that formed the justification for pre-emptive actions against Jews, in contrast to Adolf Hitler's more restrained fulminations against Zionism prior to the outbreak of the war. Actually, as a number of scholars have pointed out, anti-Zionism and denunciation of a "Jewish Vatican" in Palestine had been aspects of Nazi propaganda and policy since the late 1930s and had already intensified during 1941 and 1942 when fighting moved to North Africa and the Nazis planned the destruction of its Jewish communities.

At times Berkowitz's narrative records references to criminality that seem remote from his main argument, such as Jewish theologian Richard L. Rubenstein's postwar references to the criminality of Nazism, while at other times omitting topics that would be relevant to his argument—for example, the efflorescence of criminal prosecution of Jews for sexual violations (*Rassenschande*) of the 1935 Nuremberg Laws. Those prosecutions brought criminality together with sex, race, and gender, motifs central to the Nazi project.

Berkowitz gives generous attention to the lasting impact of Nazi propaganda after the war, citing Berlin pastor Heinrich Grüber's 1961 conversation with Rubenstein in which Grüber blamed Jewish criminal behavior for arousing postwar antisemitism (p. 196).

Scholars will be grateful to Berkowitz for providing so many important examples of criminality in Nazi propaganda. Presenting Jews not simply as degenerate but as criminals was clearly an effective Nazi tool for convincing Germans that isolating and deporting Jews would effectively prevent them from committing transgressions and that torturing and killing them was an appropriate punishment for their crimes. If Jews were heinous criminals, then the Nazi conscience could remain at peace.

SUSANNAH HESCHEL
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JANA F. BRUNS. *Nazi Cinema's New Women*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 271. \$85.00.

Much has been written in the past twenty years about Nazi film culture. The field has clearly evolved from the traditional approaches of David Welch and others to the re-evaluations of Linda Schulte-Sasse, Eric Rentschler, and, more recently, Mary-Elizabeth O'Brien. Few works have successfully straddled the divide between strictly visual and historical approaches. This cannot be said of Jana F. Bruns's book. Eloquent and compelling, her study focuses on three of the most prominent stars of the Nazi period—Marika Rökk, Zarah Leander, and Kristina Söderbaum—emulating a structure found in Antje Ascheid's *Hitler's Heroines: Stardom and Womanhood in Nazi Cinema* (2003). Bruns

produces a sophisticated model with sufficient historical rigor to satisfy empiricists and an attention to visual codes that should meet the demands of film theorists.

Bruns takes the reader on a journey through the vagaries and ambiguities of National Socialist cinematic culture, beginning with a tight summary of the regime's control of the film industry before revealing the pressures of the market and the arbitrariness of the system. Connecting the internal forces of production and the dynamics of dictatorship, she contends that the roles Rökk, Leander, and Söderbaum played were "a reflection of the film industry itself: ambiguous, complex and fractured" (p. 51), their on and off screen personas defying categorization. Rökk's "star image manoeuvred between transgression and conformity" (p. 55), drawing on both the exotic and the more familiar and confirming the Third Reich's "powerlessness to shape the population's consciousness" (p. 90). Leander's films, Bruns contends, even had the potential to derail the National Socialist ideological message altogether, which became "a casualty" of Leander's star power (p. 152). Even the most acceptable images for Nazi zealots, arguably provided by the films of Söderbaum and her husband Veit Harlan, were fraught with inconsistencies, such as Söderbaum simultaneously embodying Aryan womanhood and deviant, erotic, and reckless youth. Such tensions were exacerbated by the blurring of Weimar, Hollywood, and National Socialist film styles, problematizing notions of a unique Nazi cinematic product, specifically shown through the reinvention of Rökk as the German Eleanor Powell and Leander as an ersatz Greta Garbo.

Most striking in Bruns's work is the analysis of the Reich's "manoeuvring between repression, incitement and enticement" (p. 4) and its integration of "official dogma, commercialism and creative enterprise" (p. 7). Bruns presents the location of women within Nazi film as "a sumptuous, state-sponsored brothel preaching the merits of marital sex, simultaneously a temple of lust and a correction facility, and of female stars as exquisite courtesans offering temporary, wicked thrills for the price of conformity and suppression" (p. 8). In this sense, she confirms the wider findings of scholars such as Corey Ross in *Media and the Making of Modern Germany: Mass Communications, Society, and Politics from the Empire to the Third Reich* (2008), demonstrating that diversity in the cinematic program, the "potpourri" of cultural experiences, "obfuscated the rigidity and sterility of social and political norms while disseminating sugar-coated dogma" (pp. 226–227). Within this context, Bruns questions the roles, functions, and meanings of entertainment in the Third Reich, concluding that, while political films remained central to the National Socialist cultural mission, escapism better served the needs and desires of a nation subject to dictatorship. A complex picture of Nazi film thus emerges, and, through star culture and the film roles of Rökk, Leander, and Söderbaum, Bruns presents a compelling case that the disturbance of National Socialist codes and ideologies had the potential to intensify rather than sub-

vert the propaganda message. It was precisely this juxtaposition that strengthened the effects of propaganda in the Third Reich. Bruns concludes that "because these stars existed in (and were created by) a political culture built on mesmerizing appearances, ambiguities, and double standards that was anchored in fundamentalist rhetoric, one cannot assume that their deviant qualities necessarily unravelled National Socialism's ideological fabric" (p. 230).

Alongside the fact that Bruns chooses films rarely considered by historians and subjects those much debated to further scrutiny, the strength of this work is in its comparative dimensions—in approach, between films, between styles and genres, between the public and private personas of the actresses, and finally between the actresses themselves. In doing so, Bruns has conceived of an original and important work that significantly adds to our understanding of vital questions about the National Socialist state, specifically the internal dynamics of a society under dictatorship, the distance between public appearances and private desires, and the limitations of the "totalitarian" state.

Jo Fox

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ALAN E. STEINWEIS. *Kristallnacht 1938*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. 214. \$23.95.

The persecution of Jews in prewar Germany came to a head in a violent pogrom on November 9–10, 1938. It spread throughout Germany and German-annexed Austria, as well as to areas of the Sudetenland in recently occupied Czechoslovakia. The pretext for this government-instigated orgy of violence was the assassination in Paris on November 7 of the German diplomat Ernst von Rath by the German-born Polish Jewish teenager Herschel Grynszpan. This anti-Jewish pogrom is frequently labeled *Kristallnacht*, which literally translates as Crystal Night, named after the shards of shattered glass that lined German streets after Nazi rioters smashed the windows of Jewish homes, businesses, and synagogues. *Kristallnacht* has received more than its fair share of attention from scholars. Alan E. Steinweis contends, however, that there are good reasons to revisit the subject. He believes that the dominant narrative of these events as constructed in much of current scholarship and as adopted by the postwar German public is at odds with the true nature of the November pogrom.

According to Steinweis, most scholars take the view that the violence and brutality inherent in *Kristallnacht* signaled a striking divergence from established Nazi anti-Jewish strategies, which stressed the legal and bureaucratic marginalization of German Jews and encouraged their emigration. The same scholars commonly emphasize the top-down coordination of the pogrom by the Nazi leadership and agencies of the German state. Accordingly, the perpetrators of the pogrom came almost exclusively from the ranks of the SA (Storm

Troopers) and other party organizations. In this view, few ordinary Germans joined the rioting directly, and the majority of Germans took a cynical view of the official explanation that the pogroms were the result of spontaneous demonstrations. By and large, the German public disapproved of the violence and destruction of property. In a brief narrative of his own, Steinweis challenges all these notions.

To begin with, Steinweis does not see the events of November 9–10 as a salient break in established anti-Jewish measures but rather as the “culmination of a brutal trajectory” (p. 6). While he characterizes the events surrounding *Kristallnacht* as unprecedented in magnitude, he is quick to stress that physical violence toward Jews in Nazi-dominated Germany was hardly unprecedented and had been much too common all along. Steinweis does not deny the centrality of the Nazi leadership—especially that of Adolf Hitler and Reich Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels—in fomenting the pogrom, but he does introduce two interpretative wrinkles. First, he claims that the decision to initiate the pogrom was made on November 9, the day von Rath succumbed to his wounds, during a “comradely evening” in Munich where Nazi leaders were celebrating the anniversary of the abortive November 1923 Beer Hall Putsch. Telephone orders from Munich that night triggered *Kristallnacht*. For Steinweis this is prima facie evidence that the subsequent anti-Jewish operations were neither planned in advance nor carefully orchestrated but instead resulted from last-minute improvisation. Thus he finds the explanation for the destructiveness of the pogrom not in careful planning but rather “in the readiness of tens of thousands of Germans to commit violence against their Jewish neighbors” (p. 55).

Steinweis secondly posits a causal connection between “a pattern of grassroots antisemitic violence” (p. 9) that erupted in several locations around Germany on November 7–8 and the national pogrom of November 9–10, viewing the latter as a “nationalization of a series of localized anti-Jewish actions” (p. 6). Finally, and perhaps most damningly, he expands the circle of perpetrators to include ordinary Germans. Although he acknowledges that the core perpetrators of *Kristallnacht* were members of party organizations, especially the SA, he argues that a significant minority of Germans proved sympathetic to the aims and methods of the pogrom. He is convinced that large crowds of onlookers, who witnessed the violence and destruction directed at their Jewish fellow citizens, all too frequently abandoned the role of passive bystander and became instead active participants in the pogrom. Some of Steinweis’s inferences about German participation appear to be drawn from a limited number of local studies, so their validity for the national population remains unclear—as does what exactly constitutes a “significant minority” of Germans.

That said, Steinweis’s position is congruent with certain trends in scholarship on German antisemitism. His examination of the German pogrom of November 1938

yields a dark and disturbing picture of German society on the eve of World War II. He has joined a growing number of scholars whose probing of the boundaries of popular antisemitism in Nazi Germany, perhaps not surprisingly, points to a disquieting degree of complicity on the part of ordinary Germans. His critical assessment of the role of the German people in the pogrom suggests that it was, in the final analysis, a crucial step in a sequence of radical developments that culminated in the planned annihilation of the European Jews.

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RICHARD J. EVANS. *The Third Reich at War 1939–1945*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2010. Pp. xvii, 926. \$20.00.

This book is the final volume of Richard J. Evans’s magisterial trilogy that includes *The Coming of the Third Reich* (2003) and *The Third Reich in Power* (2005). In covering the wartime years of the Reich, Evans expands his geographic scope across Europe and North Africa, but “the central focus” of the book is “on Germany and the Germans” (p. xiii). With broad strokes and fine lines, Evans paints his macabre *Guernica* of notorious Nazis, ordinary German men and women, and the regime’s myriad victims. Military campaigns serve as the backdrop to a crisis-laden society consumed by racism, militarism, imperialism, and authoritarianism. Thus in Evans’s presentation, the intensified Allied aerial bombings of German cities in summer 1943 and the last military “turning-point,” the surrender of the Wehrmacht and its allies at Stalingrad, marked a transformation of the Reich from a “people’s community” to a ‘society of ruins’” (p. 458).

Yet prior to this 1943 shift, Evans suggests that the Third Reich was doomed to fail, if not from a Blitzkrieg approach that stalled in Russia, then from the inevitable backlashes of Nazi hubris and terror. The war unleashed the violence and hatred that defined Nazism, and the criminal result was a Reich without Jews but not a purified Aryan nation. Some eight million forced laborers from Nazi-occupied Europe were shipped into Germany, shoved into makeshift barracks and heavily guarded camps near industrial plants, and sent to farms and private homes. Security Service (SD) officials warned that the “‘danger of foreign contamination of the blood of the German people was constantly increasing’” (p. 353), while the conservative Hamburg diarist Luise Solmitz observed in spring 1943 “‘a confused babel of languages wherever you hear people speaking’” (p. 357).

Evans depicts the Germans’ sinister campaigns, failed resistance efforts, dashed hopes, and ideological disillusionment in diverse portraits of Adolf Hitler, Joseph Goebbels, Henning von Tresckow, Wilm Hosenfeld, Georg Elser, regional Nazi Party and SS police leaders, *Lebensraum* enthusiasts, gassing technocrats, robber barons, field marshals, foot soldiers, misguided

youth, and female welfare workers. He concludes that most patriotic Germans supported the utopian aims of Nazism, including the removal of the Jews, but “felt uneasy” about mass murder. Referring to a postwar opinion poll, Evans adds that well into the 1950s a majority of West Germans regarded Nazism as “‘a good idea, badly carried out’” (p. 750).

From the outset, Evans establishes that at the “the heart of German history in the war years” was “the mass murder of millions of Jews” (p. xiv). He features the Final Solution in one chapter and discusses it throughout, along with the persecution and killing of other victims, including Poles, “Slavs,” Soviet prisoners of war, “Gypsies,” homosexuals, petty criminals, “asocials,” the mentally and physically disabled, and forced laborers. The onset of the Holocaust, Evans concludes, was not the result of one or more decisions; rather it was triggered by “a variety of impulses given by the Nazi leadership,” a “process rather than a single decision” (p. 281). Ultimately the Final Solution had its origins in “the memory of 1918,” a pervasive antisemitic “fear and hatred,” and the belief that the Jews “threatened to undermine the German war effort” (p. 281). In Nazi thinking, the Jews had to die so that the Germans could live. Those familiar with the recent work of Peter Longerich, Christopher R. Browning, and Saul Friedländer will not find a new thesis on the origins debate here, and the emphasis on the specter of 1918 is more persuasively developed in Peter Fritzsche’s *Life and Death in the Third Reich* (2008).

Unlike most presentations of the Reich’s downfall, which dramatize Hitler’s suicide in the bunker, Evans recreates the entire scene of chaos and destruction across Germany (including the execution of thousands of Germans branded defeatists by Heinrich Himmler’s henchmen) and reveals that there was no public outpouring of grief over the Führer’s death. Diarist Solmitz fumed on April 30, 1945, that Hitler was “‘the shabbiest failure in world history’” (p. 735).

In such a comprehensive narrative as this one, mistakes will creep in, such as the reference to Ivan Demjanjuk at Treblinka (p. 292) and the misdating and misreferencing of Himmler’s speeches at Wewelsburg Castle (p. 172) and Posen (p. 615). A study of this expanse and complexity could not treat with equal depth and precision all the European countries and peoples affected by the war and the non-German conflicts exacerbated or sparked by the war. The strength of this book is its ambitious synthesis of the vast literature on Nazi Germany, the Holocaust, World War II in Europe, and the Reich’s occupation apparatus, reflected in the book’s extensive bibliography. This final panel of Evans’s triptych completes a masterpiece of scholarship that is both informative and exceptionally well written.

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Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 598. \$38.00.

Both academic and amateur military historians in the anglosphere have written studies of the fighting in North Africa between the Axis and Allied forces from 1941 to 1943. German studies have been less frequent. For a long time this was because of the overall lack of interest in military history in the post-World War II German academy. Since the 1990s the German study of military history has been reviving, but the main focus of recent studies has been on the campaign in the USSR with its decisive effect on the outcome of the war. The new military history on Germany in World War II sets operational analysis into a broader strategic and ideological overview while also demonstrating how this was experienced by the individuals involved in the conflict.

The absence of any in-depth German account is Martin Kitchen’s justification for his study of the German involvement in North Africa. Kitchen examines in detail the Axis victories of 1941–1942 while according the Axis retreat of 1942–1943 less comprehensive attention. This study gives us a vivid view of the theater from the perspective of the Afrikakorps command. Kitchen’s account of Erwin Rommel’s early successes is particularly compelling. While he argues that Rommel and his staff excelled in the defensive fighting of the Axis retreat after El Alamein, this section of his analysis is less detailed.

The book is not based on any new archival material but seeks to use existing sources and put them into a wider framework. Here Kitchen’s book follows the practice of the best of the new military history. He sets Rommel’s operational decisions and his tactical successes in the broader context of the place of the Mediterranean theater in Axis and Allied strategy. At the same time, Kitchen incorporates new research that demonstrates that the Nazi genocide project was not implemented in North Africa only because of a lack of military success and Italian resistance rather than a lack of German will and intention. Finally Kitchen seeks to incorporate the experiences and reactions of the ordinary German soldier in the theater by providing extracts from correspondence and diaries. There is nothing novel about Kitchen’s overall interpretation—that Rommel took an offensive approach, disregarding his superiors’ intentions and orders for the theater, and got away with this intransigence for as long as he achieved operational success but ultimately was defeated by Allied material and naval superiority and the weakness of Axis logistics.

Kitchen’s attitude to Rommel is ambivalent. He begins by seeking to dismantle the “Rommel myth,” and the book provides ample evidence for an unfavorable re-evaluation of Rommel as a commander. As the book continues, though, Kitchen increasingly states the case for Rommel in spite of the evidence. Throughout the book Kitchen argues that Rommel was not a Nazi. He does not make this case convincingly: Joseph Goeb-

MARTIN KITCHEN, *Rommel’s Desert War: Waging World War II in North Africa, 1941–1943*. (Cambridge Military

bels's diaries provide persuasive evidence to the contrary.

Despite its holistic approach to the German campaign and the strengths of some of its accounts of the battles, the book is ultimately rather old-fashioned because of its almost singular focus on the German commander and the German role in the campaign. There is little sense of any development and learning on the Allied side; Allied responses and decisions in the campaign are seen only through German eyes. While the focus on one side might be defensible, Kitchen's neglect of Italy's role in the campaign is not. It is a surprising omission. Germany became involved in North Africa only because of Adolf Hitler's need to strengthen the Italian position there. So, too, the bulk of Axis forces in the campaign were Italian, and yet the Italian role is not really considered by Kitchen except as seen by Germans. There was a war in North Africa before Rommel arrived, and it cannot be forgotten that the context, complications, and character of the campaign transcend him as an individual. This imbalance limits the potential of this study to cast new light on the North African theater.

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DONALD BLOXHAM. *The Final Solution: A Genocide*. (Oxford Histories.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 410. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$29.95.

In his new comparative study of the Holocaust, Donald Bloxham seeks to contextualize the Final Solution within a veritable wave of ethnically based mass killings in Europe and elsewhere that started in the late nineteenth century and continued through the twentieth. As the title of the work indicates, Bloxham argues that the genocide of Jews during World War II was essentially "a particular example of a broader phenomenon" (p. i). Thus Bloxham's book is an argument against the "uniqueness" of the Holocaust. However, while Bloxham is successful at demonstrating similarities, he does not adequately explain differences.

In the first major section of this work, Bloxham argues that both the "eastern crisis" of 1875–1878, in which new states emerged out of the weakening Ottoman Empire, and the period 1912–1922, starting with the Balkan wars and ending with the Greco-Turkish War, were marked by "a very modern form of violence: ethnic cleansing," an effort to reverse the ethnic balance of power (p. 59). According to Bloxham, this was also the essential nature of the mass killing of Jews during World War II. The second and largest section of the book provides a detailed and impressive account of the development of the Final Solution during the war. Bloxham contextualizes the Holocaust within the increasingly barbaric fighting on the Eastern Front and in relation to conflicting interests within the German leadership, as well as between Germany and its allies. In the third and last major section of the book, Bloxham

points out psychological commonalities between all perpetrators of ethnic mass murder, not just European ones.

Bloxham is clearly familiar with a vast repository of literature. However, despite his erudition and his unquestioned ability to write interesting history, his basic premise is not convincing. There is little doubt that perpetration of the Holocaust, like virtually all genocides, was dependent on the concomitant existence of a brutal war and the perpetrators' control over the territory in which the victims were living, as well as various other political, economic, and military factors. And the psychological factors that allow an individual to carry out ethnically based murder also seem to be essentially the same, no matter the culture of the perpetrator. But Bloxham's book virtually ignores a major difference between the Holocaust and other ethnic cleansings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Unlike these other mass killings, with the Holocaust no actual ethnic conflict between the primary perpetrators and the victims precipitated the genocide. In his conclusion Bloxham even notes that "the Jewish problem existed only in Hitler's head" (p. 317).

In the most infamous of these other atrocities, for example, the Turkish genocide of Armenians during World War I, decades of increasing discord between Christians (including the Armenians) and Muslims in the Ottoman Empire preceded the mass killings. In the case of the Jews in Germany, however, the trajectory was completely opposite. There, Jews increasingly engaged in a concerted effort to "out-German" their gentile neighbors in displays of political allegiance and cultural affinity. And it is hard to argue that any actual ethnic conflict existed between Germans and, for instance, the Jews of Salonika, or in the small villages of Transcarpathia, or in the veritable host of other locations in which the Nazi regime nevertheless facilitated the Jews' destruction. Bloxham correctly points out that Germans exploited actual ethnic conflicts between Jews and non-Jews in many of these places in order to help carry out the Nazi program of genocide, but that hardly answers the question of why the German leadership wished to destroy the Jews in the first place, which is arguably the crux of the matter. That Hitler and others consistently and successfully sought to equate the Jews with Bolshevism and virtually every other perceived threat simply begs the further question: why were they so successful in this regard?

In sum, Bloxham's recitation of commonalities with other genocides elides the specific question of why the German government in the mid-twentieth century, despite the lack of any actual ethnic conflict, sought to kill as many Jews as it possibly could, wherever it could, and why German society, arguably the most industrialized and educated of the time, largely acquiesced in this program. These are key issues that underlie much of the scholarship on the Holocaust, contribute to the continued fascination with this particular instance of ethnic killing, and differentiate it in a fundamental way from other instances of genocide. Bloxham's failure to ad-

dress these questions adequately undermines the power of his thesis.

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NEIL GREGOR. *Haunted City: Nuremberg and the Nazi Past*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 390. \$45.00.

While the study of what is commonly called memory—how individuals, groups, institutions, and even whole nations relate to past events—has enjoyed heightened popularity for more than two decades, increasing use of the term has not been accompanied by theoretical convergence or greater conceptual clarity (see Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* [2006], chapter one). Instead we are seeing an abundance of case studies that add rich empirical detail to a growing body of work. Neil Gregor's examination of how various groups and categories of people in the Nazi flagship city of Nuremberg related to that city's Nazi past ranks among the best of these case studies with its social history approach and dense base of archival material.

Gregor examines the effects of past experiences within what he calls a "loosely tripartite model of local society" (p. 21). Gregor's first social sector is the official sphere of city government; the second is the civic realm comprising interest-based associations, institutions such as the Protestant Church, Nuremberg's Germanic National Museum, and political parties; the third sector, which is treated with less depth, is the mostly private realm of the daily lives of ordinary people in the community. Although most of the civic groups, with the exception of the church, did not allow him access to their archives, Gregor was able to reconstruct many of their activities, including those of long-defunct groups, from their interactions with city government. He has augmented the city's archival materials with press clippings and organizational periodicals, while published and unpublished memoirs give him some insight into the private realm of individual memory. Oral history does not play a role in this study, an understandable lapse given the methodological difficulty of removing distortions wrought by intervening decades of reinterpretation. Still, when Gregor uses a chance remark to explain changes in Nuremberg's Jewish community's reasons for not supporting a Holocaust memorial between 1958 and 1964 (p. 335), we see what a vital contribution oral history can make.

The book is divided into four parts, preceded by a comprehensive survey of the "memory" literature relating to Germany under Nazism. Gregor sees his empirical material as confirming Alon Confino's contention that past experiences were not merely reinterpreted and invoked to legitimize present political claims, but rather that each group was seeking to create "some kind of meaning" from its stock of past experiences (p. 125). The various groups' wrangling for commemorative and memorial representation long after

the satisfaction of material demands indicates that this was indeed the case.

The chapters in part one examine the identity politics of some half-dozen groups from the period 1945–1957, including those evacuated from the city during the period of aerial bombardment, refugees and expellees from Eastern Europe, "returnees" (a euphemism for veterans held as POWs), former Nazi Party adherents, and what Gregor terms the "real" victims, as opposed to the aforementioned collateral victims. The theme of this part is that the various groups put forward competing claims to victimization. Gregor summarizes that under conditions of material scarcity "demographic realities—the presence of large numbers of former soldiers or air-raid victims against that of a tiny number of Holocaust survivors"—fostered the predominance of some narratives about the past over others. While that is undeniably correct, a broader perspective would reveal that it was the focus of the outside world, represented here by U.S. military government, on the injustice perpetrated on the tiny minority of targeted victims, that established the framework for these other groups' narratives. The two chapters in part four revisit these collateral victims in the 1960s, when they were reduced to two main groups: veterans and expellees. Gregor sees them teleologically as a "nationalist residue" that was destined to disappear, although he does not follow their stories into the 1970s.

Part two looks at four indicators of memory politics in the 1950s: associational life, monuments and memorials, commemorative events, and exhibitions at Nuremberg's famed Germanic National Museum. Gregor delineates a slow shift in the mid-1950s from soldier-focused memorialization to commemorations of civilian losses through the air raids on the city. This shift was fueled by the closure of the POW issue in 1955 and the surging reconstruction effort (p. 176). Part three extends this analysis to the 1960s, using as indicators the public reception of trials of Nazi perpetrators, exhibitions focused squarely on the Holocaust, and an annual conference series inaugurated in 1965 to "strengthen democratic consciousness" through intellectual exchange (p. 284). The latter chapters of part four muster additional evidence for fundamental change in the 1960s based on the evolving focus of municipal commemorations on West Germany's Day of National Mourning and the city's uses of Nuremberg's iconic remnant of the Nazi past, the hypertrophic architecture of the Nazi party rally grounds. These local changes during the late 1950s and 1960s confirm the results of the national studies summarized at the beginning of part three, namely West Germany's "liberalization" with regard to examining its Nazi past.

Gregor's two-pronged approach of examining the memory politics of social groups defined by their historical experience on the one hand, and by the texts generated by retrospective events on the other, offers

a model of how we can examine concretely the workings of rather nebulous group memories at the local level.

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MARGARETE MYERS FEINSTEIN. *Holocaust Survivors in Postwar Germany, 1945–1957*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 330. \$85.00.

In this book, Margarete Myers Feinstein tells the story of how Jews transitioned from liberation to emigration by looking at their physical, spiritual, and political rehabilitation. By focusing on Jewish displaced persons (DPs) during the immediate postwar years, Feinstein provides a detailed and fascinating view of the challenges Jews faced to reclaim and rebuild their lives and families. Feinstein analyzes DP documents, memoirs, oral history interviews, her own interviews with former DPs, and several hundred videotaped interviews from the Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education to paint a vivid and nuanced picture of Holocaust survivors' everyday lives as they tried to recover from trauma.

The book is organized into six chapters, beginning with an overview of DP relations with Allied personnel, international relief workers, and Germans. Additional chapters focus on the steps DPs took to rebuild their lives, including mourning the dead, reclaiming their masculinity and femininity, starting families, shaping Jewish identities, building community, and emigrating from Germany.

Feinstein discusses how DP camps were often located in former German military or workers' barracks, and overcrowding made privacy and hygiene difficult. Newlyweds shared living quarters with others; men and women were on the same floor, creating walls from sheets or blankets; and entire blocks shared bathrooms. Lacking soap, cleaning supplies, and toilet paper added to the challenge. DPs resorted to bartering on the black market for food and other supplies, creating suspicions among Germans and some Allied personnel of Jewish criminality. Allied housing policies often forced Jews into close contact with Germans, sometimes resulting in serious clashes, as the Allies favored requisitioning rooms, hotels, houses, and apartments from Nazis. Jews, Germans, and Americans agreed that emigration was the solution to the DP problem. Most Jews wanted to go to Palestine, while the British government wanted them elsewhere, and the Germans did not care as long as they left quickly.

All survivors were mourners. While liberation brought joy, it also brought sorrow, depression, and a rash of suicides, as everyone had witnessed the murder of family and friends. The majority of DPs found comfort in Jewish rituals of prayer and mourning. Memorial services forged communities from grieving individuals, reminding the Allies of their alliance against a common Nazi enemy and of their moral obligation to aid DP immigration to Palestine.

In a fascinating chapter on rediscovering bodies and redefining masculinity and femininity, Feinstein shows sensitively how sexual longing sprang from renewed physicality. The return of menstruation, the regrowth of hair, and even clothing the body symbolized a newfound sense of discovering one's sexuality and gender. Sexual relations also became political, as sex with another Jew affirmed freedom, while liaisons with Germans, particularly Jewish men and German women, could be seen as revenge and conquest. Marrying and creating Jewish families were important steps in recovery. Reproduction was viewed as a civic responsibility, essential to the revival of the Jewish people.

Child survivors were a particular challenge for international relief workers, adult survivors, and those who would care for them. These children were traumatized by feelings of abandonment and loss, hungry for missed years of education and experience, desperate for comfort from family, and fiercely independent. DPs and Allied officials occasionally had conflicting ideas of the children's needs and future and how to address them. For example, Allied personnel wanted the children to repress their past, while DPs allowed them to rework it through narratives, art, and performance.

Jewish rituals and lifecycle celebrations, particularly those emphasizing Jewish triumph over historical oppressors, helped forge a sense of community and commonality despite differences in religiosity, prewar social class, and country of origin. Yiddish emerged as the common language, and DPs confronted the past through theater productions, including Yiddish classics and new plays with fantasy reunions between lost parents and children, or through Jewish characters who became heroes rather than victims. DPs also created their own judicial system to articulate communal values and adherence to civilized codes of justice.

By establishing political institutions, Jewish DPs regulated camp life and represented DP interests to the military and international organizations, focusing first on security and locating surviving family members and then on emigration. Family was the crucial factor in determining whether to go or stay. It was often the women who determined if they would immigrate to Palestine, as many feared losing their husbands in the fight for Israeli independence. In 1948 the establishment of the state of Israel and the relaxation of U.S. immigration laws helped empty the DP camps. The idea of living in a Jewish state promised a sense of home.

Feinstein provides a birds-eye view of the private life of DPs, taking into account their agency within a larger social and political context. This book is well researched, thoughtful, and beautifully written, and it is a welcome addition to Holocaust, Jewish, and German studies.

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ESTHER VON RICHTHOFEN. *Bringing Culture to the Masses: Control, Compromise and Participation in the GDR*.

(Monographs in German History, number 24.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2009. Pp. ix, 239. \$90.00.

Since the demise of state socialism in Eastern Europe, the historiography of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) has largely focused on the extent to which the East German regime was "totalitarian" in fact as well as in theory. This narrow study falls squarely into the increasingly large camp of those (primarily social) historians who claim it was most decidedly not.

Esther von Richthofen's monograph looks at cultural life in the Potsdam district near Berlin during the 1960s and 1970s, the middle years of the GDR. She focuses on leisure activities such as stamp collecting and choir practice to show that ordinary East Germans were not merely passive subjects of the regime: they willingly participated in the leisure structures created by the state because they enjoyed them, she claims, and not—as proponents of the totalitarian approach might argue—because of coercive practices by high-level authorities bent on using such activities to control the masses. More important, cultural functionaries and regular participants at the grass-roots level were supposedly able to shape the character of officially organized leisure activities and even use them to their own advantage in order to satisfy personal interests and needs. In fact, the widespread desire of the masses to pursue "lowbrow" activities led the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) to capitulate on the cultural front in the 1970s, when it finally realized that the proverbial horse could not be forced to drink the water. In this decade the SED abandoned its traditional efforts to promote more refined educational leisure pursuits in favor of less elevated forms of popular entertainment.

On the face of it, these are compelling, if not particularly original, arguments that confirm what many other studies have already claimed about the limits of the East German leadership to impose its will on the so-called masses, as well as on the ability of the latter to influence developments and outcomes, i.e., to exercise agency. But there are nevertheless many serious problems with this monograph. In the first place, von Richthofen does not provide sufficient evidence in support of her sweeping claims and, as a result, often argues by (highly repetitive) declamation instead of demonstration. She never explains, for example, how one accurately measures "enjoyment" or gauges the "deeply personal motivations" (p. 95) of low-level functionaries and other ordinary East Germans.

The study suffers as well from a severe methodological flaw. It makes claims about changes that supposedly took place during the middle years of the regime but does not perform the type of systematic research on earlier and later periods that would permit such claims; in fact, other studies not cited by von Richthofen suggest that the changes she identifies were not really changes at all. She often fails, as well, to offer any explanation for why the changes she (falsely) identifies supposedly took place.

Just as serious, the book makes a series of highly con-

tradictory claims that undermine its larger arguments. Von Richthofen writes, for example, that people became "increasingly unwilling" beginning in the late 1970s to partake in certain activities that "did not appeal to them" (p. 112) after having previously argued at length that they had willingly participated for years in leisure activities because they enjoyed them and could use them to their own advantage. She claims that the late 1970s and 1980s were characterized by a new process of "individualization" (p. 196) and "isolation" (p. 199), in which East Germans withdrew from collective activities, focused more on their personal needs, and engaged less with officials to advance their interests, after having stated repeatedly that avid participation in leisure activities during the middle years of the regime had largely been about the single-minded pursuit of personal interests and needs. Incidentally, if the 1980s were a period of increasing "individualization" and "isolation," how does one account for the fact that it was this very decade that witnessed the first large-scale shows of solidarity and collective action in the GDR since the failed statewide uprising of June 1953? Finally, after repeatedly extolling the usefulness of *Eigensinn*—Alf Lüdtke's popular concept, which refers to the way in which ordinary people looked out for their everyday interests by carving out spaces for themselves vis-à-vis authorities and (as von Richthofen rightly reminds the reader) peers—she mysteriously writes that "the extent to which Eigen-Sinn dominated cultural life was limited" (p. 131).

The author seems to believe that the 1960s and 1970s were a golden era in which ordinary East Germans participated and communicated with gusto. This is a distorted, fantastical vision of the second German dictatorship—one that falsely equates the mere existence of written complaints with effective communication, a commitment to the regime, and an ability to achieve desired outcomes and correctives. Von Richthofen cites examples that only tenuously support her larger claims and, more grievously, makes misleading assertions about temporal changes and developments in the GDR.

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ALAN SKED. *Metternich and Austria: An Evaluation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008. Pp. xiii, 306. Cloth \$84.50, paper \$29.95.

In the preface to this volume, Alan Sked justifiably points out that the period from 1815 to 1848 is "unfashionable and neglected" and suggests that new research is needed. In the meantime, he thinks "it imperative to give readers an up-to-date account of what should be known about [Klemens Wenzel von] Metternich already" (p. ix). While few would disagree with the former sentiments, it is questionable whether Sked achieves the latter aim. He builds on views already developed in his *Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire*,

1815–1918 (1989), but less is added to his previous work than one would hope.

This book is organized around a series of questions that sound like they derive from 1970s exam papers. In the introductory chapter, for example, Sked asks, “Has Metternich been misunderstood?” The answer is “yes,” but thankfully Sked does understand him and will firmly put right anyone who does not. Thus, Henry Kissinger’s old contention that Metternich’s domestic principles left the monarchy a lost cause is dismissed as “nonsense” (p. 2), allowing Sked to reiterate the argument of his previous book that the monarchy had a considerable capacity to reinvent itself throughout the nineteenth century. Perhaps the novel aspect here is the post-9/11 portrayal of Metternich as someone “dedicated to waging a war on terror” but without the widespread use of torture or undermining the rule of law (p. 3). Chapter one identifies Metternich’s terrorist threat as the French Revolution and those conspirators who after 1815 wished to restart revolution in Europe. There follows a lengthy diatribe against historians who have failed to grasp that, first, Metternich’s fears were justified, and second, there was no inevitable tide of liberal and national progress that Metternich was somehow holding back. “The old ‘progressive’ Marxist framework for the period 1815 to 1848,” Sked announces, “must be abandoned, which is not to say, of course, that wider forces were not at work” (p. 14). By this stage at the latest, the reader begins to wonder if Sked is not fighting too many old battles: he takes issue with Paul Ginsborg’s 1979 study of the Venetian revolution of 1848–1849, and the historians allegedly still persisting with their wrongheaded interpretations turn out to be Eric J. Hobsbawm and Jacques Droz (with works cited in the endnotes stemming from 1977 and 1967, respectively). The author makes no effort to engage with recent syntheses of early nineteenth-century Europe by the likes of Martin Lyons, Michael Broers, Jonathan Sperber, and Dieter Langewiesche.

The opening pages set the tone for the rest of the book, the aim of which is summed up as follows: “In exile in London, Metternich told everybody that he had been right all along, he had made no mistakes. This book will show that for most of the time, from his own point of view, he was probably correct” (p. 25). So, too—we are left in no doubt—is Sked. Thus chapter two asks, “What part did Metternich play in the downfall of Napoleon?” There follows a general account of diplomatic maneuverings before we get to what seems to be the real purpose of this chapter: namely, to reject “Paul Schroeder’s Revisionist Paradigm of International Relations during the Metternich Period” (pp. 546–3). Schroeder “gets almost everything wrong” (p. 59) and is “confused” (p. 60) and “comprehensively mistaken” (p. 63). To the neutral observer, it becomes clear that the common thread is Sked’s determination to refute anything that might smack of a system, be it a Marxist schema or an international system along Schroederian lines. Hence, too, the condemnation of Giuseppe Mazzini as behaving “like some mad Brussels

commissioner” for proclaiming Europe to be the “lever of the world” and the “land of liberty” (p. 22).

Polemics can have their value, but there are two problems with Sked’s approach: first, he has said most of this before, but to greater effect and more succinctly; second, there is little, if any, new archive material to give his interpretation fresh nuances (of the archive documents he deploys, most are familiar from the author’s pioneering early work on Joseph Radetzky and the imperial army in 1848). Accordingly, chapter three, in asking whether Metternich was Europe’s leading statesman in the period from 1815 to 1848, offers a standard rundown of European diplomatic/international history. After just over a hundred pages of text, the focus finally moves toward what is implied by the book’s title: namely, Metternich’s role in Austria. A very brief chapter four asks whether he planned to federalize the empire and offers the same answer as Sked’s previous book (Metternich had no such plans). The thrust of chapter five, on whether Metternich’s Austria was a police state, is likewise broadly familiar, this time accompanied by a more extensive synthesis of the secondary literature on censorship. Chapter six ponders whether Metternich oppressed the people, looking at the nationalities question and providing a summary of some of the literature on national awakening among the Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, and so on. Sked concludes that Metternich was not running a police state, there was little opposition to the regime, and the national revivals were evidence of a toleration of ethnic plurality within the context of the regime’s continuing concern to prevent revolution. In making these arguments, the Metternichian standpoint is justified by favorable quotes from assorted travellers and political observers, while less favorable ones are downgraded as misleading. Sked does not offer archival sources from those outside the ruling circles as an alternative view, and he passes over a number of new studies (among others, Robert Nemes’s book on Budapest and Joachim Hösler’s work on ethnic differentiation in lower Styria). He also repeats the hoary old cliché that “people generally gave up using Czech” (p. 199) after the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, when more recent work has very substantially modified that picture.

In sum, it is hard to know what audience Sked and his publisher had in mind for this work: specialists will come across little that they have not heard before, while students are unlikely to find the rambling style and uneven organization helpful. As a summary of Metternich’s career, Wolfram Siemann’s newly published *Metternich: Staatsmann zwischen Restauration und Moderne* (2010) does the job more effectively, concisely, and evenhandedly.

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GIOVANNI CIAPPELLI. *Fisco e società a Firenze nel Rinascimento*. (Studi e testi del Rinascimento europeo, number 36.) Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura. 2009. Pp. viii, 297. €38.00.

The public finances of late medieval Florence are better documented than those of any other medieval European state. As Giovanni Ciappelli remarks in this collection of his essays on Florentine political economy, the records of the republic's funded debt, the *monte comune*, preserved in the Florentine state archive alone comprise some 4000 registers. But they represent only part of the evidence: Anthony Molho and Elio Conti were able to produce their pioneering studies without access to the *monte* archive, which was long closed for want of an inventory. It was Molho's initial survey of the deposit in 1971–1972 that first allowed scholars to navigate this ocean of data, and Ciappelli himself is collaborating on a fresh inventory. As the essays in this volume confirm, the debt dominated virtually every aspect of Florentine political economy from at least the beginning of the fifteenth century to the end of the republican period.

Ciappelli offers a global overview of the system's evolution in chapter one, which focuses on Florence but incorporates comparisons with other Tuscan communes. The non-urban population was subject to direct levies, and urban residents paid a range of indirect taxes on food and services, but it was the obligatory, non-repayable loans (*prestanze*) assessed on wealthy urban elites that supplied the key to the system. From relatively modest origins in 1343–1345, the *monte* and related funds grew into a behemoth that was consuming most of the republic's ordinary revenues in interest payments by 1400. The increased tempo of levies to pay for almost continuous wars between 1390 and the mid-1430s provoked complaints of punitive assessments by confidential tax commissions, and resulted in the 1427 *catasto* survey in an effort to introduce a measure of transparency. Nevertheless, throughout the remainder of the quattrocento, Florentines continued to be subject to imposts based on a bewildering array of criteria.

What impact did the system have on citizens and the wider economy? The second chapter offers answers based on detailed case studies of Francesco Datini and Francesco Castellani. Setting aside the question of whether the fifteenth century was a period of economic stagnation or growth, Ciappelli concludes that the punitive imposts that virtually destroyed the patrimony of the anti-Medicean Castellani and the *prestanze* that taxed Datini's wealth at an annual rate of about three percent between 1394 and 1406 did indeed divert resources from investment. Creditors could partly compensate themselves by selling their credits at a discount. In chapter four Ciappelli presents the evidence for market prices and secondary uses of *monte* credits from 1350 to 1480, supplementing existing research with data from published and unpublished sources, usefully summarized in an appended graph. Ciappelli highlights both the use of credits as a form of surrogate money that enhanced liquidity, and the disproportionate concentration of *monte* shares in the hands of the richest Florentines by the early fifteenth century.

Stimulated by debates about the relationship between taxation, war, and the rise of the modern state,

many studies of Florentine public finance have focused on the role of the fisc in state creation. In two essays—chapters three and seven—Ciappelli detects a greater degree of continuity than discontinuity in two critical periods. In contrast to Marvin Becker, Ciappelli sees more evidence in the transition from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century for institutional continuities reflecting the long-term financial interests of the elite, than for a harsher, more “modern” fiscal discipline. Similarly, in his review of the fiscal politics of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a period characterized by rapid regime change, he finds that the government's consistent dependence on a restricted group of creditors who advanced repayable loans at high rates of interest—tabulated by name in two appendices—underlay the fiscal policies of not only the Medici but also their successors, the popular regimes of Savonarola and Piero Soderini.

Chapter five complicates the picture of *quattrocento* public finance offered in Conti's work, proposing several new avenues of research, and chapter six (coauthored with Anthony Molho) illustrates the potential of the *monte* archive to shed light on long-standing questions in the literature, in this case the suggestion that Lorenzo de' Medici manipulated the *monte* in his own interest. Ciappelli and Molho argue persuasively that Lorenzo's (admittedly exceptional) relationship to the *monte* was contrived by the fiscal reform commission of 1382 to avoid potentially damaging public disclosures about Lorenzo's chronic inability to meet his own tax levies.

With the exception of the final essay, the papers collected here have all been published previously. Their reissue in a more accessible form will be welcomed by historians of medieval political economy, and collectively they provide a prolegomenon to the further studies we anticipate from Ciappelli on the basis of his unrivalled knowledge of the *monte* records.

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SHARON T. STROCCHIA. *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 261. \$50.00.

This comprehensive examination of the conventual life of Florentine women in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries sheds new light on the role religious women played in Renaissance Florentine civic life. While much research has been done in recent years on the exponential increase in the numbers of cloistered women of the period, most scholarship has focused on the imposition of religious institutionalization on women by systematized family strategies and religious and civic politics, or on the cultural or spiritual expressions of religious women. Sharon T. Strocchia adds to this important body of work by turning this examination around and illustrating the role the convents played in constructing the unique civic, political, economic, and

social networks of Florence during the height of the Renaissance.

Using archival sources such as visitation and tax records, family lineage, and individual convent inventories, Strocchia illuminates the evolution of religious life in Florence from small marginalized groups of women following an apostolic ideal to large communities comprised of women who represented a cross section of social, familial, neighborhood, and political networks across the city. She suggests that this increased institutionalization of religious life had a profound impact on the complex patronage system of Renaissance Florence by aiding in construction of republican institutions and ecclesiastical authority and abetting the rise of the patrician powers of clans like the Medici. In addition, she illustrates how works produced by the women of these convents also contributed an important economic role to the city while providing a socially acceptable and protected avenue for women's labor.

In the section titled "Nuns, Neighbors and Kinsmen," Strocchia adds an element of historical anthropology to her analysis by examining the importance of geographical space, community composition, and property holding patterns to the evolution of the religious institutions. Convents provided secure avenues of realignment for wealth, investment, and familial and political influence, playing a central role in the maintenance of a vibrant civic life. Patrician families consciously used the convent as a mechanism of economic and political strategy. Conventual placement and patronage could extend a family's influence from neighborhood to neighborhood, thus restricting the political landscape of Florence. Equally important was the agency this gave women in the convent as the executors of these investments, active in the administration and maintenance of property and assets, mediation of disputes, and even distribution of family wealth and property.

Strocchia's thorough consideration of convents' relationships to wealth and labor adds important evidence to the discussion on the intersection of the civic and the religious. Summarizing much scholarship on the role of religion in the new urban context, she states "religious women in late medieval and Renaissance Europe defined their religiosity in part through their relationship to money" (p. 72). She discusses the role of the convent in possessing and processing property and wealth, considers the tension produced between vows of public poverty and the maintenance of private wealth, and the function of the convents as newly recognized civic institutions assisting in the sacralizing of the state. In addition to the economic impact of convents in general, this study illuminates the micro level of economic participation by individual convents. Focusing on the silk industry, Strocchia suggests women's work in the convents contributed an important aspect to the urban economy while providing for an acceptable arena for women to labor. She argues that the tension between the ecclesiastical emphasis on reclusion and piety and the desire and need for nuns to work within

the urban economy "acquired a new force in the commercial environment of Renaissance Florence" (p. 114). That this tension is "new" in the Renaissance is an overreach. It had been a facet of the Italian cityscape and its religious groups since the thirteenth century. The increased institutionalization of the convents, in fact, may have helped restrict the independent nature of women's labor that characterized smaller orders. Indeed, Strocchia's contention that the Florentine convents' contribution to the economy of the city has been "virtually untouched by historians" (p. xiv) may be true for *quattrocento* Florence but is certainly not the case for other areas of Italy and earlier eras. However, this critique should not detract from the fact that Strocchia has provided an extremely in-depth look at the economic life of the convents that is essential to understanding the phenomenon of urban religion.

Strocchia makes a significant contribution to the developing body of work on women's religious life in the Renaissance as well as adding an important element to the analysis of the familial, political, and economic network of associations that defined the unique nature of Florence at its height. This study is an illustration of the continuing importance of this type of meticulous social history methodology, providing a plethora of research avenues for the interested scholar and an interesting glimpse of Renaissance life for the general reader.

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GUIDO ALFANI. *Fathers and Godfathers: Spiritual Kinship in Early-Modern Italy*. (Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2009. Pp. xii, 273. \$99.95.

Guido Alfani has written what amounts to a composite book. Acknowledging that there exists a rich bibliography on godparentage, he rightly points to the need for a broad survey and volunteers to provide an overview from the early church to the recent past. He also aspires to broaden the scope of that survey to all of Europe, Protestant as well as Catholic, and even to the New World. The introduction promises to examine the spiritual ramifications, the social implications, and the legal constructions of godparentage. He has also conducted extensive primary research, largely in parishes in north-west Italy in the early modern era.

Given that ambitious agenda, Alfani's work is inevitably scattershot in its attentions, but nonetheless it possesses its own strong voice. Sections on the early church and Middle Ages are but prologue (albeit a serviceable survey), and those on the later centuries are not much more than epilogue (albeit useful in revealing how the early modern situation played out). The bulk of the book, and the site of its greatest contribution to scholarship, lies squarely in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even within the early modern period, Alfani is far less interested in emotional, social, anthropological, legal, and ethnographic aspects of godpar-

entage; students still need to read the work of historians such as Christiane Klapisch-Zuber and John Bossy.

But within the area where he is a true specialist (and in which he is most interested), Alfani adds considerably to the secondary literature. He likes to count, and to count over time. He has done painstaking research in parish registers as well as a thorough review of quantitative secondary literature, and draws two large—though mutually contradictory—conclusions.

First, taking advantage of some extremely rare baptismal records from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as well as the later and officially mandated parish records, he points to the overwhelming success of the decrees of the Council of Trent in reducing the sheer number of godparents. These had proliferated in previous centuries, to the point of involving literally dozens of *compari*—clearly social imperatives had triumphed over considerations of spiritual affinity. Trent demanded one godfather and one godmother per baby—and the parishioners studied by Alfani obeyed. They did not always obey immediately, but they did so within a generation of the Council. The figures on Alfani's graphs oscillate wildly for the early era, but after the 1570s they flatline at precisely two—one per gender (chapter five). Tridentine regulations also led to a revolution in the type of persons chosen to be godparents. If an earlier era had deliberately spread godparentage across the social scale, in the interest of creating both vertical and horizontal alliances, post-Tridentine parishioners—now with only one set of choices—opted for elites. The lower classes selected their superiors, and superiors selected their equals (chapter six). And these parishioners, in the instances when godparentage was asymmetrical by gender, tended to favor males: boys were provided with more spiritual kin, both godfathers and godmothers, than girls (chapter seven, especially pp. 135–137).

Second, Alfani notes that those parishes of northwest Italy may not represent the norm. They certainly do not offer the sole response to Tridentine decrees. Alfani's interest in "deviant" godparentage that did not respect the one godfather/one godmother rule makes him alert to variations in local implementation. He acknowledges that the Roman Catholic Church "spectacularly lost its control over godparenthood" in the New World (p. 210). Having previously created a typology with several types of godparentage (pp. 42–43), Alfani discovers considerable survivals of nearly every type in post-Tridentine Italy. If I read his figures correctly, even in early nineteenth-century Rome fewer than half of children—boys and girls alike—were given the mandatory single godfather and single godmother (p. 215). But the hard data for post-Tridentine parishes is apparently scant, and Alfani does not attempt to stretch his small samples into generality.

The book's strength is in its numbers and in Alfani's own research. Those with more qualitative interests may prefer the traditional bibliography. Even in the numbers there may be some doubt; I found Alfani's reduction of village societies into fixed social categories

not entirely convincing, for example. There is not much attempt to explain change over time, or variation by place. Some of the context-setting may seem based on outdated constructions: the use of "Counter-Reformation" (e.g., p. 213) may raise a few eyebrows, as the notion that the Council of Trent was "established by the Catholic Church to stem the tide of Protestantism" (p. 209; similarly p. 11) certainly will. But on its own ground, Alfani's volume makes some compelling cases, especially with regard to the Council's substantial and nearly immediate impact on the hitherto little regulated and multifarious institution of godparentage.

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GALINA ULIANOVA. *Female Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth-Century Russia*. (Perspectives in Economic and Social History.) London: Pickering and Chatto. 2009. Pp. 272. \$99.00.

The study of businesspeople and entrepreneurs in Russia was a neglected stepchild of Soviet historiography, even as Soviet writers gave questions of economic development extraordinary attention. For a community of scholars guided by the principles of dialectical materialism the rise of capitalism and emergence of the working class were axiomatically central themes. Missing were the people who created and developed the enterprises and institutions that modernized the Russian economy. A few Western scholars contributed to our knowledge of these people, including Samuel H. Baron, Manfred Hildermeier, Thomas C. Owen, Alfred J. Rieber, and Jo Ann Ruckman, but until the fall of the Soviet Union, Russian scholars could not offer much about the positive efforts of commercial and industrial leaders. Writing on this subject has only recently begun to appear. The same could be said about women's history. Apart from the contributions of a few lonely Russian pioneers like Natalia Pushkareva and Grigorii Tishkin, most of what we learned in the Soviet era about the history of women in Russia came from the work of Western scholars. More has been done by Russian scholars in recent years, but this subfield is still struggling.

For these reasons the appearance of Galina Ulianova's book on women entrepreneurs is most welcome. Ulianova is the author of two earlier monographs in Russian on the charitable activities of businesspeople in Moscow and of businesspeople in the Russian Empire. This new book is her first to appear in English. Her method is a mixture of descriptive statistics and mini-biographies of businesswomen. The statistics give a breakdown in four different eras of female entrepreneurs by social position, age, and ethnicity. For most of the nineteenth century women owned from five to ten percent of the businesses in Russia. Noblewomen and merchantwomen held about forty percent of the female-owned enterprises each, although merchantwomen gained share as the century progressed. The re-

mainder belonged to women from the families of government officials, military officers, artisans, or peasants. The character of ownership differed between noblewomen and merchants in the era before the emancipation of serfs in 1861. Enterprises owned by noblewomen drew on the human and material resources of serf estates and were managed by male agents, whereas some of the merchantwomen were personally engaged in operating their businesses. In this early period, however, most women owners were widows running or simply holding businesses inherited from husbands for transfer to sons and, in this way, could be said to have played a bridging role in the preservation of a family firm. Still, it is surprising to find how many assets women controlled. Ulianova made the interesting discovery that forty percent of the property in the most active commercial section of Moscow, Kitai-Gorod, was owned by women, much of it leased for income.

The Russian economy grew rapidly and turbulently during the post-emancipation period in a series of surges and depressions. The women entrepreneurs who survived were those most capable of mastering the new financial instruments, organizational structures, and technological processes of the time. Incorporation of family firms, especially in cooperation with banks that could advance the capital for technical upgrades, was important. The two industries in which women were most active, textiles and food processing, were favorable for mechanization, and Ulianova offers a number of examples of talented female managers who advanced their firms in this period despite economic ups and downs and prejudices against women in public roles. Toward the end of the century women business owners and industrialists made a breakthrough. A substantial number of married women were by then running their own businesses and no longer performed merely a bridging function. A large number were likewise serving on corporate boards of directors. Other signs of the arrival of women in the commercial world were several examples of husbands officially adopting the surname of their wives to preserve a firm's brand and customer loyalty.

Unlike women in Europe and the United States, Russian women could own and exercise control over inherited and acquired property and could defend their ownership in court. Even so, Russia continued in practice and in law to be a profoundly patriarchal society in which women were expected to acknowledge the authority of their husbands. This anomalous condition causes Ulianova difficulty in applying Western analytical models such as separate spheres or segmented spheres. Despite the enormous power that some wealthy and talented Russian women exercised in the economy, they were still barred from attending meetings of local stock exchange and merchant associations (even if they could vote by proxy).

Although Ulianova was not well served by an evidently hurried and sometimes erroneous translation (at points "borrow" is rendered as "loan"), we are much in

her debt for this valuable compendium of statistical material and, even more, for her often fascinating sketches of the lives, loves, conflicts, and successes of imperial Russia's businesswomen. Ulianova has contributed an altogether new and enlightening chapter to the history of Russian women.

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DAN HEALEY. *Bolshevik Sexual Forensics: Diagnosing Disorder in the Clinic and Classroom, 1917–1939*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 252. \$40.00.

The title of this book promises an extensive investigation into how the Bolsheviks dealt with sexual crimes and disorders, and to some degree the promise of the title is fulfilled. Using archival materials in Ekaterinburg as well as St. Petersburg, Dan Healey pieces together a tale of how specialists in sexual forensics carved out a place for themselves within Soviet medicine and jurisprudence. He argues that in some ways the story was not that different from what was occurring in liberal democracies in the West at the same time. In the young USSR as well as in Western Europe and the United States, forensic pathologists, gynecologists, and psychiatrists used their claims to be purveyors of objective scientific knowledge about sex and sex crimes to advance themselves professionally. In the case of the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks respected scientific expertise and viewed scientists and physicians as key actors in molding the new socialist citizen, and so sexual forensics specialists found more acceptance in the infant Soviet state than they had previously experienced. Many of them became, if not ardent Bolsheviks, then at least fellow travelers with the new regime. They were quite willing to be "brought inside," as Healey phrases it, and lend their professional status to the construction of Soviet sexuality.

Healey's book contains much that will be of interest to historians of sexuality. For example, he convincingly demonstrates that Soviet forensic scientists' obsession with defloration as the main indicator of rape had negative consequences for the rape claims of sexually experienced women. In the chapter on Soviet treatment of hermaphrodites, which is the strongest and most novel in the book, Healey notes that in contrast to most early Western sexologists, Soviet psychiatrists and surgeons were ahead of their time in their willingness to sculpt their patients' sexual organs in accordance with the latter's perceived sexual identities and desires. In fact, Healey maintains that in the first decades of Soviet sexual forensics, hermaphrodites were accorded a special status. Their preferences were deferred to, and a 1926 regulation stated that "citizens with characteristics of hermaphroditism (two-sexed), who wish to change name and surname to correspond to the revealed sex" were permitted to have their official data altered (quoted on p. 141).

Despite the wealth of detail on certain topics, there are significant gaps and elisions in Healey's analysis. He defines the topic of Bolshevik sexual forensics in a perplexingly narrow and idiosyncratic way and exhibits a distressing tendency to assume that the study of hermaphrodites can somehow replace the study of gender defined more broadly. Although the footnotes include a few references to gender theory and analysis, women other than rape victims are almost entirely absent from Healey's narrative. We have no notion of how (or if) women physicians, party activists, feminists, or ordinary women debated the issues, and we get no sense of women as political or social actors.

Numerous areas related to sexuality, the courts, and women are untouched. There are no index entries on abortion or pregnancy, and the chapter on Soviet medicine and rape barely mentions these topics. Yet this was a time period when abortion rates all over Europe and the United States were skyrocketing; it is difficult to believe that no cases of illegal abortion crossed the desks of Soviet sexual forensics experts, even during the time period when most abortions were legal.

How were women treated in divorce cases? Did the double standard of many of the Western European and U.S. law codes of the time carry over to the new Soviet state? Did women's sexual appetites (or lack thereof) ever become a topic of discussion in divorce? What were sexual forensic specialists' attitudes toward lesbians and prostitutes? What role(s) did specialists play with regard to women's reproductive rights and health? All of these questions should be part of an analysis of sexual forensics, but they are ignored in Healey's account. The implication is that readers are supposed to generalize from the emerging Bolshevik discourse on sexual maturity (the concept that replaced notions of an age of consent) and rape to the overall status of women as sexual actors. But without addressing the issues outlined above, it would be injudicious to draw any conclusions about what Healey calls the "sexual citizenship" of women.

The reader is left with the impression that only a partial story has been told and that the snippets offered are too fragmentary to support a broad analysis. Indeed, that might explain why Healey's chapter conclusions occasionally appear unrelated to the main body of the chapter. For example, the chapter on rape ends with the claim that Soviet forensic specialists were well aware that their representations to criminal authorities were nothing more than a "performance of objectivity" that they were deliberately employing to consolidate their professional position (p. 103). This statement is unsupported by the data in the chapter itself.

Ultimately, Healey's book comes across as haphazard, incomplete, and lacking a theoretical framework (despite the nod to Judith Butler's performance theory alluded to in the previous paragraph). While Healey presents some interesting information, especially in the hermaphrodite chapter, a comprehensive history and

analysis of early Soviet sexual forensics is yet to be written.

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TRICIA STARKS. *The Body Soviet: Propaganda, Hygiene, and the Revolutionary State*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 313. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$26.95.

Tricia Starks's study of propaganda, hygiene, and the revolutionary state explores the way in which the healthy body served not only as an instrument for the construction of Soviet socialism but as a sign of ideological progress. In her exploration of the discourse of Soviet hygiene, Starks offers not an institutional history of the Commissariat of Health "but rather a cultural investigation of the ideologies forged, transformed and transmitted by health organizations and revolutionary activists" (p. 8). The book has six thematic sections that survey the origins of the Soviet obsession with hygiene, attempts to control leisure, efforts to transform the Soviet home, teachings about personal care, and the campaign to transform traditions of childcare and parenting.

Each chapter is full of interesting material, and Starks is particularly good at analyzing the hidden messages in propaganda posters, many of which are beautifully reproduced in this volume. She shows how the burden of hygiene reforms often fell on women, who were depicted as a conservative force and yet were also made to bear the burden for domestic transformations that, in the name of health, pushed them "into unhealthy cycles of overwork and stress" (p. 134). Although in passing she refers to her work as "the present study of Moscow" (p. 7), the book rarely is explicit in its focus on Moscow specifically, and it raises questions that would seem to apply to Soviet hygiene and its propaganda in general. Hygiene is broadly defined, and consequently the book sheds light on the efforts of Soviet propaganda to transform many aspects of workers' lives.

The book is less successful, however, in constructing a strong interpretive argument. Many of the chapters do not so much present an elaborate argument as an overview of topics—clean air, dust, spitting, dampness, plumbing—and this same criticism is applicable to the book as a whole. Within a given chapter, many of the paragraphs might have been presented in a different order without substantially changing the chapter's meaning or force. If the book strikes a common note, it might be termed wistfully Foucauldian. Starks repeatedly suggests that the point of hygiene discourse was not so much to make Soviet citizens healthy as to bring them under government control. Using Foucauldian rhetoric, she presents the project of Soviet hygiene as more controlling and pervasive than similar campaigns in the West: for example, the Commissariat of Health "used the disciplinary techniques of the modern state to extend medical hygiene to all aspects of life, thereby

joining an international movement for multifaceted state power . . . Because of the peculiar mating of politics and purity in Soviet ideology, however, the strength with which these ideas were applied, and the pervasive methods of observation, were uniquely Soviet" (pp. 38–39). Similarly, "inspectors figured heavily in health care initiatives in other countries; however, the pervasive and invasive nature of Soviet inspections distinguished them from global campaigns" (p. 98). Nearly all such claims are followed by concessions that the Soviet state lacked the resources to put its projects into effect: talk was much cheaper than implementation. A chapter subtitled "Diagnosing, Monitoring and Disciplining" concludes: "On every front the Soviets battled to control private behavior. This show of force, however, was also an admission of weakness. The very prominence of Soviet propaganda—an indication of the impulse of the state to reach into and control social life—was itself an acknowledgement of the inability of the Soviet state to reach its intended level of control through institutional surveillance programs . . . Sanitary enlightenment was a weapon of the weak in a state that could provide little beyond persuasion" (p. 69). This insight provides an opening for all sorts of interesting theoretical arguments about what happens when Western, bourgeois modes of control are transplanted without the base necessary to make them effective. Does the superstructure collapse? Is the individual freer as a result? (Is she also dirtier?) Instead, virtually each chapter presents something of an indictment of disciplinary impulses followed by an admission that these desires were constantly frustrated—along, I would suggest, with the force of their historian's indignation.

This paradigm is most passionately presented in the chapter on the family, which argues that health specialists "hoped to rob women of authority in matters of child rearing and replace mothers and fathers with the consultation nurse and the male doctor" (pp. 135–136). Official propaganda emphasized the value of breastfeeding, but rather than acknowledge nursing's importance in the establishment of the mother-child bond, Starks focuses on the instructions for how to breastfeed correctly: "Just as all aspects of Soviet life were being scrutinized and Taylorized, so, too, was suckling . . . Women were merely cogs in a feeding machine" (pp. 144–145). Starks is particularly critical of the campaign against midwives and traditional forms of medicine, a campaign that sought to demonstrate that "not only was the midwife cruel and incompetent but—most damning in the eyes of many—she was also dirty" (p. 152). In this chapter, too, Starks acknowledges that services to new mothers were so underfunded as to be far from adequate: "Even the most dedicated activists recognized that it would take a long time for services to meet the needs of women in urban areas and even longer to reach rural women" (p. 159). Two questions suggest themselves. Why adopt such a tone of moral outrage if policies fell so short of implementation? And furthermore, if the policies were so ineffective, how can we ade-

quately account for the sharp drop in infant mortality and the rise of the age of life expectancy that occurred during the Soviet period? (Statistics play an interesting role in this monograph. Starks rightly notes the Soviet obsession with figures, and she is aware of how easily numbers can be manipulated, but she cites a lot of them herself, not so much, I think, to speak about efficacy as to characterize the statistical impulse as a somewhat humorous discursive tic).

This book will serve as an important resource, both about hygiene propaganda in the Soviet 1920s and as a case study of the trickiness of discourse analysis. Starks has read a great deal of propaganda, and she reads this discourse skeptically and well, but to my mind she could ask more pointedly how and why ineffective propaganda matters.

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MIRIAM DOBSON. *Khrushchev's Cold Summer: Gulag Returnees, Crime, and the Fate of Reform after Stalin*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 264. \$45.00.

Miriam Dobson's book joins a growing number of works that explore the complexities of life in the Soviet Union after the 1953 death of Joseph Stalin, the long-ruling dictator who left a difficult legacy to those who survived him. Dobson examines, in particular, the attempt to end the worst of Stalin's repressive excesses and to return Soviet society to a semblance of "socialist legality," a period spanning the mid-1950s to the early 1960s and known as the "Thaw." The era is associated with the name of Nikita Khrushchev, the mercurial general secretary of the ruling Communist Party and the individual most closely associated with the liberalizing trends of the period. It was Khrushchev who initiated a series of policies to decentralize the Soviet state, dismantle the leviathan labor camp system, and reintegrate millions of prisoners, both criminal and political, back into everyday life. Such policies were motivated by recognition of the mounting economic costs of the camps, as well as their explosive social potential. As Dobson explains, however, Khrushchev was moved, also, by what she calls a last gasp of Soviet revolutionary utopianism. The introduction of citizen patrols, non-custodial sentencing, and programs of community rehabilitation were all part of a plan to make social responsibility less a matter of state control and to put into daily practice the communist ideal of a citizen state. In 1961, at the Twenty-First Party Congress, Khrushchev announced that the goal was close, that the Soviet Union was on the verge of achieving true communism. Within months of the Congress, however, Khrushchev was backtracking on his liberalizing policies. Crime rates were rising, law enforcement agencies began to crack down, and the labor camps began to fill again with the "socially unredeemable" elements of society. Khrushchev's "Thaw" was turning into his "Cold Sum-

mer," in Dobson's inimitable phrase, and by the end of 1964 Khrushchev was gone, ousted from power by a more conservative group of leaders.

The twists and turns of Khrushchev's policies are well known. What distinguishes this book is Dobson's use of social history to move beyond traditional conceptualizations of high politics. As Dobson explains, the "zig-zags" of official policy did not result from waxing and waning power struggles within the political elite (pp. 15, 157). The course of those struggles, and of reform policies in general, was fundamentally shaped by the ambivalent, and then increasingly fearful, response within public opinion. Culling citizens' letters, reports from local party organizers, local stenographic records, justice and police reports, local newspaper articles, and other popular sources, Dobson pieces together the contours of a remarkably vigorous, open, and wide-ranging public debate. In the first three of eight chapters, she follows citizens as they attempted to adapt to the sudden change in policy brought about by Khrushchev's denunciations of Stalin and the pervasive system of repression that the "Great Helmsman" created. Letters and other responses from citizens, many of them convicts and former convicts, reveal ambivalence, acceptance, or rejection of Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaigns. Most of all, Dobson shows, public reaction reveals an attempt to find a new language in which to frame protests or pleas and, more broadly, to understand the Soviet past and future. In the latter chapters of the book, Dobson demonstrates the movement of public opinion increasingly toward fear of returning convicts, new waves of criminality, and overall social breakdown under Khrushchev's liberal reforms. Public opinion coalesced around a consensus that, in turn, forced the political establishment to retreat from utopian programs and to return to more traditional methods of policing social deviance and protecting public order. By 1962 and 1963, police arrests were increasing and camp populations growing once again, but Khrushchev did not abandon the rhetoric of communist idealism. The "communist paradise" was still near, he would say, which was now justification for a new hard line against the antisocial "enemies" of communism. Antisocial "parasites" were to be removed from, rather than reintegrated into, the Soviet community. Those who could not or chose not to conform were banished to the revived Gulag system (p. 239).

While Dobson's argument is refreshingly new, her deft and insightful handling of sources is the real strength of this book. Her reading of letters, stenographic records, and other citizens' expressions is close and nuanced, with particular attention to changing language. Dobson's ability to synthesize trends from disparate sources gives her arguments convincing weight. The writing is fluid, the arguments subtle but clearly presented. She frames her chapters well, and the reader always has a clear sense of where the book is headed. One does not have to be a specialist in Soviet history to appreciate the competent historical method that Dob-

son displays. This is not a long book, but it is a gem of historical scholarship.

DAVID SHEARER

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

DROR ZE'EV. *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500–1900*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 223. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

Dror Ze'evi's latest history is a major contribution to the burgeoning field of sexuality and Islam. The book sets out to challenge the essentialism of past scholarship that presents a monolithic Muslim sexual worldview based on the Qur'an alongside an idealized heteronormativity in the early Islamic period. Documenting a diversity of sexual debates in the Ottoman period from 1500 to 1900, Ze'evi argues that premodern views of sexuality consisted of several competing discourses in which homoerotic references abounded. Ze'evi surveys a broad range of Ottoman "scripts," a concept borrowed from the work of John Gagnon, that are organized into stand-alone chapters and include medical treatises, legal literature, Sufi writings, Karagöz shadow plays, and Western and Ottoman travel narratives. Most of the scripts were produced by Ottoman literati from various parts of the empire. Drawing on Mikhail Bakhtin's distinction of high and low cultures, Ze'evi turns to shadow plays, a methodologically challenging source due to the redaction the oral narratives suffered in the process of modern transcription. Through these plays, he provides an example of a "counter-script" that reflects the popular sexual views of an illiterate population, replete with sexually promiscuous female characters and a giant phallus-wielding hero. In contrast to high culture, shadow theater provided women with a voracious libido equal to their male counterparts and contained far fewer homoerotic references than high-culture texts.

Included in Ze'evi's discussion are premodern medical discourses that fused Greek and Muslim knowledge of the humors and informed early modern Muslim understanding of healthy sex practices. Sexual knowledge was largely based on Aristotelian biology, a one-sex model that viewed women as deformed males. Yet this model resisted a sexual dichotomy and later evolved into a more egalitarian Ottoman model that granted equal procreative powers to both males and females. This egalitarian thread is carried over in the discussion of the law in chapter two, where again the Ottomans treated women more equally under the law, granting them equal punishment for sexual indiscretion (*zina*), unlike Islamic law where punishments were gendered.

Producing Desire documents a profound shift in sexual discourse that took place over time. Attacks against allegedly homoerotic Sufi practices were first launched by the conservative seventeenth-century Kadizadeli

movement. Later Occidental counter-narratives attributed Ottoman political decline to sexual deviancy, and as this narrative was internalized by Ottoman intellectuals in the nineteenth century they began to construct a superior heteronormative morality in order to distance themselves from earlier libertine sexual narratives. The result, as Ze'evi describes it, was "shutting down entire discursive fields" and the creation of a new heteronormative discourse in the modern era (p. 162).

In his earlier social history of Ottoman Jerusalem Ze'evi relied upon *shari'a* court records—a source he has become increasingly critical of in other publications. This reviewer had expected more references to documents from the Jerusalem archives that could illuminate another script, the script of legal practice, and reflect popular sexual attitudes of everyday commoners that often clashed with Ottoman authorities at court. Ze'evi informs his readers of a paucity of Jerusalem court cases and speculates as to why they did not make their way before Ottoman judges. Although in one instance he mentions cases documented in Leslie Peirce's *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (2003), he does not go further in testing legal practice—a realm that my own work has shown widely departed from both Islamic and Ottoman law. Such secondary references could have been useful in comparison to the doctrinal prescriptions of law and could have further supported Ze'evi's argument regarding the diversity of opinions and local variations in sexual attitudes.

The chronology of this study is daunting, stretching from 1500 to 1900. At times Ze'evi actually moves beyond that period to include Greek (Artemidorus) and early Abbasid (Hunayn Ibn Ishaq) writings in his discussion of dream interpretation. Ze'evi preempts possible criticism by conceding that there were differences in attitudes and counter-narratives generated concurrently, possibly best reflected in the Kadizadeli debates on homoeroticism and heterodoxy. Yet in the introduction he argues, "It is my contention that this world, stretching from North Africa through the Arabic-speaking lands of the Fertile Crescent and into Anatolia . . . shared the same text-based sexual outlook" (p. 11). Guided by this principle, Ze'evi uses Damascene jurist 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (d. 1731) to represent Ottoman sexual attitudes where al-Nabulusi is described as "a towering figure in Sufi literature and Orthodox learning" despite his being both a provincial intellectual and a critic of Kadizadeli conservatism as it sought to stamp out the very heterodox Sufi practices that he performed. At other points Ze'evi is careful to note variations between the imperial center and the provinces, clearly demonstrating how the Karagöz shadow play varied in popularity in Turkish-speaking lands and Egypt, for example. Noting these regional variations more consistently would have furthered the author's goal to demonstrate the diversity of sexual attitudes.

A groundbreaking work of this importance that brings together rare sources and presents a new range

of arguments to the field needs more precise references for support. At times I sought documentation for broad generalizations made in the work to no avail; for instance, Ze'evi argues that beheading is advocated for women guilty of adultery (*zina*), a comment that strongly departs from my understanding of Hanafi *shari'a* rulings, yet he offers no reference to back up this assertion (p. 64). Another example from the same chapter that remains unsupported includes speculation that powerful women of the Harem may have played a role in the more structurally egalitarian laws of the Ottoman Empire (p. 68).

These criticisms aside, Ze'evi has produced in important work that significantly advances the conversation about sexual attitudes in the Middle East. It is certainly a must read for any scholar of sex, gender, and Islam as it combines in one book sources that have never been read in the same place before. It is perfectly pitched for academics outside the field as it uses a selective rather than overwhelming range of sources and engages European historiography. Finally, for graduate students seeking to learn more about early modern and nineteenth-century sexuality, it is a must read.

ELYSE SEMERDJIAN
Whitman College

CYRUS SCHAYEGH. *Who Is Knowledgeable Is Strong: Science, Class, and the Formation of Modern Iranian Society, 1900–1950*. (The Fletcher Jones Foundation Humanities Imprint.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2009. Pp. x, 340. \$49.95.

In this work—six densely written chapters of less than two hundred pages and a further one hundred pages consisting of an appendix, copious notes, and a bibliography—Cyrus Schayegh discusses the impact of modern science, and particularly biomedical sciences, on the formation of modern Iran in the first half of the twentieth century. He explores how modern science helped transform the country into a "modern society," the role that the middle class played in this process, and how, together with the state, it sought to "manage and accelerate modernity by subjecting crucial aspects of human life to an experimental medicalizing strategy" (p. 194). Contrary to what is often assumed, the attitude of Iranian modernists to modernity was complex and their stand vis-à-vis Western science was affected by the asymmetrical power relations between the West and the colonial, or semi-colonial, rest.

The primary agent of change in this story, the author tells us, was a thriving and dynamic, albeit "nascent," middle class that adopted modern scientific knowledge and was gradually able to convert its cultural capital into economic capital. In attempting to expand its economic capital and preserve its cultural capital, the middle class was confronted by both internal and international rivals. It faced challenges and opposition from a foreign force "which was both a model and a problem" (p. 196) on the one hand and, on the other, from the local clergy; it therefore had to portray science as har-

monious with Iran's imagined past. In its semi-colonial status, and like its counterpart in India, the Iranian middle class needed to legitimize its appropriation of Western science vis-à-vis detractors such as the clergy; this led to its growing appeal to nationalist discourse.

Theories and models of hygiene, eugenics, and genetics were thus not simply adopted from the West but were naturalized and adapted for use in the colonial context. Emphasis was placed on positive rather than negative eugenics directed not against any social group but concerned with improving the health of all. Various Western biomedical disciplines were "geared to medicalize modernity in Iran" and "harnessed to improve health, that is, to prevent its weakening by the strains of modern life" (p. 193). Also, as in many other colonies, science in Iran sidelined research and focused on practical application and education; "in Iran, at least up to the 1940s, modern sciences, whether natural or social, were almost entirely limited to education and reformist applications." Science continued to be perceived as "the combination of theoretical knowledge and socially relevant practice" (p. 197). The adoption and definition of science as well as its cultural construction were rooted in and reinforced by the "interstitial" socio-cultural position of the Iranian middle class.

Despite the author's endorsement of Foucauldian theories, the book can be construed as a qualified narrative of modernization. In his appropriation of Pierre Bourdieu's "relational" notion of class, Schayegh does not explore inequality in economically defined life chances and conditions, which is crucial to Bourdieu's conception of class. The author ascribes a role to the modern middle class that exceeds its designated "nascent" status. He contends that the government under Reza Shah was influenced by powerful social groups, most crucially the modern middle class, but also maintains that during the shah's reign the middle class was dependent on the state. He seems to contrast the middle class with the political elite at one end of the spectrum and the undifferentiated masses at the other, but the role of collectivities often identified as the traditional urban middle class remains unexamined, as does the class location of the clergy.

To what extent is it plausible to speak of the "strains of modern life" in the Iran of the first half of the twentieth century, or to take seriously the explanations proffered by some practitioners that certain psychological ailments were caused by the stresses of modern life? Western-educated Iranian physicians were not in friction just with traditional healers, clergymen, and Western doctors; there were also generational and other forms of conflict between, for instance, older, more conservative or traditionalist physicians and younger, more innovative ones. In a work as detailed as this, inaccuracies inevitably creep in, but they are minor. It would have been better to give proper names as much as possible rather than honorific titles; some first names are missing even when they are known.

Such queries or remarks are not meant to detract from the value of this work in furnishing a better un-

derstanding of the formation of clusters of practices and ideas associated with the emergence of modern science, particularly medicine, in Iran. The book sheds light on the consideration of demographic issues, hygiene, control of diseases, and the adoption of European genetic and eugenic models, as well as approaches to psychology and pedagogy. It provokes new questions regarding modernity, science, nationalism, and class and constitutes a welcome addition to the growing body of scholarly work on modern Iran.

FAKHREDDIN AZIMI

University of Connecticut

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JAN BENDER SHETLER. *Imagining Serengeti: A History of Landscape Memory in Tanzania from Earliest Times to the Present*. (New African Histories Series.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 378. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$26.95.

Serengeti National Park is one of the world's most famous landscapes. Celebrated as an ancient treasure trove of wildlife, Serengeti is, we are warned, imperiled by ecological change and the ignorant depredations of local poachers. Jan Bender Shetler points out that this global vision of Serengeti as endangered wilderness is extremely limited. Far from being romantically untouched, "[f]or as long as we have memory . . . Serengeti has been a profoundly humanized landscape with the stories, hopes, and challenges of its people deeply embedded in its rocks and hills, pools and streams, vistas and valleys" (p. 1). The book examines the peoples of western Serengeti, who have interacted for a long period of time and who now share "a diffuse sense of collective identity" (p. 8). This collective identity and common history have made Serengeti's landscape a profoundly social space. More than a matter of returning humans to a famous place, Shetler's project is an attempt at recouping a complex array of evanescent phenomena through the lens of the ways in which Serengeti has been understood and experienced as a landscape. As such, it is simultaneously a set of physical/ecological facts (in part determined by human activity), a set of social relationships, and a metaphysical terrain.

The book is divided in two. In the first half Shetler develops three registers through which Serengeti must be understood: ecological, social, and ritual. The second half then considers Serengeti's recent history, during which long-enduring cultures and sets of social accommodations have come into crisis. The disasters of the nineteenth century—epidemics, epizootics, political instability—are the subject of one chapter, colonialism a second, and the creation of Serengeti National Park a third. *Imagining Serengeti* takes its place in a sophisticated literature on landscape and ecology in Africa, from David William Cohen and E. S. Atieno Odhiambo's *Siaya: Historical Anthropology* (1989) through more recent work like Tamara Giles-Vernick's *Cutting the Vines of the Past: Environmental Histories of the Cen-*

tral African Rain Forest (2002). Shetler's contribution is a particularly distinguished one, impressive not least for the array of approaches she has brought to her project. Oral history, linguistics, archaeological and archival analysis, and geographical information system (GIS) data are fruitfully combined to reconstruct what she terms "core spatial images," or modes of apprehending the land and its inhabitants. Core spatial images are the human systems of understanding that comprised people's engagement with the ecosystem, one another, and the supernatural world. By recouping them, Shetler reconstructs the historical trajectories of the Serengeti landscape. As an example of this technique, in the chapter on ecology Shetler uses oral traditions about ethnogenesis as a window onto long-term memories of interactions between farmers, pastoralists, and hunters in the past. Past identities often had little to do with the modern ethnic categories oral traditions now purport to explain, and thus stories about particular groups' ancestors must be understood as memories of something rather different. Shetler combines comparative analysis of such traditions with archaeological, ecological, and linguistic evidence to reconstruct modes of livelihood and settlement patterns from much earlier periods, producing a brilliant account of how various groups have inhabited the region and understood their surroundings. The account is as masterful as it is innovative, synthesizing a diverse array of sources to brilliant effect. Shetler's accounts of social and sacred space are just as impressive, and just as complex. She demonstrates that trans-ethnic clan identities played a role in securing patterns of inter-regional and occupational cooperation, among other things ensuring food security during periods of crisis. She then progresses to a fascinating account of the development of generation sets and how these also helped to maintain patterns of cooperation among different groups in difficult times.

Shetler continues this methodological cosmopolitanism in the second, more linear part of the book, though here it detracts from the clarity of her narrative. While one would not want a reductive story of what happened during periods of transition during the past two centuries, the subtlety of her account produces a certain forest-for-trees problem that at times makes it difficult to discern what she is arguing. Although she continues to ground the account in the Serengeti as a landscape, in the end the historical narrative is familiar: the crises of the nineteenth century produced social dislocation, while people's dynamic accommodation to their circumstances also brought into being recognizable precursors to modern identities and occupational categories. Colonial policies occasioned tremendous resistance, further hardened ethnic categories, and created a powerful set of paradigms about Africans as a danger to previously "unpolluted" ecological resources, and the postcolonial period deepened and extended these tendencies. None of this is unreasonable, but it is somewhat difficult going for relatively little payoff. Shetler has demonstrated herself a master of a host of methodologies and disciplinary approaches, as well as of the

complex secondary literature on the area, and she has written a book of great subtlety and power. While a bit more attention to issues of narrative construction would have made her book more accessible, nonetheless this is a landmark volume, and it will be required reading in African and environmental history.

STEVEN PIERCE

University of Manchester

PHYLLIS M. MARTIN. *Catholic Women of Congo-Brazzaville: Mothers and Sisters in Troubled Times*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 262. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

This is a splendid history of religious and healing practices among African women from the seventeenth century to the late twentieth century on the northern side of the Congo River, in its final western stretch out to the Atlantic from the twin capital cities situated on opposite sides of the river's famous pool. Phyllis M. Martin's subject is Catholic women's religious practice in Congo-Brazzaville, the northern and smaller of the two neighboring countries named Congo since colonial times. Congo-Brazzaville, a French colonial province, was site of the Loango Kingdom in the early modern period; unlike its neighbor Congo-Kinshasa, Congo-Brazzaville became one of Africa's handful of socialist states in the 1960s. By the 1990s, it was largely an urban war-zone.

Martin explains the social and spiritual attractions of Catholicism for Congolese women since the 1890s. She begins with the arrival of missionaries, and uses the archives of four congregations of nuns to reconstruct why Congolese families initially avoided enrolling their daughters in Catholic schools and convents. Slave ransoming, marriage, initiation, schooling, and fertility are all themes in the colonial period. By the postcolonial period, women greatly outnumbered men in Congo's Catholic Church. The nationalization of Catholic schools by the Marxist state in 1965 furthered the church's feminization, as did the effects of the Vatican's new guidelines on inculturation. While barbed wire (the "Iron Curtain") prevented easy passage between neighboring convents and former church schools, Congolese women increasingly used saint figures and holy days to forge strong devotional and mutual care associations. Sometimes their priorities were dance, dress, fashion, and appearance. They organized extravagant festivities with songs and lavish uniforms. In the "troubled times" of the post-1989, post-Marxist period, these same mutual care associations enabled women's emergence as political activists. When war burst into Brazzaville's streets in the 1990s, killing tens of thousands, Catholic "mothers" organized a gigantic street demonstration for peace. They became fierce moral critics of those who were turning Congo into a war zone, pointing blame at big men, politicians, and their armed clients.

Nuns, teachers, mothers, students, and association members used longstanding notions of fertility and motherhood to forge popular Catholic forms, albeit

without relics and saintly sites. Motherhood, a theme of growing importance in African history, is central here. Martin vividly shows the potency of maternal meanings in this context that has long privileged fertility as wealth. Motherhood was a malleable, often metaphorical category, open not only to actual mothers but also to Congolese nuns and other childless women active in religious work with maternal dimensions.

This book is a first-rate religious and women's history, but it is much more than that. While it is one of the first social histories of Catholicism in either Congo, it is also a compelling cultural history of an African postcolonial state. Indeed, it shows how much African postcolonial history has been shaped by ordinary people facing hardship and navigating lineage, colonial, nationalist, and church politics. Martin is a masterful storyteller, detailing and situating events with great skill while punctuating them with choice quotations from her abundant sources. The book is deeply contextualized not only within the Lower Congo region but also in terms of overseas evangelism and French colonialism, and of the growing literature on popular, institutional, and missionary Catholicism in global sites since the nineteenth century.

I have one quibble. Martin's title gives no inkling that readers will be treated to a wonderful *longue durée* perspective on religious and healing practice in the lower Congo region. As the author of a major history of the Loango kingdom, Martin remains the foremost early modern historian of the northern Bakongo region. Here she shows how fertility meanings, vital since at least the seventeenth century, continued to mark the ways Congolese women responded to and transformed Catholic ritual. Being steeped in this region's rich historiography leads her to point to the persistence of idioms, objects, words, and practices that mixed the pursuit of fertility with healing and religious practice. The best Lower Congo scholarship (excepting most Kongo kingdom work here) has been by anthropologists, sociologists, and historians—Georges Balandier, Wyatt MacGaffey, John Janzen, Jean-Luc Vellut, Bob White, and Filip De Boeck. A talented new generation of art historians—including Nichole Bridges and Cécile Fromont—has joined the mix. They have focused on themes of religious, healing, political, and festive practice, from *nkisi*, *ngoma*, and Simon Kimbangu to constrained praise-singing for Mobutu. Since Balandier, urban sociology has blossomed with new work, some of the best by Martin, on leisure, dress, music, and fêtes. With Martin's insightful turn to popular Catholicism in women's hands, she brings these religious, festive, and urban strands together into a fresh and elegant combination, showing myriad ways that (mostly city) women transformed Catholicism to suit their wishes, making it fashionable and widespread in the process.

NANCY R. HUNT
University of Michigan

LAURA J. MITCHELL. *Belongings: Property, Family, and Identity in Colonial South Africa (An Exploration of*

Frontiers, 1725-c. 1830). (Gutenberg-e.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2009. xiv, 232. \$60.00.

Historians used to read documentation on the early history of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) settlement at the Cape of Good Hope as soothsayers read entrails, seeking out critical details that might explain why South Africa developed in the peculiar way it did. Even before the collapse of apartheid and the whole white supremacist national project, most scholars had ceased to believe that the germs of apartheid, Afrikaner character, or any other distinguishing feature of the modern South African nation was totally implicit in the VOC experience. Yet the records continue to exercise a fascination on historians because they are so detailed. Taxation returns list all farm improvements, auction records and wills list other kinds of property, from slaves down to plates and silverware, and marriage registers, court proceedings, and periodical censuses assign names and ages to individuals.

Laura J. Mitchell's problem was that these sources were not quite good enough for her ambitious research project, which aimed to chart in minute detail the process of conquest and settlement that gave a small number of farming families control of a sparsely populated region northeast of Cape Town. Although the broad outlines of the peculiar Cape loan farm system, inheritance, slavery, labor capture, and commando raiding that drove the early colonizing process have been charted by Robert Ross, Nigel Penn, and other Cape historians, Mitchell hoped to view their workings at the micro level of individual farms. In particular, she hoped that in addition to the mostly male white colonists who feature in older histories other individuals—the indigenous people, women, children, slaves, and itinerant workers—would show up under the microscope. Her use of language points up the frustrations of her painstaking research. Documents had to be “pushed,” “coaxed,” and “prodded.” She had “to excavate carefully,” “plumb the possibilities of a particular source,” and “unpack the elements . . . embedded in an auction roster”; inventories of household items “let us see, however darkly, inside settler homes.”

While she did not find everything she hoped for, all the pushing, prodding, and coaxing did pay off by exposing the colonial conquest of the Cedarberg region as the result of a dynamic operation extending over a century, rather than a short, sharp exertion of armed force. Mitchell's overarching argument is that the domestic arena of the farm household played a central role in this colonizing process. Farmers' wives evolved practices of marriage, child-bearing, the organization of meals, hospitality, and physical intimacy that gradually substituted a settled “orthodoxy” of colonial behavior for the disorderly and experimental arrangements of the early frontier society. As her subtitle indicates, Mitchell understands the frontier to be the arena in which the reality of colonial control was gradually realized. It closed not as Frederick Jackson Turner argued, when the density of settler populations reached the magic target

specified by the U.S. census, but when an enduring and comprehensive system of control was installed by dominant farm households. She shows, contrary to what had previously been thought, that persons of indigenous and mixed race ancestry briefly figured as masters of their own farms. She also demonstrates that the vast seaborne Dutch empire mattered even in the South African interior. It took some time for slaves named Angela van Bengal, Corridon van Mallabar, and Goliath van Madagascar to blend indistinguishably into the oppressed farm workforce. Although the VOC documents do not let them speak directly to her, Mitchell employs her lively imagination to speculate on the nature of their experience.

Columbia University Press has published this as an e-book in its Gutenberg-e series. While it is possible to buy the printed text as a hardcover book, there are many advantages for readers of the online text. Maps

and photos do not appear in the hard copy version, and those accessible online can be enlarged for closer study. Genealogical charts pop up as pdf files which, because they are in full color, are much easier to read and understand than they would be in black and white. Cross references appear as clickable boxes within the text, visually intrusive but much easier to follow up than footnotes or endnotes in an old-fashioned format. The hard copy version is also annoying because it lacks an index. Using the online search function, it is far easier to locate specific words and phrases than in any standard index. The downside is that without an analytic index readers must rely on the table of contents and their own imaginations to find topics not linked to particular words in the text. It would not be difficult for the press to add this feature to future books in the series.

NORMAN ETHERINGTON

University of Western Australia

Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

J. R. McNEILL and CORINNA UNGER, editors. *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*. (Publications of the German Historical Institute.) Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. xi, 362. \$90.00.

PAUL JOSEPHSON, War on Nature as Part of the Cold War: The Strategic and Ideological Roots of Environmental Degradation in the Soviet Union. MATTHEW FARISH, Creating Cold War Climates: The Laboratories of American Globalism. JACOB DARWIN HAMBLIN, A Global Contamination Zone: Early Cold War Planning for Environmental Warfare. KRISTINE C. HARPER and RONALD E. DOEL, Environmental Diplomacy in the Cold War: Weather Control, the United States, and India, 1966–1967. RICHARD P. TUCKER, Containing Communism by Impounding Rivers: American Strategic Interests and the Global Spread of High Dams in the Early Cold War. MARK D. MERLIN and RICARDO M. GONZALEZ, Environmental Impacts of Nuclear Testing in Remote Oceania, 1946–1996. GREG BANKOFF, A Curtain of Silence: Asia's Fauna in the Cold War. DAVID ZIERLER, Against Protocol: Ecocide, Détente, and the Question of Chemical Warfare in Vietnam, 1969–1975. KAI HÜNEMÖRDER, Environmental Crisis and Soft Politics: Détente and the Global Environment, 1968–1975. R. S. DEESE, The New Ecology of Power: Julian and Aldous Huxley in the Cold War Era. TOSHIHIRO HUGUCHI, Atmospheric Nuclear Weapons Testing and the Debate on Risk Knowledge in Cold War America, 1945–1963. BAO MAOHONG, The Evolution of Environmental Problems and Environmental Policy in China: The Interaction of Internal and External Forces. FRANK UEKOETTER, The End of the Cold War: A Turning Point in Environmental History?

ASIA

CHRISTOPHER E. GOSCHA and CHRISTIAN F. OSTERMANN, editors. *Connecting Histories: Decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia, 1945–1962*. (Cold War International History Project.) Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 450. \$60.00.

MARK ATWOOD LAWRENCE, Recasting Vietnam: The Bao Dai Solution and the Outbreak of the Cold War in Southeast Asia. RICHARD MASON, Containment and the Challenge of Non-Alignment: The Cold War and U.S. Policy toward Indonesia, 1950–1952. ANNE L. FOSTER, Avoiding the “Rank of Denmark”: Dutch Fears about Loss of Empire in Southeast Asia. MARTIN THOMAS, Processing Decolonization: British Strategic Analysis of Conflict in Vietnam and Indonesia, 1945–1950. ILYA V. GAIDUK, Soviet Cold War Strategy and Prospects of Revolution in South and Southeast Asia. CHEN JIAN, Bridging Revolution and Decolonization: The “Bandung Discourse” in China's Early Cold War Experience. TUONG VU, From Cheering to Volunteering: Vietnamese Communists and the Coming of the Cold War, 1940–1951. CHRISTOPHER E. GOSCHA, Choosing between the Two Vietnams: 1950 and Southeast Asian Shifts in the International System. SAMUEL E. CROWL, Indonesia's Diplomatic Revolution: Lining Up for Non-Alignment, 1945–1955. DANNY WONG TZE KEN, Malaysia during the Early Cold War Era: The War in Indochina and Malaya, 1946–1963. DANIEL FINEMAN, Phibun, the Cold War, and Thailand's Foreign Policy Revolution of 1950. ANG CHENG GUAN, Southeast Asian Perceptions of the Domino Theory. MICHAEL W. CHARNEY, Ludu Aung Than: Nu's Burma during the Cold War. RÉMY MADINIER, *Lawan da kawan* (Friends and Foes): Indonesian Islam and Communism during the Cold War (1945–1960). EDWARD MILLER, The Diplomacy of Personalism: Civilization, Culture, and the Cold War in the Foreign Policy of Ngo Dinh Diem.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JESSICA C. E. GIENOW-HECHT, editor. *Emotions in American History: An International Assessment*. (European Studies in American History, number 3.) New York: Berghahn. 2010. Pp. xii, 290. \$90.00.

PETER N. STEARNS, Emotions History in the United States: Goals, Methods, and Promise. ALF LÜDTKE, Emotions at Work: Potential and Perspectives of the History of Everyday Life. FABIAN HILFRICH, The Corruption of Civic Virtue by Emotion: Anti-Imperialist Fears in the Debate on the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). JÖRG NAGLER, The Mobilization of Emotions: Propaganda and Social Violence on the American Home Front during World War I. ANDREAS ETGES, Hanoi Jane, Vietnam Memory, and Emotions. STEFANIE SCHNEIDER, “Stop Them Damned Pictures”: Political Cartoons, the Study of Emotions, and the Construction of the Anglo-American Relationship. ADELHEID VON SALDERN, Emotions of Comparisons: Perceptions of European Anti-Americanism in US Magazines of the 1920s. BETTINA FRIEDL,

Emotions and Nineteenth-Century American Art. JÜRGEN MARTSCHUKAT, A Horrifying Experience? Public Executions and the Emotional Spectator in the New Republic. MICHAEL HOCHGESCHWENDER, Emotions, American Society, and Discourse on Sexuality. BRITTA WALDSCHMIDT-NELSON, Does Every Vote Count in America? Emotions, Elections, and the Quest for Black Political Empowerment. HORST U. K. GUNDLACH, The Fortunes of Emotion in the Science of Psychology and in the History of Emotions.

ADAM R. NELSON and JOHN L. RUDOLPH, editors. *Education and the Culture of Print in Modern America*. (Print Culture History in Modern America.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 225. \$29.95.

KATE McDOWELL, Which Truth, What Fiction? Librarians' Book Recommendations for Children, 1876–1890. MICHAEL BENJAMIN, A "Colored Authors Collection" to Exhibit to the World and Educate a Race. RYAN K. ANDERSON, Merry's Flock: Making Something Out of Educational Reform in the Early Twentieth Century. ROBERT A. ORSI, Printed Presence: Twentieth-Century Catholic Print Culture for Youngsters in the United States. FRANK TOBIAS HIGBIE, Unschooled but Not Uneducated: Print, Public Speaking, and the Networks of Informal Working-Class Education, 1900–1940. JANE GREER, "Write as You Fight": The Pedagogical Agenda of the *Working Woman*, 1929–1935. CATHERINE TURNER, "A Gentleman Is No Sissy": Reading, Work, and Citizenship in the Civilian Conservation Corps. ADAM R. SHAPIRO, State Regulation of the Textbook Industry. GREG DOWNEY, Teaching Reading with Television: Constructing Closed Captioning Using the Rhetoric of Literacy.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

MATTHEW B. KARUSH and OSCAR CHAMOSA, editors. *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 309. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

MATTHEW B. KARUSH, Populism, Melodrama, and the Market: The Mass Cultural Origins of Peronism. NATALIA MILANESIO, Peronists and *Cabecitas*: Stereotypes and Anxieties at the Peak of Social Change. DIANA LENTON, The *Málon de la Paz* of 1946: Indigenous *Descamisados* at the Dawn of Peronism. OSCAR CHAMOSA, Criollo and Peronist: The Argentine Folklore Movement during the First Peronism, 1943–1955. ANAHI BALENT, Unforgettable Kitsch: Images around Eva Peron. MIRTA ZAIDA, MARIA DAMILAKOU, and LIZEL TORNAY, Working-Class Beauty Queens under Peronism. EDUARDO ELENA, Peronism in "Good Taste": Culture and Consumption in the Magazine *Argentina*. CÉSAR CEVESO, Political Emotions and the Origins of the Peronist Resistance. MARIANO BEN PLOTKIN, Final Reflections.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

SCOTT MCGILL, CRISTIANA SOGNO, and EDWARD WATTS, editors. *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians: Later Roman History and Culture, 284–450 C.E.* (Yale Classical Studies, number 34.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. ix, 321. \$95.00.

DAVID POTTER, The Unity of the Roman Empire. PETER GARNSEY, Roman Patronage. CRISTIANA SOGNO, Roman Matchmaking. JILL HARRIES, Constantine the Lawgiver. SERENA CONNOLLY, Constantine Answers the Veterans. EDWARD WATTS, Three Generations of Christian Philosophical Biography. JOSIAH OSGOOD, The Education of Paulinus of Pella: Learning in the Late Empire. SCOTT MCGILL, Another Man's Miracles: Recasting Aelius Donatus in Phoca's *Life of Virgil*. SUSANNA ELM, Gregory of Nazianzus's Life of Julian Revisited (*Or.* 4 and 5): The Art of Governance by Invective. PETER HEATHER, Liar in Winter: Themistius and Theodosius. NEIL MC LYNN, Moments of Truth: Gregory of Nazianzus and Theodosius I. BRIAN CROKE, Reinventing Constantinople: Theodosius I's Imprint on the Imperial City. MARK VESSEY, Reinventing History: Jerome's *Chronicle* and the Writing of the Post-Roman West.

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

JANE HATHAWAY, editor. *The Arab Lands in the Ottoman Era: Essays in Honor of Professor Caesar Farah*. (Minnesota Studies in Early Modern History, number 2.) Minneapolis: Center for Early Modern History. 2009. Pp. x, 316. \$60.00.

G. REX SMITH, Some Arabic Sources Concerning the First Ottoman Occupation of the Yemen (945–1045/1538–1636). SAMER TRABOULSI, The Ottoman Conquest of Yemen: The Ismaili Perspective. GIANCARLO CASALE, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and the Spice Trade. JANE HATHAWAY, The "Mamluk Breaker" Who Was Really a *Kul* Breaker: A Fresh Look at Kul K'ran Mehmed Pasha, Governor of Egypt 1707–1611. ERIK S. OHLANDER, "He Was Crude of Speech": Turks and Arabs in the Hagiographical Imagination of Early Ottoman Egypt. SVETLANA KIRILLINA, The Scope of Curiosity: Memorabilia in Russian Pilgrims' Narratives of the Middle East (Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries). VLADIMIR ORLOV, Moroccan Ulema and Pilgrims in Cairo: An Aspect of Intellectual Exchange in the Arab-Ottoman World of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries. SURAIYA FAROOHI, Immigrant Tradesmen as Guild Members, or, the Adventures of Tunisian Fez-Sellers in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul. RHOADS MURPHEY, Syria's "Underdevelopment" under Ottoman Rule: Revisiting an Old Theme in the Light of New Evidence from the Court Records of Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century. SAMIR SEIKALY, The Syrian Economy at the Turn of the Century: The Testimony of *al-Muqtabas*, 1906–1914—An Overview. KAY HARDY CAMPBELL, Ottoman Musical Forms: The *Samā'ī*, *Bashraf* and *Longa* in the Arab World and Beyond.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

MAMADOU DIAWARA, BERNARD LATEGAN, and JÖRN RÜSEN, editors. *Historical Memory in Africa: Dealing with the Past, Reaching for the Future in an Intercultural Context*. (Making Sense of History: Studies in Historical Cultures, number 12.) New York: Berghahn. 2010. Pp. vi, 248. \$95.00.

ELÍSIO MACAMO, Social Theory and Making Sense of Africa. ANNEKIE JOUBERT, History by Word of Mouth: Linking Past and Present through Oral Memory. BOGUMIL JEWSIEWICKI, Historical Memory and Representation of New Nations in Africa. JUSTIN BISANSWA, Memory, History and Historiography of Congo-Zaire. MAMADOU DIAWARA, Remembering the Past,

Reaching for the Future: Aspects of African Historical Memory in an International Context. ALBERT GRUNDLINGH, Remembering Conflict: The Centenary Commemoration of the South African War of 1899–1902 as a Case Study. PATRICK HARRIES, From Public History to Private Enterprise: The Politics of Memory in the New South Africa. BERNARD LATEGAN, Remembering with the Future in Mind. JÖRN RÜSEN, Holocaust Experience and Historical Sense Generation from a Ger-

man Perspective. RANJAN GHOSH, Ayodhya, Memory, Myth: Futurizing the Past from an Indian Perspective. HAN SANG-JIN, Human Suffering and Forgiveness: A Dialogue with Kim Dae-Jung from an East Asian Perspective. PUMLA GOBODO-MADIKIZELA, Remorse, Forgiveness and Rehumanization: Stories from South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. EVA MOZES KOR, Healing from Auschwitz and Mengele's Experiments.

Documents and Bibliographies

Books listed were recently received in the AHR office. Works of these types cannot normally be reviewed by the AHR.

METHODS/THEORY

- DAVIS, NATALIE ZEMON. *A Passion for History: Conversations with Denis Crouzet*. Edited by MICHAEL WOLFE. Translated by NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS and MICHAEL WOLFE. (Early Modern Studies, number 4.) Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 218. \$24.95.
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- LI, XIAOBING. *Voices from the Vietnam War: Stories from American, Asian, and Russian Veterans*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2010. Pp. xvi, 279. \$35.00.
- TAI, HUE-TAM HO. *Passion, Betrayal, and Revolution in Colonial Saigon: The Memoirs of Bao Luong*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 199. \$19.95.
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- DAVIES, WADE, and RICHMOND L. CLOW, editors. *American Indian Sovereignty and Law: An Annotated Bibliography*. (Native American Bibliography Series, number 29.) Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 633. \$150.00.
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- JEFFERSON, THOMAS. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Retirement Series. Volume 6: 11 March to 27 November 1813*. Edited by J. JEFFERSON LOONEY et al. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2009. Pp. xlv, 705. \$99.95.
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- LAWLER, DANIEL J., ERIN R. MAHAN, and EDWARD C. KEEFER, editors. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976. Volume XIX, Part 1: Korea, 1969–1972*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 2010. Pp. xxvi, 462. \$46.00.
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- KOTZABASSI, SOFIA, and NANCY PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO. *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century: A Descriptive Catalogue*. Assisted by DON C. SKEMER. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2010. Pp. xxix, 304. \$195.00.
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- WALLIS, FAITH, editor. *Medieval Medicine: A Reader*. (Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures, number 15.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2010. Pp. xxvii, 563. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$42.95.

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- SIMUNEK, MICHAL et al. *Mendelism in Bohemia and Moravia, 1900-1930: Collection of Selected Papers*. (Wissenschaftskultur um 1900, number 6.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2010. Pp. 276. €48.00.
- TALLENTS, GODFREY. *Politics, Law and Society in Nottinghamshire: The Diaries of Godfrey Tallents of Newark, 1829-1839*. Edited by RICHARD A. GAUNT. Nottingham: Nottinghamshire County Council. 2010. Pp. 104. £7.50.
- WOLLSTONECRAFT, MARY. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Foreword by SHEILA ROWBOTHAM. Annotated by NINA POWER. (Revolutions.) New York: Verso. 2010. Pp. xxix, 284. \$15.95.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

- GERHART, GAIL M., and CLIVE M. GLASER. *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990. Volume 6: Challenge and Victory, 1980-1990*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2010. Pp. xxxiv, 778. \$59.95.
- NEWITT, MALYN, editor. *The Portuguese in West Africa, 1415-1670: A Documentary History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 246. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$27.99.

Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the AHR office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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- CALAVITA, KITTY. *Invitation to Law and Society: An Introduction to the Study of Real Law*. (Chicago Series in Law and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. x, 176. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.00.
- CANNING, CHARLOTTE M., and THOMAS POSTLEWAIT, editors. *Representing the Past: Essays in Performance Historiography*. (Studies in Theatre History and Culture.) Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 408. \$29.95.
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- HURLEY, ANDREW. *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities*. (Urban Life, Landscape and Policy.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2010. Pp. xv, 231. Cloth \$79.50, paper \$29.95.
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- RADSTONE, SUSANNAH, and BILL SCHWARZ, editors. *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*. New York: Fordham University Press. 2010. Pp. ix, 561. Cloth \$140.00, paper \$35.00.
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- STEINER, UWE. *Walter Benjamin: An Introduction to His Work and Thought*. Translated by MICHAEL WINKLER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 230. \$35.00.
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- ROBERT DORAN. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2010. Pp. xxxiv, 382. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$30.00.
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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

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- ADAS, MICHAEL, editor. *Essays on Twentieth-Century History*. (Critical Perspectives on the Past.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2010. Pp. 344. \$36.95.
- ALEXANDER, DENIS R., and RONALD L. NUMBERS, editors. *Biology and Ideology from Descartes to Dawkins*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. 453. \$35.00.
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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITORS:

Several of the criticisms Sarah Farmer levels against my article "Hollywood's First Wave of 'Holocaust' Films" (*AHR*, February 2010, 90–114) either misconstrue my arguments or overlook evidence to the contrary. Farmer contends that I categorize Holocaust films so broadly that I include movies that do not highlight the singular fate of European Jewry. I do expand the category of Holocaust films to reflect how the American public initially perceived the tragedy that had befallen the Jews. According to wartime federal guidelines for reporting Nazi atrocities and the charges brought against the defendants at the Nuremberg Trials, the onslaught against European Jewry was subsumed under the broader rubrics of war crimes and crimes against humanity. In the films I analyze, the particularly heinous treatment inflicted on the Jews appears either implicitly (e.g., the anti-Semitic clue dropped by the villain in *The Stranger* prior to the screening of concentration camp atrocity footage documenting the "genocide" perpetrated by Germany) or explicitly (e.g., the vignettes about the young Jewish DPs in *The Search*). The targeting of the Jews increasingly occupies center stage in movies like *The Juggler*, *Me and the Colonel*, and, of course, *The Diary of Anne Frank*. My point is that Hollywood introduced the subject incrementally and framed it initially from a distinctly American perspective in which the United States liberated the camps, hunted and tried perpetrators, cared for survivors, and

supported the establishment of Israel as a haven for Jewish refugees.

Farmer faults me for not sufficiently exploring the nexus between the role of Hollywood directors in filming and producing the first newsreels and documentaries about the liberation of the concentration camps and the visual evidence of Nazi atrocities. Yet my article makes it abundantly clear that this pioneering footage established much of the visual iconography and "authentic" black and white documentary look employed not only in the first American feature films about the Holocaust, but also in subsequent motion pictures like *The Pawnbroker* and *Schindler's List*. Orson Welles and Samuel Fuller—who himself had filmed the liberation of a concentration camp—directly inserted clips from these newsreels and documentaries into their motion pictures. For the making of *The Young Lions*, Edward Dmytryk reviewed the original atrocity footage to help him re-create what the liberation of a concentration camp looked like to American GIs. George Stevens drew on his memories and outrage over what he witnessed as head of the U.S. Army Signal Corps' unit that filmed the liberation of concentration camps in Germany to inform the cinematic style he utilized in *The Diary of Anne Frank*. As I also note, the popularization of the Holocaust in this period occurred through other media like participant accounts of the Nuremberg Trials, memoirs by Jewish victims and survivors, and the television programming described in Jeffrey Shandler's book.

Finally, Farmer questions whether the movies I discuss actually elicited an empathic identification with the Jews facing persecution and death during the war or rebuilding their lives after it. Documenting the heightening of collective awareness is extremely difficult to prove for a period when public opinion polling was not as extensively or frequently conducted as it is today and when Americans could not blog and tweet their responses about what they read in print or saw on the silver screen. Wherever possible I have provided indicators of the industry and popular reception of these films as revealed in the awards and nominations conferred on them, contemporary press coverage, PCA evaluations, and reviews.

But this is not merely a disagreement between Farmer and me over what constitutes proof that these

movies had an impact on the viewing public, but rather over whether feature films can, to use Farmer's words, "foster an understanding of history rather than the appropriation of memory." In the first draft of this article, I devoted a considerably longer section to the distrust of historians in general of the representation of the past in feature films and of Holocaust historians in particular of the depiction of the Shoah who contend that its nature and scope defy conventional dramatization. My appreciation of the insights of Alison Landsberg, Marnie Hughes-Warrington, and Robert Rosenstone is their recognition that while cinematic representations of the past may not promote the kind of analytical understanding of history that Farmer seeks, they do create an emotional, personalized, and sensual semblance of how the past was experienced and how it is relevant to the present. Antipathy and sympathy for characters in a different place and time does spur viewers not only to learn more about the historical events depicted in films, but also to politically respond to similar situations in the present. *The Search* raised awareness about the plight of DP children in Europe; *The Diary of Anne Frank* stimulated discussions about racism in the United States; the television miniseries *Holocaust* accelerated the Holocaust education movement in the United States and averted the passage of German legislation that would have terminated prosecutions of Nazi war criminals; *Schindler's List* and *Hotel Rwanda* mobilized public opinion for military and humanitarian intervention respectively in Bosnia and Darfur.

I am trained as a cultural and intellectual historian. I cannot imagine dismissing the historical plays of the Elizabethan era or the historical novels of the nineteenth century merely as the "appropriation of memory" only because they were popular and earned money for their authors and publishers. As one, if not the, most influential source of entertainment and information in the twentieth century, feature films merit scholarly attention for their extraordinary ability to render the past emotionally engaging, sensually tangible, and meaningful to the present.

LAWRENCE BARON
San Diego State University

SARAH FARMER RESPONDS:

Lawrence Baron shows that the destruction of the European Jews was represented in Hollywood film earlier than is often recognized. Yet it is certainly open to discussion whether all the films he examines should be labeled "Holocaust" films when in many, as he shows, the Jews were considered victims among others rather than the primary target of Nazi annihilation. In addition, many of these films focused primarily on postwar American concerns.

Baron does indeed make clear that certain filmmakers included documentary footage in fiction films and that this had an impact on the iconography of the Holocaust in American feature films. I meant to suggest

that he might have reflected on the differences in how fiction and documentary genres function, to what end, what it might mean to combine them, and how they confirm, contest, or extend the work of the historian.

I do not doubt that the movies Baron discussed elicited sympathy among viewers. Rather, I raised the possibility that "prosthetic memory" (the taking on of memories that one has not personally experienced), a concept Baron used to suggest how movies could "engender empathy for past and present victims of oppression," might have negative potential as well. And it was the notion of "prosthetic memory" that I saw as fostering the appropriation of memory, not the feature films which Baron carefully examines. Nor is it a problem that the films themselves might not promote an "analytical understanding of history." Rather, I expressed a desire for the historian to consider how these movies affect popular historical understanding. As my remarks surely indicate, I agree wholeheartedly that commercial film is an invaluable source for historians of the twentieth century.

SARAH FARMER
UC Irvine

REVIEWS

TO THE EDITORS:

I appreciated Jonathan Israel's review of my *Secularism and Its Opponents from Augustine to Solzhenitsyn* (AHR, April 2010, 502–503)—particularly his recognition of the relevance of the medieval distinction between reason and faith established by Thomas Aquinas. Equally liberal was his acknowledgment of nihilism as a possible outcome of secularism (Dostoyevsky's *The Demons*, Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag*, and one should obviously add, if not privilege, the Holocaust). The link among them is the contested translation of a sentence in *The Brothers Karamazov*: "Without God anything is possible."

Israel rightly finds that I slight the Radical Enlightenment, of which he is the historian. I considered Locke, Rousseau, and Kant, but not Voltaire, Holbach, and La Mettrie, because the phenomenon of secularism, in my mind, marginalizes religion more than bludgeons it. Militant atheism is hardly subtle (and Voltaire, despite Theodore Besterman, is certainly militant, if not indubitably atheistic). Secularism, for me, is urbane, discreet, respectable, and tolerant of religion as long as it does not penetrate the public sphere. I should have explained this distinction, which would have justified my (necessarily arbitrary) choice of thinkers. I picked twelve intellectuals for fourteen centuries; the Enlightenment took three. If I had had my way editorially, the title would have been "Studies in Secularism"—and the book would not have been discounted as

unworthy of a definitive history of secularism. I agree it is no such thing!

R. EMMET KENNEDY
The George Washington University

Jonathan Israel does not wish to respond.

TO THE EDITORS:

I am very honored that the *American Historical Review* decided to publish a review of my book *The Emperor's Last Campaign* by Thomas Schoonover of Louisiana State University (*AHR*, April 2010, 583–584). Disagreements between an author and his reviewer are to be expected. Unfortunately, in this case the reviewer built his critique on statements about my book that are inaccurate and misleading.

The reviewer criticized the book for lacking a “consistent” story line and for having too many strands and subplots that are hard for any reader to follow. There is a clear story line, and it is reflected in the book’s title. The book is about Napoleon’s last campaign, which started after Waterloo and had as its main objective to regain the power and influence of the Bonaparte family and to ensure that this power and influence were transmitted to Napoleon’s heir. It is well documented that after he abdicated the throne, Napoleon said that the only hope for the Bonaparte family was in America. The revolution in the Spanish colonies offered him a unique opportunity to achieve his goals. This is the main story line.

The reviewer suggests that I find connections where there are none. He cites as an example of the “pitfalls” of the book and a “notable overreach” a statement I made about General Lallemand. The reviewer’s comment is a gross distortion of my writing. First, the reviewer misquoted me and cut the sentence in half. The full sentence says: “While in England Lallemand, Wilson and Cochrane prepared for their South American adventure, in France the political struggle between the ultras and the liberals intensified.” This sentence is not a “thin hypothetical judgment” and it does not strive to increase the “conspiratorial tone.” It simply says that these three individuals were planning an adventure in South America and that all happened to be in England at the time, which is beyond dispute. Contrary to what the reviewer suggests, I never said that they held any conversations. Moreover, in the preceding paragraph I wrote: “What Lallemand did during his brief stay in England remains a mystery.” And a few sentences later I added: “if Wilson had any plans to discuss with Lallemand he could have done it face to face.” But I never said or implied he did. Also, the reviewer seems to imply, incorrectly, that my statement about Lallemand not being detected while in England is not supported by any source.

The reviewer also criticized the book for including too many characters but at the same time complained

that Simón Bolívar was “rarely” mentioned and when he was mentioned it was “mostly with regard to [General José de] San Martín.” I actually mention Bolívar fourteen times in the book (“rarely” doesn’t seem to be the right adjective) and only once in the same sentence with San Martín. In fact, I mention Bolívar “mostly” in connection with Sir Gregor Mac Gregor. And I didn’t mention him more often because there was simply no reason to do so. This erroneous statement by the reviewer suggests that he actually didn’t read the book carefully or in its entirety, which is an important detail that should have been disclosed to the readers of the *AHR*.

Last but not least, another key element of the reviewer’s critique was that in my book “almost no attention is given to suggesting how Napoleon’s fate might have had an effect upon common people in Latin America or France.” Coming from an historian, I find this statement preposterous. Doing what he suggests would not be writing history but attempting an exercise in counterfactual analysis. In *The Emperor's Last Campaign* I limited myself to relating a story that is embedded in official archives rarely, if ever, studied or consulted by academics. This is a statement that would have been worth including in the review.

EMILIO OCAMPO

THOMAS SCHOONOVER RESPONDS:

I am reluctant to respond; however, one point in Mr. Ocampo’s letter requires a response. Mr. Ocampo and I corresponded previously about my review. I informed him that I had read the book at least twice, parts even more. Shortly thereafter, he replied to my email. Thus, in the next to last paragraph, the sentence (also in the earlier email to me) beginning “This erroneous statement . . .” struck me as strange. Why would he want the review to include a knowingly false statement? Perhaps this sentence remained in his letter to the *AHR* from some error or oversight. I hope it does not reflect his commitment to veracity or scholarship.

THOMAS SCHOONOVER,
Sagrera Professor emeritus
University of Louisiana at Lafayette

TO THE EDITORS:

I am writing this letter to express my sheer bafflement and ultimate disappointment with the review by Greg Thomas of *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography* (*AHR*, June 2010, 922–923). After a first reading, I looked up the reviewer, whose name I did not recognize immediately in either the South African historical field or African studies generally, only to discover that he is not a historian, but a scholar of American literature and culture. This assignment not only disregards the status of Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully as senior historians in their specialty, but it also conveys an indifference to the fields

of South African history, African history, Atlantic history, imperial history, early modern women's history, and the history of science during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—all audiences to which the book speaks. Could the *AHR* not find a more appropriate critic from one of these many areas?

Beyond this disciplinary point, the review itself fails on several key fronts. I will mention two. First, at the most basic level, the reviewer neglects to offer a chapter-by-chapter summary of the book, detailing for the uninitiated reader the history that Crais and Scully have written from chronological, thematic, and conceptual standpoints. Indeed, the reviewer offers no biographical sketch of Baartman to address why she is an important historical figure, and he makes no mention of the existing literature on Baartman despite the recent revival of interest in her life, with the exception of a 2003 novel and the fine, if sparse, work of Yvette Abrahams, who has published an essay or two. Through this self-evident lack of knowledge, the reviewer subsequently ignores how this biography contributes to the aforementioned subject areas of South African history, Atlantic history, and so on. These concentric geographic contexts are crucial to understanding the history that Crais and Scully have taken on, in addition to appreciating the challenges and, ultimately, the profound meaning of Baartman's own life experience, who, as a colonized African woman, was reduced to being a specimen of scientific mythology rather than the person she was. This point leads to a second failure of the review.

Crais and Scully have painstakingly pursued and restored her life history against limitations of evidence, of which they were fundamentally aware and which they

discuss at length. This predicament is at the core of this biography. Yet the reviewer expresses disdain at this fact, without acknowledging that this methodological challenge was a central appeal of this project for Crais and Scully as historians. It is consequently one of the main intellectual contributions of this book. How do we compose a life from fragmentary evidence? Moreover, how do we address and compose a life that has been mythologized on a number of political, intellectual, and cultural fronts for a number of diverse communities across the Atlantic world for two centuries? Disengaged from these essential questions, the reviewer's credentials as a literature scholar seem all too clear: he is less interested in the questions and methods of history—what we do with evidence and how we imagine and write about the complexities of the past through that evidence—than he is with the availability of texts to interpret.

Interdisciplinary scholarship and teaching are fine goals. But this review displays the limitations of this endeavor when credentials appear rhetorically claimed rather than firmly established. The number of books on African history reviewed in the *AHR* is already quite limited. Serious reviews are valued by those of us who have committed our careers to this field. However, the real victim, ironically enough, appears to be Baartman once again, whose life has been obscured and diminished once more through a specious, insubstantial review of a book that has attempted to do otherwise.

CHRISTOPHER J. LEE

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Greg Thomas does not wish to respond.

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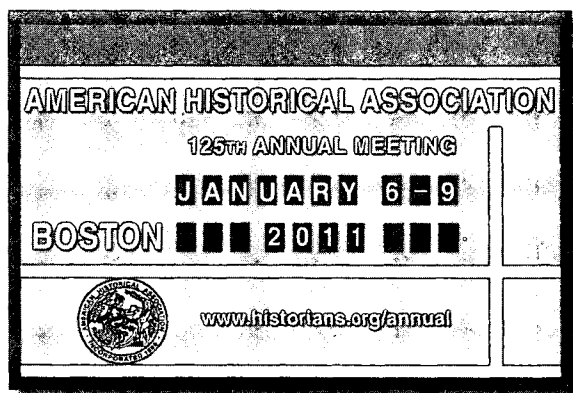
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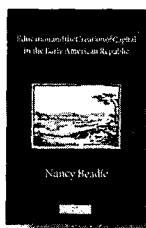
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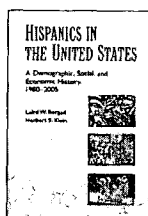
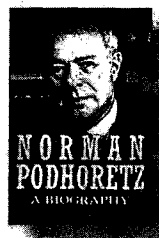
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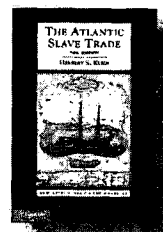
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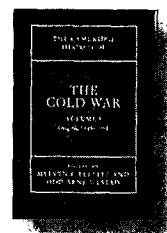
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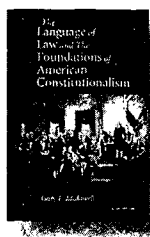
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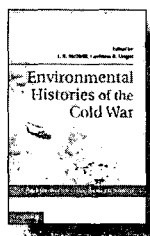
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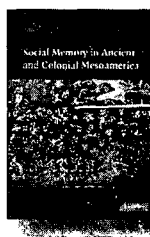
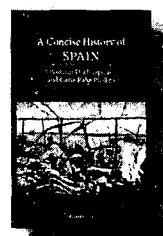
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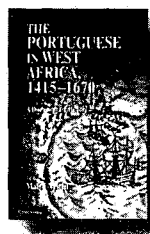
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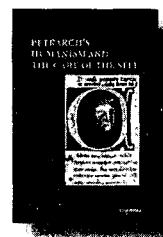
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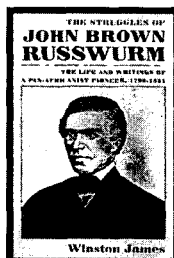
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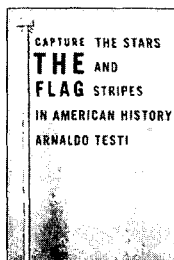
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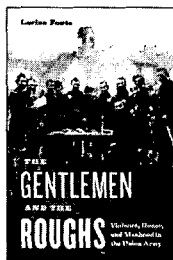
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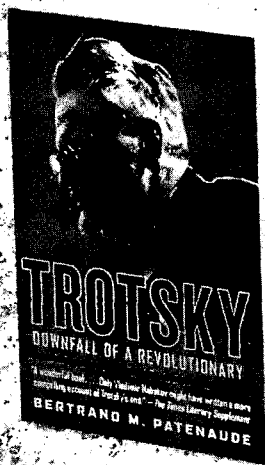
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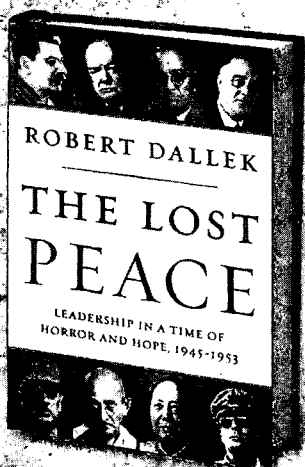
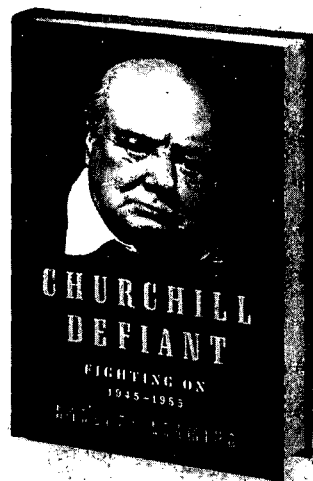
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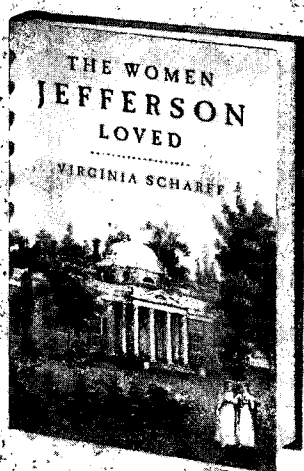


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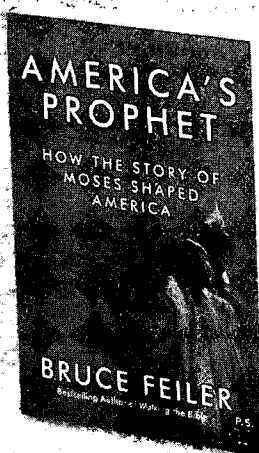
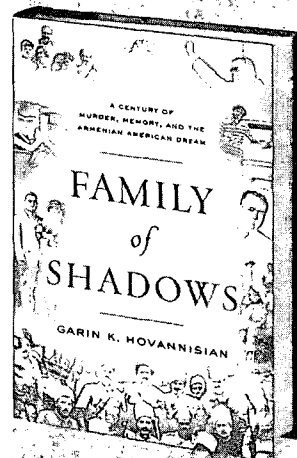
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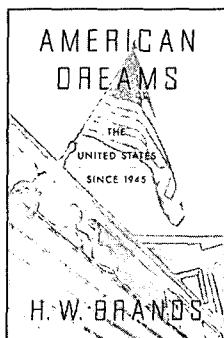


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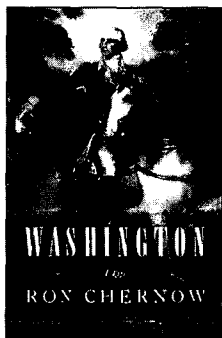
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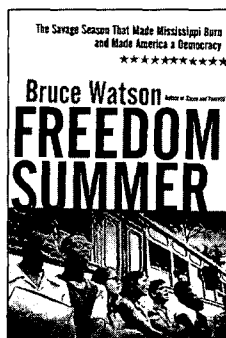


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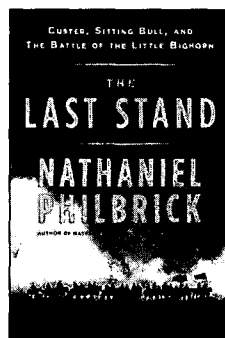
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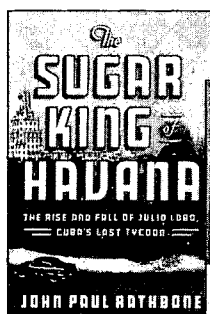
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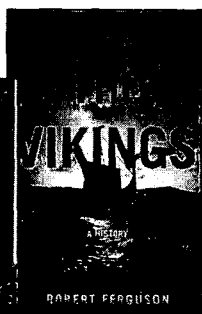
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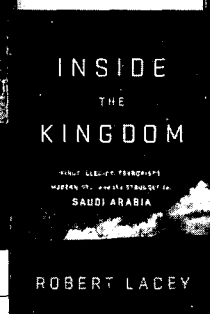


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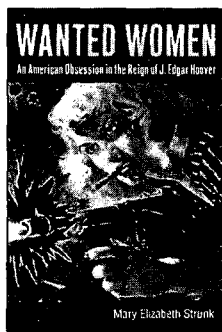
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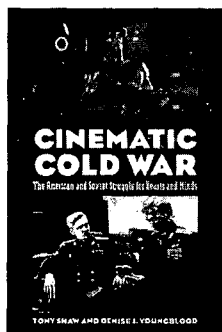
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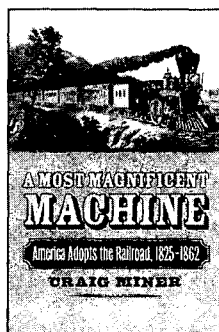
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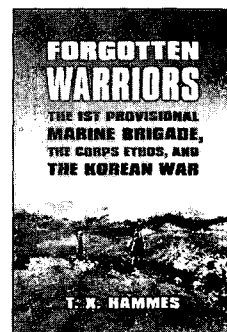
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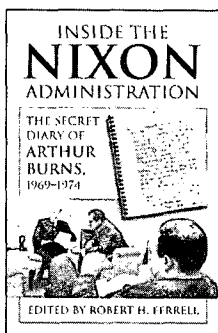
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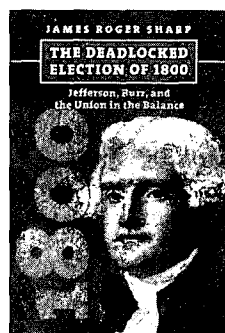
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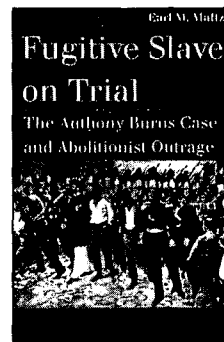
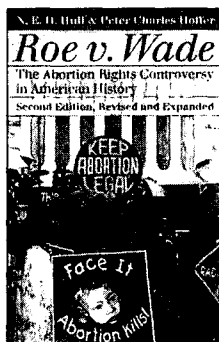
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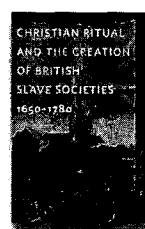
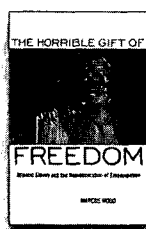
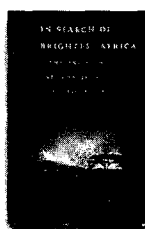
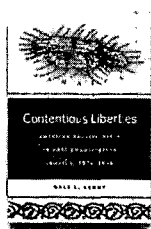
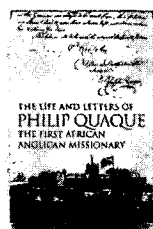
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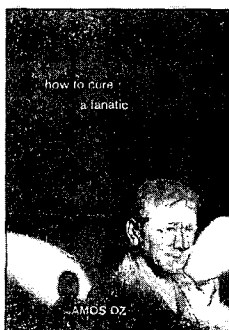
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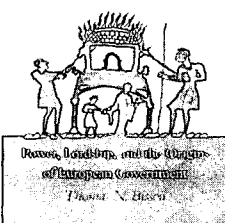
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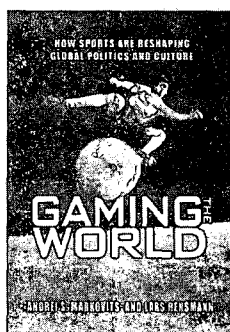
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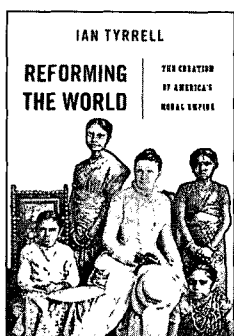
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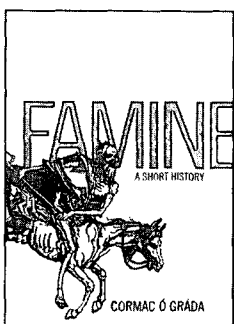
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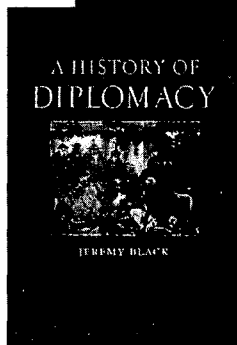
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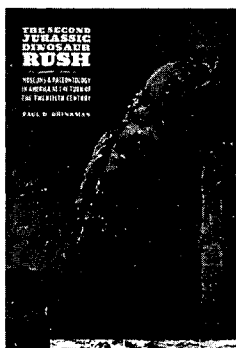
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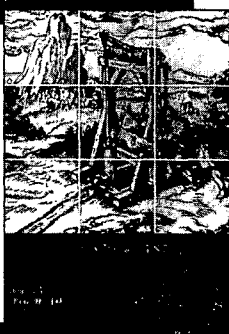
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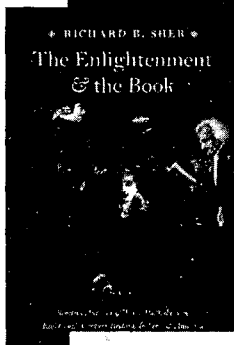
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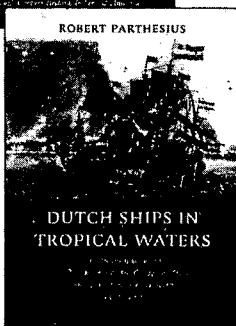
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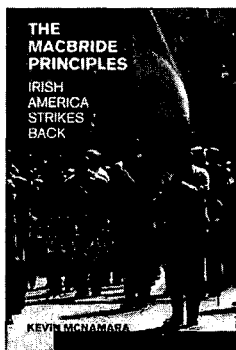
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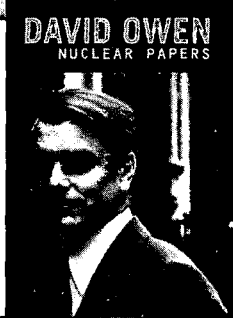


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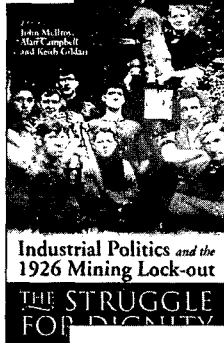


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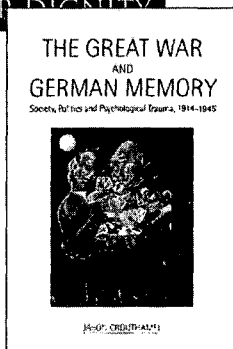
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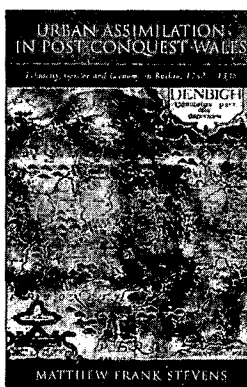
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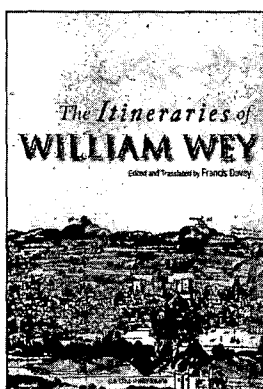
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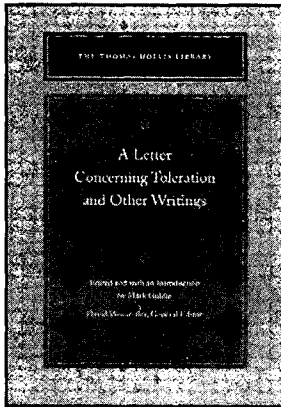
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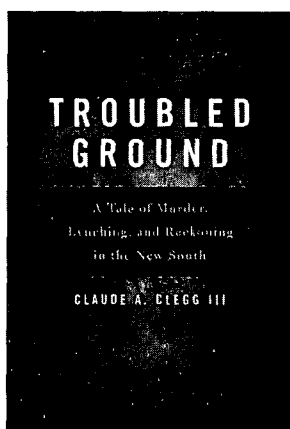
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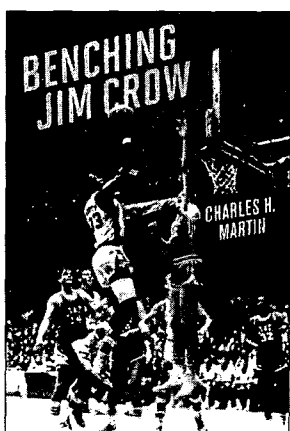
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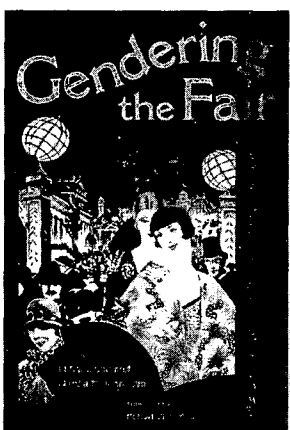
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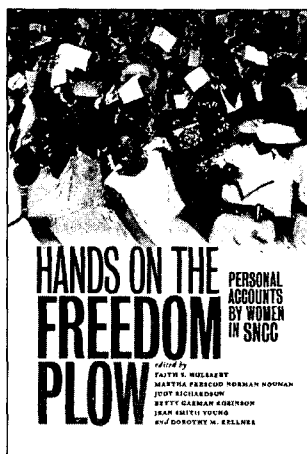
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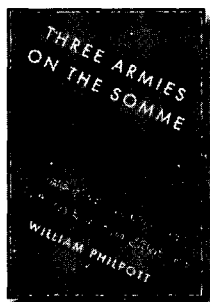
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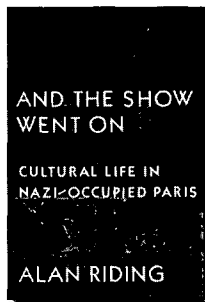
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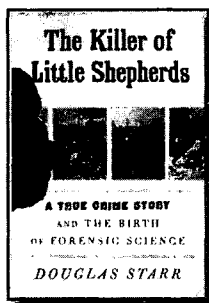
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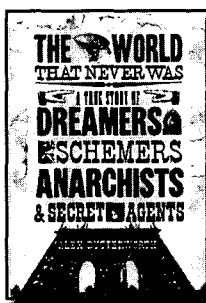
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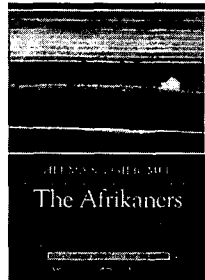
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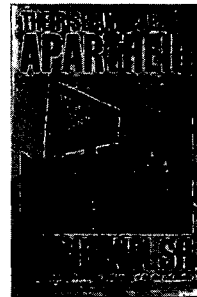
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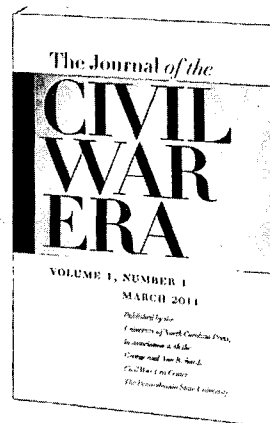
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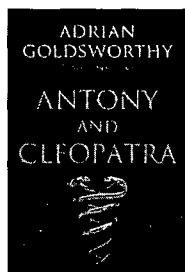
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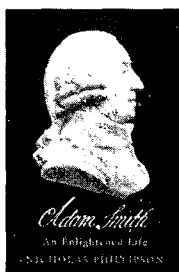
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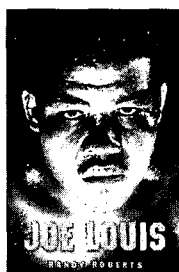
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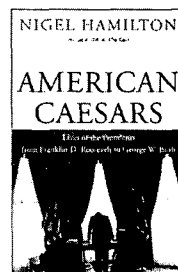
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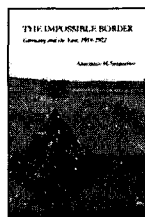
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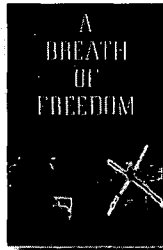
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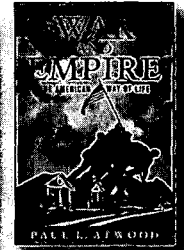
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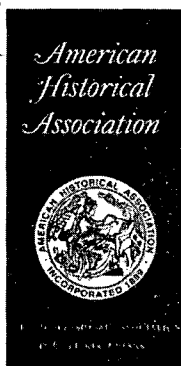
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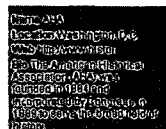


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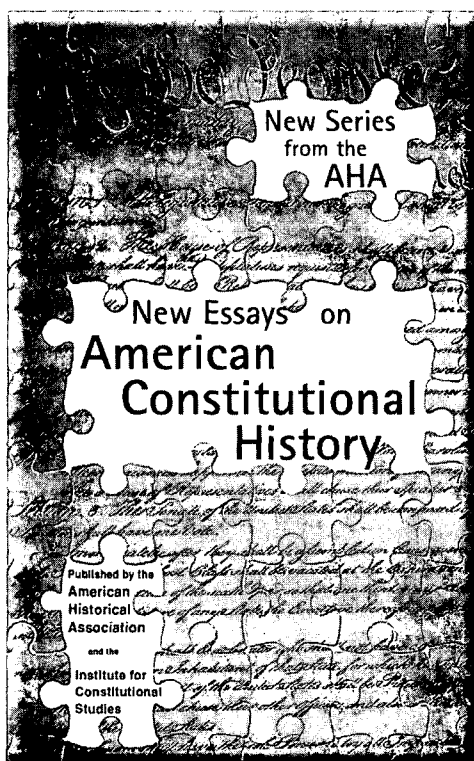
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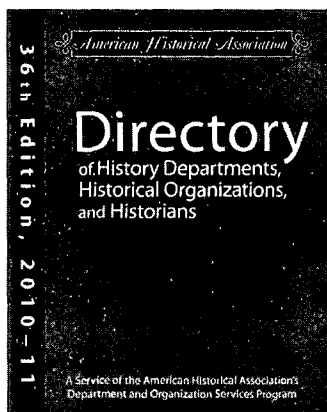
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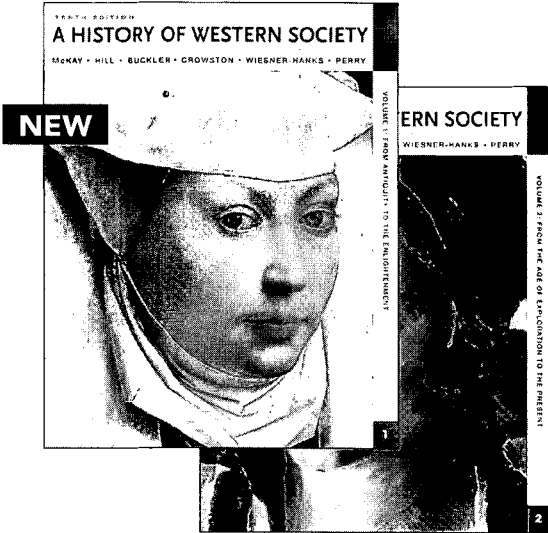
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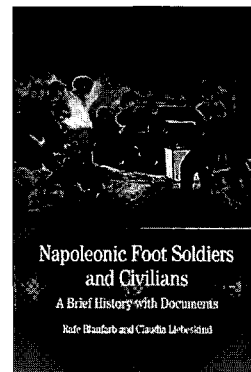
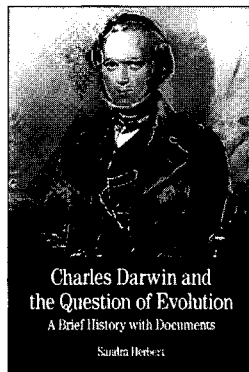
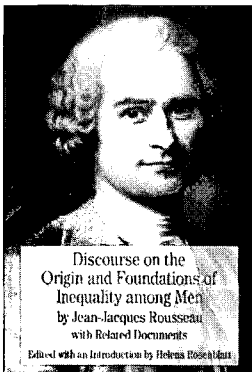
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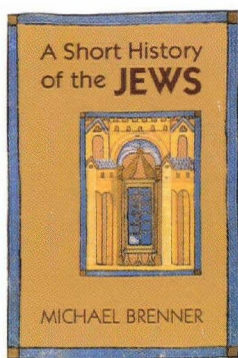
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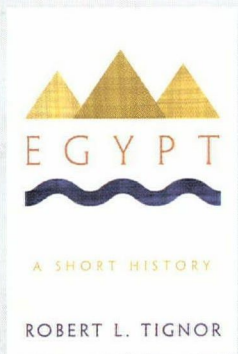
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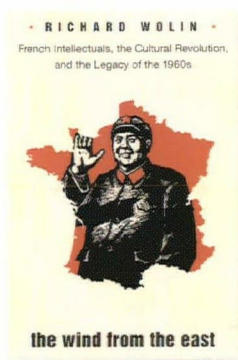
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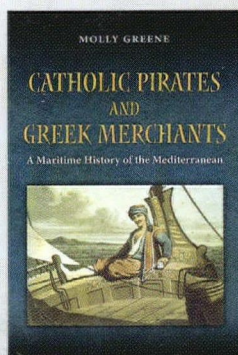
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